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THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE





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THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE

in two volumes

VOLUME TWO

THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION by JOHN SAVILLE

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NOTE

This edition (1966) is a facsimile of the original, complete and with no alterations. Some of the page numbers are incorrect in the original; the issue of 12th April 1851 (no 18) should begin at page 137, but is numbered 157. Subsequent pages continue from 157, thus missing twenty numbers.

FRIEND

OF THE

PEOPLE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

DECEMBER, 1850-- JULY, 1851.

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PRELIMINARY NUMBER

OF THE

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

PRICE

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1850.

ONE PENNY.

PRELIMINARY WORDS ON MEN AND NAMES.

THE letter of "L'Ami du Peuple," to which the readers of this paper would look with natural interest, must be suspended this week, owing to Mr. Harney's sudden illness (on another page explained), which all will regret. Under this circumstance, several of his personal and attached friends, at this time near him, cheerfully undertake to issue this "Preliminary Number." Many years ago, when the Press, metropolitan and provincial, invented accusations 'against the political honesty of our friend, the present writer bore testimony, from personal knowledge, to the untruth of the charge. Since that time, Mr. Harney's public services have attested how truly and honestly he has been the Friend of the People; and those who have observed his recent career closely, are aware how cheerfully and nobly he resigned his income from the Star, and cast himself again on the tempestuous and inconstant waves of the public service. With such a course comes honour and a good conscience, but also certain privation; for the people, though quick to note defections from their side, and severe to reprehend them-are slow to recognise a great sacrifice made on their behalf, and tardy to support those who give up all to maintain independance of position and to champion, untrammelled, their cause. Many, whose word will not be disputed, testify that Mr. Harney has done bravely the whole of his duty, let not the people do less than theirs! The issue of this new journal affords an opportunity which Democrats should strenuously embrace, to give it a wide and remunerative circulation. It is as much their interest as their honour to do so, and if they should look upon it in this just the man to lead the English party up light, the necessity which has occasioned the issue of a Precursory Number, may prove advantageous, by affording an opportunity of thus urging upon the readers he has the courage which takes the proper what they should do, and then an opportunity of doing it. The creditable sense of are just where they were. Honest, earnest

independance which actuates Mr. Harney would prevent him saying this much on his own behalf, but it seems a proper time and a proper thing for his friends to say for him. A few hours ago the writer of this was unaware of Mr. Harney's illness, and he, therefore, had no pre-intention of saying this much, or indeed of saying anything in this place; and as it is not possible for Mr. Harney to know what is here written—he will not see it for several days—he cannot be suspected of collusion in the matter. It is said, because the writer thinks it ought to be said, and he trusts Mr. Harney will admit the lawfulness of saying it when he comes to read it.

There will be various opinions about the change of title in this journal, upon which Mr. Harney has wisely resolved. For myself (speaking in my own person), I had no objection to the name of Red Republican, nor to any name which is just; but I have no doubt it was a name which, in this country, would always keep those who bore it, a small party, and, therefore, it is good sense to change it. And in doing so Mr. Harney gives a proof of courage greater than that before shown by any leader on his side, in the same situation. The ultra-Chartists, whom he represents, consider themselves men of progress, and are men of progress, but they sometimes take it in their heads to stand as still as Tories. And they do it in this way: they demand year after year to have the expanding cause of liberty advocated and served in the same words and the same way, although the progress of all society around them has demanded new language and new modes of political warfare. In this respect, the French Red Republicans are more reasonable and quick than their English brethren. Mr. Harney seems to the French mark. He has insight to see how the enemy of the day has to be conquered, he means to conquer him, and step. Nearly all other Chartist leaders

but not doing that which can advance their party. They say just what they said ten and twenty years ago: and I often hear them make the same speeches which they made in 1832, when I used to rush from the factory on to Newhall Hill, in shirt sleeves and paper cap, to shout, or to fight if needs be, for that execrable "Finality," the Reform Bill! It is a great pleasure to Mr. Harney's political friends,, and it ought, and no doubt will be to his supporters, to find him as bold, as daring, as outspoken as ever, and yet with the sound policy which makes him march ahead of his colleagues to point out the way, to make political tyranny impossible by the speedy triumph of the Chartist cause.

Mr. Harney sees what so many cannot see, that though the Chartist cause is the same, that it has expanded and grown, and requires an expanding and growing advocacy. The enemies of the Charter have changed and grown, are most of them new men, and masters of profounder tactics than our old Tory opponents, and unless we grow too, and learn to match them and check every new move, they will beat us. Let us take care of that.

I like very much the new title—" Friend of the People;" because the word people is itself a programme, it is a word of hope to inspire, and a map to guide, and to guarantee to the toilers that men are thinking of their needs, and battling for their rights.

Mr. Ernest Jones, Mr. Pettie, and others, have promptly and ably helped this number at a short notice. Mr. Hooper and my friend "Christopher," whose defence of Mr. Cuffey I some time ago published (one of the best defences ever written of Cuffey), also fraternally aid. It is possible that some excellent articles by Mr. Harney's usual correspondents are to hand, but it would not be well to bother him for them. When a man falls ill, especially if he be a temperate man and a thinker, the best thing you, can do to him is to let him alone. the brain perfect rest, and (with proper medical care) he soon gets well.

G. J. HOLYOAKE.

WHAT HAVE EXHIBITIONS DONE FOR THE PEOPLE?

On the 10th of December, 1768, was established the Royal Academy of Arts in Lendon, for the express purpose of cultivating and improving the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture.

This institution commenced its career under the immediate patronage of that redoubtable connoisseur, King George the Third. Was ever such a monarch? He has been called "the Father of his People:" that is not enough, in addition he should be called the English Medici; for he had almost as many pictures painted as that renowned Italian prince. It is true, the pictures painted to the order of the Italian prince are of the highest quality-those painted to the order of the English King, seldom-rise above mediocrity. The subjects, ten outof twelve, being either the image of his gracious self, or that of his august spouse. But now for the Academy which he founded. It has been founded long enough to enable us to speculate on, the nature of its results, which we will do most especially in referance to the "vast good." which; the people—the working people—have received from that fountain of the sublime and beautiful. We find the artists who compose the English school of painting have always been employed exclusively for the amusement, instruction, and edification of the affluent. Their works, generally postraits, are to found in drawing rooms, dining rooms, and galleries, where the people never pene-This, perhaps, is fortunate, for what pleasure could an industrious people see Inthe effiges of a race of drones? It is true, the land is dotted. with statues and buildings: these, taken in the aggregate, are so execrable as to have become a laughing stock to the whole world. It were well if they had never been conceived: it were to the people's advantage and the national taste if they were enveloped in impenetrable darkness. It is monstrous that this pompous Royal Academy, whose yearly exhibition is held in a large hall in Trafalgar Square: built at the public cost, should bar the artisan from admission by the charge of two shillings for catalogue and entrance. Eighty years and more bave passed away without the working man deriving any benefit from the illustrious Academicians, who have the choice of light for their pictures in that hall. It is in the contemplation of the Government to order those gentlemen to "budge," that the room they occupy may he devoted to national purposes; and if they had a spark of modesty (seeing that several independent institutions are in the field against them) they would go without waiting to be told to go.

The history of the Exhibition of fat beasts is equally notorious for not benefiting the people. Cattle shows and exhibitions of works of art, might become excellent things, absolutely blessings in a well-governed country; but what is the use of making cattle so fat, that they can neither stand nor go, when labourers by tens of thousands are compelled to crawl through a miserable existence, seldom tasting a morsel of meat for their dinners? Who cares for the after-dinner speeches of opulent farmers and graziers. And truly those insults to common sense are all that reach the people from the display of the poor ill-used animals;

the rest finds its way to the tallow-chandlers. Smuch for nature and art—pictures and pigs,

These are to be eclipsed. If they persist in "opening" next year, nobody will know of it. Not a penny-a-liner in London will deign to notice their displays, which will be insignificance itself, and lost in the blaze of the Crystal Palace. Who has not heard of the Crystal Palace? The wideworld rings with its fame. It is made to bold specimens of the skill of all nations.

English skill will no doubt be adequately represented there. English artizans will less nothing of their well-earned reputation by being placed in rivalry with the artizans of the world. In the display of varied and oxcellent manufactures England will triumph. Aristocracy and affluence will parade at that Exhibition, and greedily dovour up the praise which English industry and skill will elicit; and aristocracy will plume itself, and affluence will gloze with self-complacent satisfaction, over the goodly treasures which poor intelligent men will lay at their feet:

We sometimes hear of well-dressed swindlers taking cruel advantage of unsuspecting shopkeepers; a made-up appearance, a handsome carriage and pair of good looking horses have been known to be the means of furnishing a west-end mansion in the costliest manner, and the master of the house and of the furniture thus obtained has been known to enjoy for a season great reputation for the excellent taste he had displayed in the solection of his goods and chattels, and for the liberality with which he had encouraged native industry and skill. And the unblushing effrontery which sustained him through the ordeal of deluding and cheating the shopkeepers, enables him to receive the encomiums of his friends, not only without remorse, but with well-feigned satisfaction.

Meanwhile the poor shopkeeper for every hundred pounds he is entitled to, receives a hundred shillings! And thus will it be whon that glorious display of native talent takes place in the park. All that is excellent will be there, and admiration will be unbounded; everybody will praise everybody, and everybody will enjoy the praise, but the poor illrequited authors of the excellence. Few will ask are the authors of all this excellence remunerated? Are these things paid for? The fact will stand as with the shopkeepers, the swindler and his admiring friends. The show in the park will be a splendid mockery made up of things unpaid for, of the produce of unrequited toil. Lot the artizans of England look to it. They are eminently skilful, eminently industrious, and miserably requited.

CHRISTOPHER.

ORDER AND HONOUR.

When we look on the doings and vauntings of continental rulers, and reflect on the many hopes which the last two years have dispelled, when we re-consider the vast promises of the party of order, and the fatality which has waited on all their attempts at performance, there creeps over our minds certain feelings of irony and cynicism.

The party of order have certainly done great things. On every point they have stiffed, coerced, crushed, and trampled out in blood the overt revolutionary fire of Europe. Great has been their triumph — in the eyes of men. When in 1849 Prench bayonets extinguished the Roman Republic,

Russian hordes destroyed Hungarian liberty, An strian bullets despatched the patriots of Germany. and Prussian troops reduced republican Baden to submission-great were the shouts of victory. Europe lay at the feet of absolutism-and there was scarcely a square mile of territory whereon man could exercise his rights towards himself, and perform his duties towards his country. The national conscience was dragooned, as the spiritual conscience of the peoples, in former times, had been terrified and persecuted into submission. Kings revoked and re-made constitutions at their pleasure. In Rome violence, surpassing anything which could even be alleged against the Republic, was solemnly inaugurated under the sway of the scarlet Cardinals and the miserable Pope. In Tuscany, the Grand Duke, assisted by Austrian soldiery, returned to the system pursued four years ago. In Naples, King Bomba had it all his own way. And when, in May 1850, the perjured majority of the French Assombly shamelessly violated the Constitution, the triumph of the grand party of order seemed complete. Everywhere on the continent this famous party had achieved success; but everywhere, at every period of its history, on every scene of its operations, order had been established at the expense of honour.

What matters it to what point we direct our eyes? The party of order in France sacrified their country's honour to re-seat the Pope upon a forfeited throne—and moreover a throne stained with the iniquities of a thousand years; but not only this, they saorified their own honour, by lying and calumniating their opponents in the face of Europe. From the first days of the republic to the June insurrection, the party of order did no one creditable honourable thing, and from the days of June, 1848, to the days of December, 1850, their course has been one ascending climax of combined perjury and lying—the final point of which they have yet to reach. Order in France has alone been maintained at the cost of honour both national and individual.

The King of Prussia is become proverbial for inconstancy and dishonourable dealing; and to talk of Austrian honour would be the same as talking of Austrian honesty-the Great Empire is bankrupt in both. If transferring our attention from "thesegreat ones" we look at some of the smaller frythe same result is visible. The King of Saxony shoved honour on one side when he struck down hispeople, and remodelled the constitution. The Grand Duke of Hesse Cassel, when he took a forger for his prime minister, manifested to Europe that he and honour were unknown to each other; and when, the other day, the Duke of Wurtemberg dissolved the chamber, because the latter refused to authorise the seizure of the people's gold to carry out Austrian ambition, like all the rest, he clearly valued the constitution at a cheap rate, and his own honor at a cheaper. From the proudest to the meanest member of the party of order on the continent, there has been treachery, delusion, calumny and dishonour.

And why is this—because the order dreamed of by the famous party was not really order but obedience. To reduce the nations to obedience, arms of all kinds were needed—dishonour was not amiss where the end sanctified the means—and when France became a goodly son of the Church, there stood the equally goodly Pope to administer absolution. What was the dishonour of France to him—he, an Italian, who yet had no bowels of compassion even for Italians—in comparison with bia tiara of infamy!

We know what the English party of order havedone. But the Pope has been ungrateful to them, and sent a brand of discord among them. The other day a magistrate of the party of order intimated that riot was lawful, at least exouseable, against Catholicism.

Look where you will, the champions of order have abundantly proved, that though order and honour may be compatible, yet that in their hands order is alone compatible with dishonour.

THE CONFERENCE AND THE DEMO-GRATIC PRESS.

We have much pleasure in inserting the following letter by Ernest Jones on the proposed Conference at Manchester. Our friend complains, with good reason, of the difficulties which have been thrown in the way of its full and entire publication in the Star, Reynolds' Newspaper, and the Leader, where only mutilated versions are given to the public. No one can discountenance more than we do all personal attacks on the private character of individuals; but we hold their political acts as matters for fair discussion, and think we are justified in tracing their political motives up to their source.

THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE.

BROTHER CHARTISTS !—Now that personal dictatorships have become impossible, we appear in danger of falling into the hands of a far more injurious kind of dictatorship, that of a small faction out of the people themselves, taking the lead, and calling themselves THE

people.

As I am not in the habit of mincing my words, and as I neither fear the enmity, nor court the favour of any man, town, or class, I will-speak plainly on this subject. I denounce the intended Conference as the attempt of a small and insignificant faction to subvert the very principles of democracy—to pledge the movement to the views and feelings of a minority of its body,—by persisting in calling a Conference, at a time when the convokers will know that only a small section of the Chartists can be represented—and thus to perpetuate mistrust and division in our ranks.

Up to last Saturday's Star, the majority of the country, as far as its opinion has been expressed, has spoken against the proposed conference—notwithstanding which, the determination of a few, mostly consisting of the aristocracy of labour, seems to be that the Gonference shall be holden. I call on every true Democrat to set his face against it, and to have no connection with it, if it meets, unless the majority of the Chartist body shall have been concerned in its election.

Should it take place, how will it be constituted? Five or six individuals, calling themselves "THE MEN" of their locality, will send a delegate; if they belong to the better paid trades, they can afford to pay for him-if not, the expense will have to fall on the shoulders of some individual who can; we shall have a conference living on private charity, separating in debt, both facts trumpeted to the world-and our movement, (at a time when the elements of honour, dignity, and power really are there, if not sacrificed to the interests and selfish views of a sordid clique,) will be degraded in the eyes of the country, and in our own. Say! has this not been the case before? But the interests of that clique will be furthered.

Brother Chartists! Do not let yourselves be deceived! You are ealled upon to keep the Charter, distinct from every other "ism:" be it so! but, at the same time, put the extinguisher on the "isms" in your own ranks. There are several of them—little associations professing to be established for carrying the Charter—drawing off sideways, into their crooked channel, so much of the strength and volume of the democratic stream. You must know, and their founders must know

well, that their existence does our movement an injury. Knowing this, can they, working men! I ask you, can they be our friends? * * *

No reason for the meeting of a Conference in January has been assigned, or maintained when challenged—except the one contained in the address of the Manchester Council: "a decided want in that indispensible requisito in all agitations, confidence in those, as a body, who are now presiding over the destinues of the movement."

Permit me to observe, that the "Manchester Council" are the very men who create that want—and that such a want will ever exist, as long as the voice of faction is allowed to interfere with the organisation of democracy. "The want of faith," if a reproach at all, is not so to the Executive body, but to the meu who harbour that want—and then advance their own disobedience as a reason why the Executive should not be obeyed!

They urge, that the Executive "derived their title from so inconsiderable a section of the community" that their efficiency must remain circumscribed. On this I offer no opinion; I was in prison then, and therefore cannot judge; but it is perfectly plain that the Conference will "derive their title" in much the same way—and I protest against one Conference electing an Executive, as much as the Manchester Council can against

The "Manchester Council say: "Every town, paying the expenses of delegation, will have the right of sending one or more delegates,"-so that a few shopkcopers in one small town, will be enabled to nullify the will, of the poor thousands in another large one! This, no doubt, they will see the prudence of rectifying in their next address; but I protest against a Conference electing an Executive at all! The whole Chartist body must be appealed to, and I am therefore delighted with what I heard last night, when I had the honour of an interview with the Executive Committee. They have resolved on taking steps for the immediate election of a new Executive, by the country at large-and that on the most enlarged and national basis. For my part, I am opposed to all "Property Qualification,"-to permitting only "paying members" to vote, and thus excluding the poor, who have most need of a voice. I should like to see every working man, who takes an interest in the cause, give his vote on the occasion, whether poor, or better paid, and, therefore, cordially hail the resolution to that effect, which the Committee have unanimously passed.

Our course, I think, is now clear. The new Executive, for the election of which there exists far more perfect and available machinery than for that of a Conference, and whose election, as unpaid, will entail little or no expense—will be the competent authority to call, and fix the time of a Conference. The fullest claims of democracy will hereby be satisfied, and all seeds of bickering and dissension must, of a necessity, be destroyed.

Perhaps an attempt may yet be made to uphold the perishing spirit of faction in our ranks, by meetings, cheers, thetoric, and claptrap—take it for what it is worth! Perhaps you may be told the papal question renders a land stimus Conference necessary: of this the Executive destroy it.

will be the legitimate judges; and they will be elected long before the Manchester Conference, as at present proposed, is intended to meet. As Chartists, we have no interest in the papal question; papacy and state church are alike hostile to freedom and progression. Indeed, I believe, despite the maudlin attempt of whigs and parsons to create an agitation on the subject, and thus to divert public attention from politics, that the bugbear will die a natural death, and they will signally fail.

Our duty is plain: it is to erush faction within, as well as without. The wind is beginning to blow from the right quarter: let us have clear decks, unencumbered with these rubbishing cliques, and I have no fear of the result. For my part, if I stand single handed, I will raise my voice against the spirit of faction, wherever I meet it. No doubt I shall make plenty of enemies by so doing—perhaps I shall make more friends, and should I not, I will still remain,—Brother Chartists,

Your faithful servant, ERNEST JONES.

Hardwick Lodge, Bayswater, November 20th, 1850.

HOW TO CRUSH THE PAPAL MOVEMENT. (From the Leader.)

ACCOUNTING as of nought any petty policy of pains and penalties against the Papal emissaries amongst ourselves, let us play the game of a high strategy, by giving battle to the Papacy in its own dominions. Let our Government and our Foreign Minister see to this. Have they not in this very event of the Papal aggression had a severe lesson read to them how much superior in wisdom is the wholesale sentiment of a People to the frivolous maxims of diplomatic tradition? A few months ago the secular Papacy was prostrate, and, amid the acclamations of all Italy, the foot of Mazzini was on its neck. What did we do then? Why, had the whole British nation been polled man by man, to ascertain what it would have done, the overwhelming answer would have been—"Help Mazzini, and deliver Italy." We did not do so. Our Government corresponded and diplomatised -aimed at steering Italy a little off the Scylla of Despotism, but was far more intent on saving her from the fancied Charybdis of Republicanism. Lo! the result. France came in; the foot of Mazzini was removed from the neck of the prostrate Papacy; Italy has once more fallen under the despotism of ecclesiastics; and the first act of the Papacy, after its unexpected resuscitation, is to do what, for three centuries, no Pope has dared to do-re-annex England to the Papal see. Let our Government lay the lesson to heart. .It is not too late. The Pope is again on his legs; but it is as a superannuated eripple held up between two very fatigued Frenchmen. democracity of central Italy is not extinet; a word-an event-may once more rouse it; once more the ecclesiastical conclave that so wretchedly rules in Rome may be broken up and dispersed; once more the foot of an intrepid Republican Triumvir may be on the neck of the Papacy. And, if so, let it not again be removed; let the struggle be completed; let the secular Papacy be fairly slain and abolished; and, whatever spiritual form of Popedom Catholic Europe may desire, letit be a form compatible with the freedom and the good temporal government of every portion of the civilised earth. Nor at present are we entirely debarred from this mode of aggressive defence. In Piedmont, in the Papal states themsclves, all over Europe, in short, there are opportunities for attacking the political power of the Papacy, for paralysing the ecclesiastical corporation wherein that power lies, and for encouraging and stimulating the democracy which watches to

PROFESSOR DAHLMANN'S LETTER ON GERMAN AFFAIRS.

THE Prusian Constitution has established certain principles, from which the Government ought not to depart; it has been sworn to hy the King. But now there arise two cases which will test it severely. The Schleswig Holsteiners have, to save their "better part of man," at last flown to arms. Convinced as many may be of the Divine establishment of the authority of Princes, I have never found any one who maintained that a people is created and established by the arch enemy; and if it is not, to whom else must they owe their existence? And, in fact, the justice of the Schleswig-Holstein cause was acknowledged by Frussia and supported hy her arms. But afterwards the same Power withdrew her hand, und hy concluding a peace with Denmark opened the way for the other German Governments to do the same. Since that time Schleswig-Holstein has been ahandoned to itself, and as the world stands, it was contented to be so left. But now Austria and Russia wish that it should again be subjected to the yoke of Denmark by the force of German arms. It is true, that by the treaty of the 2d of July, no right of the Duchies is given up, as indeed it could not be; and further, the Duchies recognize in the King of Denmark their lawful Sovereign, and are willing to enter linto the ancient treaties of union and make great material sacrifices; further, Denmark itself since 1848 is no longer arbitrarily governed, and the King-Duke hy that fact alone approaches nearer to the Germans, whose natural friends the Danes are by race and geographical position. All might be arranged on the hasis of equality hy friendly intervention. Yet no; the people have no right to their rights; Austria and Russia insist on unconditional subjection. The moderation of the Statthalterschaft, the courage of the army, to which all Germany has given its tribute of admiration, even the inexhaustible Christian patience of the people in the midst of so much Christianity of mere phrase, are only so many sins the more on their part !—it is the demon of revolution that has put on the disguise of human virtue.

Oh the other side stand the Hessians. A man ahounding in the phrases of Christianity, but animated by all worldly passions, has brought this anoient and honourable race to the brink of the abyss, by accusing them of a refusal of taxes that have never been refused. Whatever opinion may be entertained as to the oath of the army to the Constitution, it must be admitted that the Hessian officers have adhered, with painful solicitude, to the sharp drawn line of that Constitution. But that is not reckoned to their advantage, for duty and allegiance are only recognized in hlind subjection to the will of the Sovereign. It is no otherwise, for Austria commands it. Germany must compel Hesse also to suhmit; Germany must cut off its right hand (so I call its noblest race) with its left.

What have I yet to say? If the Schleswig-Holsteiners and the Hessians are given over to ruin, and Prussia (which Heaven forbid) looks on, it will be equivalent to a declaration that no German Constitution, not even a sworn one, has any other guarantee but the will of the ruler for the time being, and the German people will know what they have to expect. This time there will he no error, no hesitation. Rectitude and fidelity to convictions will he sacrificed to the insatiable lust for unlimited power.

And the consequences? Let me again repeat what I said in another place, and in the past year, in a moment of dark anticipation—"I claim no gift of prophecy, but I utter without fear what an interior feeling dictates to me; if this great movement miscarries in consequence of the assumption of the kings by the grace of Napoleon, and the salvation of the people must again he sought by other and secondary means, no dam can he set against the wild waters when they again overflow, and the traveller will have to seek the remains of the old German monarchies in the burial vaults of their dynasties.—Berlin Constitutionnelle.

NOTICE TO READERS.

THE appearance of this, as a Preliminary Number, has no doubt surprised those who were led to expect that No. I. of "The FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE" should appear as announced last week. We regret to say that the illness of Mr. Harney has rendered that impossible with the advantage of his superintendence. Since Saturday, Nov. 23, he has been labouring under an attack of quinsey-suffering fearfully the pain incidental to that disease-unable to speak or write-consequently entirely incapacitated for the excrtion necessary to superintend the work of fresh announcements, advertisements, and other duties consequent on the change adopted. Allow us to state also, that the commencement of a New Series, with the anticipated accession of new subscribers, seems to us to demand the best efforts of "L'Ami du Peuple;" but lest disappointment or inconvenience should result from delay, we have, at the request of Mr. Harney, issued this number, in the hope that the "Friend of the People" will himself greet his old friends on the issue of the next. Should Mr. Harney's illness be prolonged another week, the work will be still zealously conducted by persons in whom Mr. Harney has confidence, who here subscribe themselves,

Fraternally, A COMMITTEE OF FRIENDS.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1850.

THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE.

WE are happy to find that the decision of the country has gone against the holding of a Conference at Manchester on the first of January. next; and presume that all men, calling themselves Democrats and Chartists, will bow to the decision of the majority. Every man has, undoubtedly, the right to offer an opinion and make a suggestion; but when that suggestion has been decided on by the country, it is the duty of the minority to submit. We will not suppose a case so extreme, as that the minority in this case should refuse to do We have still that confidence in the men of Manchester, as to believe they will abide by the rules of Democracy they once helped to establish; but should they do so—should their better judgment and honest feeling be perverted by the cabals of a faction, then it will be the duty of every good Democrat to rally round the banner of the Charter, and to withhold all support and countenance from a Conference unduly called, and factiously elected. Now is the time, above all others, in which our movement should be kept clear of party-spirit. We are now in one of those temporary lulls in agitation,—one of those lulls before the storm, in which we have the time to weed the movement of all the seeds of dissension, which have so plenteously sprouted during by-gone years. It is, therefore, with satisfaction that we hail the decision of the country as given against the Manchester Conference; for we consider that

the only means for preventing future disunion. If the Conference meets, it will be powerless to do good—and be certain to do harm. Powerless to do good, because elected against the will of the majority. Certain to do harm, because establishing the precedent of a faction setting the will of the majority aside, and, as a necessary consequence, splitting the movement into two parties. Surely, it will not be asserted, that, in the ranks of Democracy itself, the many should yield to the few!

That a difference of opinion should have existed as to the expediency of calling the Conference in London, and in May, is almost surprising. That the movement is disorganized, is the general cry—that the materials for organising it are there, is the general admission—then why not wait until these materials are properly developed? That the Executive were partially elected, is the assertion of some—is the proper remedy for that, a Conference elected still more partially? Nay! It is proposed, that the Manchester Conference should elect an Executive; as it stands at present, that Executive would be elected by eight men; for only eight localities have as yet voted for the Manchester Conference. Surely the Hebdenbridge Delegate meeting was more authoritative than that! That London will be crowded by representatives of the Democracy of all England, Scotland, Ireland, and the world in May, is admitted. Is Chartism then not to raise its voice there? If it is, it ought to raise it in a tone of authority-and what better means are there than by the organ of a Convention?

Were "Reform" (such as it was), "Emancipation," "Free Trade," carried by running away from the world, and hiding in a corner? No! they were carried in London; they were carried in the midst of the seats of government, at the doors of the legislature. The Exhibition is a godsend (an unintentional one though it be) to the Democratic cause. It will concentrate the workers of England in a manner in which they were never before assembled. It will teach them to feel and know their strength—and all that is wanted is a Democratic guidance, with sufficient firmness and prudence to make use of the glorious elements of progression. That guidance, a Conference in London, and in May, will be able to afford.

STATE OF PARTIES IN FRANCE.

This time, two years past, all France was in a fever of excitement to know who should be chief magistrate of the Republic. The people, who still fancied genius, like a piece of land, could descend hereditarily, even in collateral branches,—the people began to run after Louis Bonaparte, to whom the "catastrophe" of February had re-opened the gates of the country.

In the person of the great Captain's nephew, the masses applauded that stirring drama, whose prologue was acted in heroictimes under the walls of Toulon, and whose last act was played under tropical heat, to the sound of ocean's storms, less terrible, perhaps, than those storms which are called the battles of the empire. On the 10th of December, under the auspicious galaxy of his uncle's glory, Louis Bonaparte was elected President.

It was also under the auspices of fear; for the Royalists of all shades trembled for the future of their privileges and abuses. They were still stunned and stupefied in face of the Republic, even of that Republic which the sabre of June had so well fitted to their wishes and their wants, and they saw no better way of extricating themselves from their embarrassing position, than by sheltering themselves behind the popularity attached to the name of Bonaparte. Having lost their ship, they took refuge in a raft. For once they made common cause with the "vile rabble," and adopted as their candidate that very hero of Boulogne whom a few years previously they had so ridiculed.

When the returns showed that Louis Bonaparte was the successful candidate, who does not remember the delirium of joy, of insane hopes that burst forth in the royalist camp? All shades and sections among them fraternised. They shook hands with the brigands of the Loire, with the scavengers of the empire. The feudal legitimists and the usurers of Louis Philippe lived in disgraceful familiarity; the marguis of forty quarterings did not blush to find himself in the worst of company, that of the marquis of the. money bag; and this entire mob went day by day to swear on the altar of the golden calf, war unto the death to liberty, to progression, to justice, right, and reason, -- which means to Socialism, to the Republic, for the Republic means all

These implacable enemies of truth thought their alliance against Democracy would prove eternal; but these conflicting ambitions, united for a moment to resist their common enemy, the people, were soon destined to disunite, and turn against each other, like the soldiers of Cadmus.

This rupture, which the sound sense of democracy foresaw, has just taken place, with a publicity that defies denial, despite the attempts at concealment, and the reports industriously spread of a reconciliation between the post of the Elysium and the Pasha of the Tuilleries. Changarnier and Bonaparte may have made a truce till the return of the Assembly, but a truce is not a peace. The causes of the hostility between the President and Changarnier, or rather the majority of the Assembly, which is represented by the latter, are not removed, and therefore their effects will show themselves again ere long. They arise from the false position they have both assumed.

Thus, two years have not yet past since Bonaparte mounted the presidential chair, and already he is threatened with the Tarpean rock; and by whom? by those who so recently bore him to the capitol! What a lesson!

He who, in the interest of worn out factions, made the deplorable campaign of Rome: he who, at home, has made campaigns not less deplorable; he who staked

his popularity for the sake of gaining all the aristocracies to his side;—bchold him suspected by his associates of yesterdaybehold him expelled from the communion of the "sons of order." He is fond of galloping at the head of battalions, because his uncle was fond of the self-same exercise!: he is fond of making libations of wine on the plains of Satory, because his uncle was fond of making libations of blood on the plains of Marengo and of Austerlitz. He is accused of corrupting the army, of demoralising it by the propagandism of champagne and strong drink! But, then, bchold the inconsistency, or rather the effrontery of his accusers, those who reproach him with having shewn himself to the people of the departments, with having held reviews, and having drunk with the soldiers,-these are the very pilgrims of Wiesbaden and of Claremont, the very men who plot in broad day against the existence of the Republic.

Entrenched behind those relics of the constitution which they have not been able to destroy, the royalist senate forbids Cæsar to pass the Rubicon; and, to make head against him, raises up one of the leaders of the army, whom it has addressed with the celebrated formula of caveat consul.

As long as there was a liberty to destroy, an abuse to restore, the reactionist party always went hand in hand with the Elysean. Together they fought the press, and the right of public meeting; together they handed over education to the Jesuits, dissolved the national guards, and imprisoned or exiled the pioneers of the republican army; together they mutilated universal suffrage, exhausted the tax payer, emasculated the public spirit, and organised misery by their infernal system. But as soon as Bonaparte had done what was wanted of him by the reactionists, so soon, they gave him to understand that they might possibly be able to do without him after the 10th of December, 1852.

As it is the interest of the Assembly, therefore, to keep things for the present in statu quo, and will content itself with watching Bonaparte till 1852, riding the restricted suffrage, and pillioned behind General Changarnier. A mass of intrigues will cross each other between the Elysean and the Palais-Bourbon-to the great injury of the people, that is certain, but who cares for that? Who thinks of the people in these matters? The chief object of the Assembly is to seat Changarnier in the place of Bonaparte. We shall see whether the people, so neglected by its president, may not also have something to say in 1852. We hope it will.

Complete anarchy reigns among the holders of power. Let the Democrats be They have no interest in the quarrels between the Elysean and the Tuilleries. The real question in "high

the exercise of universal suffrage, and the advent of social amelioration.

The Republic runs no serious danger. The dissensions and proceedings of its enemies raise it more and more every day in the eyes of even prejudiced men, the belated wanderers on the path of progression. The acknowledged impotence of the upholders of old systems has ripened the harvest of young thought. They asked for power and time to realise their promises; they have had both, and where is the fruit? Their sterilc labours cry aloud against them, and accuse them of quackery and cruelty; for the people suffer through their want of wisdom, their vain disputes, their ridiculous fears, or their intractable systems. But the people does not rely on the mistakes of its adversaries, it relies on its own energy, intelligence, and courage; and these will make it master of the field of battle.

The majority of the Chamber well know that the people, no more than themselves, wish for an emperor. But, if the people don't wish for an emperor, neither does it wish for a king.

Therefore the Assembly will probably maintain its present attitude, waiting for more favourable times. Should the question be mooted of prolonging the presidential term of office, the Assembly will probably negative it; nor will it dare prorogue at that crisis, for it would be violating the constitution, and thus facilitating an empire. The reaction is not in the habit of dealing violent blows at the constitution. It goes gently, and hitherto, alas! but too successfully, to work. Often the poison given in small doses is the most fatal, because it infects the fountains of life, without raising the suspicions of the victim. -From Le Voix du Proscrit.

Institutions and Laws of Republican America.

In all the States the statute law is in a small com. pass, although more important matters are the subject of legislation, and fewer points are left to be determined by the common law than in England.

In Ohio, for example, all the statutes of a public general nature are periodically reviewed by the legislature, and published in a cheap form. A single volume comprises the whole. The various subjects are arranged alphabetically, and there are notes of all the decisions of the supreme court which give them a construction. The cost of this book, of 1,000 pages, is about six shillings, and it is found in the hands not only of professional and literary men, but also in those of farmers and mechanics, and is exposed to sale even in the market-nlaces. The is exposed to sale even in the market-nlaces. consequence is, that a tradesman or farmer in Ohio is commonly better acquainted with the laws of his country than the English gentleman is with the laws of England, even though he be in the commission of the peace. Nor is the citizen of Ohio distinguished from the citizens of the other free States in this respect. Compare this state of things with the confused and voluminous mass of acts of parliament in England; where even the lawyer, with a large practice, seldom pretends to be acquainted with th quarters" is how to postpone indefinitely statute law and hardly any one has the statutes at

large. The language, too, of the American laws is superior to that of the English in style and legal precision, so as to be more intelligible as well as more accessible.

A leading feature of American legislation is the abolition of all the old laws in force in colonial times, which tended to the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few—in a word, to the formation of a landed aristocracy. The laws allowing landed property to be entailed have accordingly been swept away, as well as the law of primogeniture.

Property of all kinds is in most of the States equally distributed amongst the children of the deceased intestate, and in none of them does the eldest son exclude the younger sons or the daughters. When a will is made, it seldom prefers one child to the others, although the law does not place any restraint upon the power of the testator in that respect.

Education.—The legislation of the free States on the subject of education is worthy of all praise. In many of the States, a large part of the public lands has been appropriated to education, and the balance of the money required for that purpose is raised by taxation.

The children of the poorer classes receive an excellent education, unmixed with religion, and without expense to their parents. The public common schools are so well conducted that the master tradesmen, farmers and others, who could well afford to pay for the education of their children, prefer sending them to these public schools, although they mingle there on a footing of perfect equality with the children of the poorest people in the district. At these schools, therefore, the youth learn their first lesson of republican equality, and in after-life they discern that the great men of the contitry commonly tise from the lowest position in society.

Endowed colleges abound; at which great numbers of young men complete their education, at very little expense. A classical education is bestowed gratuit usly in some of the States. The mechanic's son often receives a collegiate education; and becomes a doctor of divinity, a lawyer, or physician. This is a common thing in all the States.

The education commenced at school is continued throughout the American's life. All classes read newspapers and books, and lifer lectures, speeches, and debates. Public libraries and reading-rooms abound in the large towns. In some of the States a public library for adults is provided, at the expense of the commonwealth, in each school district.

The difference between the European and American is obviously caused by the difference between the European and American political systems. The fortner debase, the latter elevate, mankind. In England the church has assisted in preventing a national system of education, by claiming the right of imposing its dogmas upon the children of all religious sects. The state, moreover, has been indifferent, or rather averse, to providing the means of instruction.

As to the English colleges and universities, they are practically closed to all but the rich; and even many of the public charity schools have been appropriated by the aristocracy, to the utter exclusion of those classes for whose benefit they were endowed. The American labourer's son is usually better educated than the son of an English master tradesman. It must be understood that we speak throughout the whole of this work of the free States only, except when the slave States are specially mentioned.

Publicity of Land Titles .- The laws for the sim-

*Lord Brougham, in his speech on legislation and the law, in the house of lords, on May 12, 1848, thus describes British fegislative effactments:—"A mass has been engendered, in which the obscurity of darkness alternates with the glare of cross-light; meagre explanation with inexcusable prolixity; repetition with omission, repugnancy with truism; a mass which, if it be not termed monsense and 'contradiction, only escapes those epithets from the respect due to the venerable name of a statutory record."—"The reports of cases in the courts fill 500 volumes, the statutes hear '40.00', or between '30,600' and '40,000', quarto pages; while 'Napoleon's whole obdes, five in number, orept into 730 diodecimo pages. Well might be boast that he should descend to future times with his code in his hand."

philication of the transfer of land are of vast importance. In all the States there are registers kept of all the deeds relating to the land, whether conveyances, mortgages, or leases. The importance of this system is not known in England, or a popular demand would be raised for its introduction into this country. An explanation of the system of transferring land in Ohio will serve by way of illustration of the system prevailing throughout all the States, for the principle is the same in all of them. In each country there is a register kept of all the deeds affecting the title to the lands within the limits of that county. An officer, called a recorder, is elected by the people every three years: it is his duty to cause the deeds brought to his office to be copied at full length into the books kept for that purpose. The fees for making these copies are about three shillings. The recorder's certificate appended to the copy of a deed, makes the copy good evidence wherever the original deed would be received. All wills, judgments, and decrees affecting the lauds in the county, are also recorded in the office of the clerk of the court of common pleas, or supreme court. The whole legal title, therefore, is on record, and open to the examination of anybody without charge. Generally speaking, the title to land is, in consequence of this publicity, notorious, and the purchaser does not find it necessary to fully examine it. He may easily look at the recorded title-deed of the man from whom he intends to purchase, and ascertain whether he has charged or encumbered the property. This will cost the purchaser nothing-there are no fees to pay for the search; and if he be a man of ordinary intelligence he is quite able to make these inquiries himself: nor can he have far to travel, for the recorder's office is in the centre of the county, which is only twenty miles square. In some cases, however, where the title is obsonre or complicated, if may be expedient to employ an attorney to examine the records, for which, and preparing the conveyance, the fee of one or two guineas is ample remuneration.

The publicity of land titles has conduced to the adoption of a more simple form of conveyance than that which prevails in England. No recitals are necessary; because the important facts are on record, and, instead of limited covenants for title, a simple warranty is made in few words. No covenant to produce title-deeds, is required. Of course the absurd practice of conveying by lease and release to uses, the execution of two deeds instead of one, and a roundabout declaration of trusts instead of a direct conveyance to the purchaser, has long since ceased in every part of the United States, and each conveyance is a simple grant from the seller to the buyer.

There is no reason whatever why the same system. should not be adopted in England: on the contrary, there exist the most urgent considerations for its immediate introduction. The consequence would be, that in a majority of cases each man would preware his own conveyance. This is the common pracrice in America: 'the purchaser goes to a stationer's shop and procures a printed form of conveyance, for which he pays about 2d.; he fills up the description of the property, copying from the last deed. . The seller goes before a justice of the peace, and acknowledges the deed, pays him 1s., and the deed is completed, and ready to be recorded, which may cost about 3s. more. Contrast this with the English system, which is at once ruinous in its operation and antediluvian in its character.

All proceedings relating to the sale, mortgage, partition, or other disposition of land, are simple and inexpensive under the American system. A voluntary partition of land owned by two or more in common is effected in Ohio at the expense of 5s. A compulsory partition, costing about £5, is effected as follows:—A petition, on half a sheet of foolscap, is presented to the court of common pleas: three freeholders are appointed to make the division, and the proceedings are recorded. If no division is practicable, the property is appraised. Any one of the parties interested may elect to take the property at the appraised value. If no such election is made,

a public sale takes place. The sheriff' conducts the sale, and makes the deed to the purchaser; but, before doing so, reports his proceedings to the court, where any party interested may raise objections, and a new sale may be ordered for good reasons. proceedings occupy about three months. In this way, the interests of minors, idiots, and lunatles are sufficiently protected, and at the same time prevented from injuriously interfering with the rights of the other owners, and property is not locked up and kept out of the market. Guardians for minors are empowered, by order of the court, to be obtained, on a proper showing, to sell the lands of their wards. Executors and administrators may obtain orders in like manner to sell land for the payment of debts or legacies, which are the first charges upon it.

All these proceedings are simple, brief, and inexpensive. Contrast them with English law and prac-The compulsory partition of land is so expensive in England that it is very seldom resorted to. Where minors are interested, the property is practicably unsaleable, and the adult owners must wait till their co-tenant's majority. The lands of minors can seldom be seld for their benefit, and where any judicial proceedings are necessary for that purpose, the costs are ruinous, unless the property is very large. A chancery suit, to subject lands to the payment of debts, can only be resorted to in certain cases, and then the expenses are overwhelming. It would not be easy to overrate the importance of the advantages possessed by the Americans in these respects. It is their policy to facilitate the transfer of land on all occasions in every possible way, and to simplify the instrument of transfer: the consequence is, that there is a vast body of freeholders.

In America the courts are accessible to all, and the costs are inconsiderable. There are, it is true, many defects in the judiciary systems of some of the States, whereby unnecessary delay is occasioned; but in none of the States is there such a deplorably defective system as that of England.

The administration of justice in criminal cases in America is unattended with expense to the prosecutor. There is a public officer, appointed to conduct the prosecutions, whereas in England a prosecutor is often put to a great expense in the necessary employment of attorneys and counsel to conduct his

The judiciary systems of some of the States are far from being perfect, and the prison discipline is in many of them very defective. Economy is too much regarded in these matters. It is a common complaint, that the courts are not numerous enough, and that the judges are not sufficiently paid. The consequences in some of the States are great delays, inconvenience to suitors, and appointment of inferior men as judges. In the selection of a system of prison discipline, many of the States are too much guided by the rules of economy, and accordingly choose that which is cheapest.

In order to keep up what is falsely called the dignity of the judges in England, they are paid enormous salaries, besides being entitled to retiring pensions. The chief justice of the court of queen's bench receives £8,000 per year, the chief justice of the supreme court of the United States £1,200. A county court judge in England has £1,000 per year, double the salary of a judge of the supreme court of New York. The latter performs five times as much work as the former, and requires and possesses five times as much legal knowledge.

The contrast between the English and American law offices is very great. A clerk with a salery of £200 or £300 per year, with half a dozen assistants at about £100 per year each, suffice, in New York or Cincinnati, to transact more actual business than is transacted by either of the courts at Westminster, with its horde of highly paid officials. The various masters of the common-law courts have incomes varying from £1,200 to upwards of £1,300. Ten £1,350 to £3,000 and upwards. Some of the commissioners of bankmaptcy get £2,000 each. It has been stated, in the house of commons, that from three to four hundred persons were employed to col-

lect fees in the courts of equity, and that between £300,000 and £400,000 was paid in salaries to the officers of the court of chancery alone; that one individual in that court held a sine-ure office of £7,700 per year; another one of £5,196 a year; and that there were numerous others, va. ying from that sum to £2,000 a year. When an elice is abolished, the party holding it is compensated for its loss by an annuity for life; and it is the practice

to grant retiring pensions.

The money required to defray the expenses of the federal government is raised by duties on foreign articles imported into the United States, and by sales of the public lands. These duties are moderate, and none are now levied for the purpose of favouring or protecting any particular branch of native industry, but the raising of the necessary revenue is the only object in view. There are no excise duties, assessed taxes, stamp duties, nor any direct taxes, in any shape whatever, levied for the purposes of the Union; but congress is empowered by the constitution to levy excise and direct taxes whenever it may be deemed expedient to rosort to such sources of revenue. Many years ago, congress enacted an excise law imposing a duty on domestic spirits; but the law soon became very unpopular, and was repealed. The power of the excise officers was complained of-they were necessarily authorised to enter and search suspected places.

In the various States, the respective governments are supported by different systems of taxation; but the principal tax is the one upon landed property, which is valued for the purpose by the State officers

elected by the people.

The expenses of the State governments are very small, but in some of the States expensive, and for the present, unprofitable public works have been made with borrowed capital, the interest of which has now to be raised principally by taxation. Most of the public works, which are chiefly canals made by the State governments, yield a considerable income; so that the debts of the States must be set off against the property created with the capital borrowed. The debt of Ohio, for example, is about four millions sterling, but the canals are worth as much as that sum; so that Ohio has something to show for her debt, whereas the old kingdoms of Europe possess no equivalent for their enormous liabilities incurred by squandering the people's money in wicked and foolish wars. Many of the money in wicked and foolish wars. public works in America will not only pay the interest on the capital borrowed to erect them, but will yield a handsome profit, which will go towards the reduction of the general taxes of the State.

The local taxes in American eities are in general not so heavy as in English ities, but the expenses of paving, cleansing, draining, lighting, and watching are considerable. Or the other hand, but little is expended for the relief of the poor, the support of criminals, and law expenses. But all State and municipal officers are paid for their services at a moderate rate. In England the poorrate is large, and very heavy expenses are often incurred in procuring special enactments for the government and improvement of corporate towns. But the mayor, aldermen, and town-council act

gratuitously.

In America there is no tax for the support of any church, but there is in nearly all the free States a tax for the purpose of education. In America it is usual for the landlord to pay all the taxes. The rent of houses in the large towns of America is usually as high or higher than in English towns of

the same size. The tax upon real estate in America is not usually levied upon a careful estimate of the net annual value; but the entire value of the property is taken, irrespective of its present profit. The consequence is, that unimproved land is often forfeited for non-payment of taxes; but this is treated by many persons as a wholesome thing, because it is a stimulus to improvement. Still, it would seem that some difference should be made between productive

and unproductive property.

In some of the towns, a portion of the revenue for local purposes, is raised by market tolls; and, to increase the amount of these tolls, stringent laws are enacted, to prevent the sale of certain articles out of the market. This is an awkward mode of taxing food, and the inhabitants are put to the inconvenience of going a great distance to purchase their meat, fruit, fish, and vegetables, which they would otherwise procure from shops in their immediate neighbourhood. The owners of real estate favour this system, because they suppose that it relieves them from a little taxation, the amount obtained from the tolls being so much money applicable towards the city expenses, which would otherwise be raised from their property.

The owners of real estate have hitherto succeeded in most parts of America in preventing a proper system of relieving the poor from being established. Out-door reliof is inadequate, and it is very difficult in most places to obtain roliof of any kind. Poorhouses are established in largo citics; and in most of the States laws are made for the relief of the poor. Rigid economy is practised on all occasions, whether the question be the relief of the poor, the drainage, paving, watching, oleansing, or lighting, of the town or city; and yet universal suffrago prevails. The great majority of the voters in the large towns are not owners of real estate, and all the taxes are usually paid by the landlord, and not by the occupier. This affords a practical refutation of the theorists, who assume that under universal suffrage the representatives of the people will be heedlessly extravagant. The reverse is the case in America: niggard economy prevails. There is hardly a city properly drained, paved, watched, lighted, or cleansed; hardly one with good public grounds; and the roads are almost everywhere bad, because there is a disinclination to be taxed to make them good. Above all, the poor, who are in many places numerous, are not sufficiently provided for. The true interests of the people are sacrificed to the false spirit of economy, and this proves that even in a pure democracy, where the suffrage is universal, the elections annual, and the representatives paid for their services, the men of property exercise an undue influence, although they be a small minority. They control party organs, cliques, and caucuses.

Great improvements are required in most American towns to seeure the health and comfort of the people; and there is particularly a want of public grounds. It is to be hoped that the mass of people in towns will, before long, emancipate themselves from the thraldom of the land and house owners, by insisting on large sums being raised for these purposes, and also for the liberal relief and assistance of all the indigent, of whom there are in most places considerable numbers of the female

As already observed, the revenue necessary for State purposes in America is raised chiefly by a land tax. But there is usually a tax upon personal property; upon agricultural stock; horses, earriages, pianos, gold and silvor watches, and household furniture exceeding a certain amount in value. In some of the States, a rough estimate is made of the value of a man's stock in trade, and he is called upon to pay a tax founded upon that estimate.

The small landowners, being very numerous, control tho State legislatures, and generally strive to put taxes upon personal property, without regard to the principles of political coonomy; not caring much whether the tax is inquisitorial, or will operate equally or unequally, so that it be productive.

In Ohio, there is a small tax upon lawyers and doctors, which varies according to the presumed extent of their practice. In Cincinnati, and other cities, a considerable portion of the city revenue is derived from licenses granted to bill and money brokers, tavera-keepers, and others. There are no excise duties, no taxes on articles imported into or exported from the States.

It will be observed from what has already been said, that taxation is not 50 onerous in

America as in England. We may add that it is not likely that the United States will ever incur such a debt as that of England. No popular government could do so. The English aristocratic government was reckless of expense in its endeavours to put down liberty in America and France, but it was resolved not to increase the burthens on landed property; and nearly every member of the aristocracy partook, directly or indirectly, of the advantages flowing from the immense national expenditure, and the creation of innumerable offices. Such a state of things is absolutely impossible in a democracy, where the legislature and government are responsible to the whole body of the people, and not merely to a small and favoured class.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY.

THE ordinary enunciation of the principle which has been put forward as the basis of social reformviz.: 'That a man's character is formed for him. and not by him'-has, as appears from the frequent controversy on the subject, a degree of ambiguity which renders it liable to misapprehension. It would be better to say that a man's character is formed by his constitution, organisation, or nature, and by the circumstances in which he is placed. The question is argued from opposite sides of the same shield, one person saying that it is himselfthat is, his own organisation or nature—that forms his character; another, that it is external circumstances. Now, the nature cannot strictly be said to be the character, and a child at birth cannot be said to have any character; it has only certain internal forces, tendencies, or dispositions, the action of which upon the world without-that is, upon circumstances, and the reaction of circumstances upon such forces—form the character. The character is the result of the joint action. The question corresponds to that of objective, and subjective, and is argued in precisely the same way; one party affirming that the world is formed within, by the action of our innate faculties; the other, that the world actually exists, as we conceive of it, without us: whereas, our idea of the world results from the joint action of our definite innate faculties and external forces. All things are maintained by action and reaction; in the physical world 'action and reaction are equal and contrary,' and a similar law pervades the mental and moral world .- Political and Social Tract Society.

THE BURIAL OF PROTECTION.

Air .- "Not a drum was heard, nor a funeral note."

Not a Peer was there, not a name of note,
As our friend to his tomb we hurried;
Not an orator fired his farewell shot
O'er the grave where Protection we buried.

We buried him darkly, in dread of Briour, The clay with our ploughshares turning, By struggling Reason's misty light, And Common Sense dimly burning. With the Sliding-scale upon his breast In sheets of the Herald we wound him, And he lay like Sibthorp taking his rest, With St. Stephen's snoring round him.

From STANUOPE and STANLEY short notes were read, All full of excuses and sorrow;
And nobody knew, now Protection was dead,
Where "the Party" would be on the morrow.

We thought, while our eyes with weeping were red, How Chowher would wear the willow, While Corden and Buight danced over the dead, And flouted his lonely pillow.

Lightly they'll talk of the spirit that's gone, An cheer the false friends that betrayed him; But little he'll reck, if they let him sleep on Where the true British farmers have laid him.

Young tried a speech, but had scarce begun, When our yawns gave the sign for retiring:
For we dreaded the shot of the random-gun, That the Times kept sullenly firing.

Slowly and sadly we laid him down,
And o'er him a stanch old Tory,
Whose heavy day weighed eighteen stone;
Then we left him alone in his glory. Weekly. News.

Labour Record.

"CRYSTAL PALACE."

" EXHIBITION OF (THE WRONGS OF) UNDUSTRY.".

We copy from a printed bill, the following proposals of Messrs Fox, Henderson, & Co., to the glaziers in their employ—with the protest of the men and the gracious reply of the above firm, who have contracted for the erection of the building for the Industrial Exhlbition of 1851.

PROPOSAL OF MESSRS, FOX, HENDERSON, & CO., TO THE GLAZIERS IN THEIR EMPLOY:

All Glazing to be done in machines.
In cases where the men are paid four shillings per day, the quantity required from two men and two boys is 116 panes, consisting of upwards of 400 feet of glass for a day's work.

day's work.

In cases where the men are paid more than four shillings per day, an additional quantity will be required for a day's work, proportionate to the additional wages paid to the men, and above four shillings per day.

Each man will be nllowed additional pay after the same rates as the above will produce, for all work done over and above the 116 panes per day for men receiving four shillings per day, and over and above the other quantity proportionate to the men's wages as decided above.

In answer to this, the following Protest was sent by deputation to Messrs. Fox, Henderson, & Co.

PROTEST.

Ennismore Arms, Nov. 22nd, 1850.

To Messes Fox, Henderson, & Co.
Gentlemen.—We, the undersigned Glaziers in your employ, have received with astonishment and sorrow, the proposal which you have made to us, and respectfully inform you that we cannot accede to it, for the following

lat. It is impossible for any workman to put in fifty-eight squares of glass in one day, even if he had no obstructions; and it is well known that one half of our time is occupied in fitting the bars, &c.

2nd.: That no man can glaze as many in a 'machine' as he can on a standing scaffold, breast high.—That from thirty to forty panes per day is a fair day's work, any man doing more than this must scamp his work, and it will tell for itself in due time.

3rd. These are facts which the deputation which presents THIS can demonstrate.

The answer of Messrs. Fox & Henderson was as

"If yon, (the Glaziers) like to work for us according to the terms of the Proposal, well; if not, you can leave the work."

work."

We have also received the copy of a resolution agreed to at a meeting of the "Metropolitan House Painters' Society," held in the Thistle and Crown, St. Martin's Lane. It is couched in the following terms,—

Besolved;—That having read with feelings of indignation, the terms proposed by Fox and Henderson, to the Glaziers recently employed at the Building in Hyde Park, and knowing from our experience of the trade, that the men cannot gain a livelihood on the said terms, we sympathise deeply with our injured fellow-workmen, and call upon all "Painters and Glaziers" to aid the victims of those arbitrary measures.

(Signed) JOSEPH GIBBONS, Chairman.

JOSEPH PATTISON, Secretary.

If any explanation or comment were necessary to the foregoing statement to exhibit in their proper light the conduct of the contractors and their abettors—it would be found in the 'fact,' that they have caused the arrest of several of the men, one of whom was charged with using threatening language; and the others, as we have heen informed, for presiding over meetings of the turn-outs. A "Glazier" has requested us to state for the information of non-professionals, that the glass used is unusually heavy, and each pane measures upwards of three-feet-four. The work is very dangerous; several accidents and two deaths have already occurred in consequence. sequence.

REPORT FROM BINGLEY.

REPORT FROM BINGLEY.

My Dear Harry,—As you are desirous that parties will furnish you with correct accounts of the aggressions of capital upon labour, I have thought proper to send you an account of the doings of the smoke-ocracy of this part of the country. These gentlemen are coming out in a new line. While trade was so brisk, they found it impossible to trample upon the hands in the manner in which they had heen accustomed to do. Accordingly, a new dodge must be tried, and, as appears from the sequel, it was evidently a plot of the mill-owners. As hands were scarce, the plan to be tried was to make them more abundant, by getting the weavers to tend two looms each—a thing which has never been done with the peculiar kind of goods made in this part. Thornton, near Bradford, being one of the most slavishly stupid and priest-ridden places of any that could be pitched on, was the place selected to try this new move. The principal firm, which bears the appropriate name of Messrs. Craven and Co., are very religious people. They have a person who is their ready tool, and who, previous to any new aggression

being made upon the weavers, always prenches some sermon about the duty of servants to their masters. A few weeks ago this minister of Mammon preached a sermon of this kind, which caused the more knowing ones to suspect that there was something in the wind. sermon of this kind, which caused the more knowing ones to suspect that there was something in the wind. Accordingly, their eyes were fixed on the movements of the masters, to see what new trick was about to be played upon them. In a few days, he had selected a fit tool for his purpose, in the person of a drunken dog-fighter. This fitting tool of his pious employer had two looms assigned to him. A consultation was held among the hands, when they came to the conclusion that, if any further attempt was made to carry out this scheme, to resist it to a man, heing assured that, if the plan was carried out, one half of the hands would he discharged, and that these (in the hest of times), would form a corps of reserve, who would speedily bring down the wages, so that they could seem no more with tending two looms than they now would with one. They were not long in waiting for an opportunity to try their resolution, for in two or three days an order was issued that the spare looms must be occupied by a corresponding number of the hands tending two each. This was the signal for revolt, for they one and all refused to obey the mandate, and as they refused they were discharged. This roused the indignation of those remaining, and a strike immediately took place. The day following a deputation waited upon the firm to see what course they intended to pursue. But, as usual in such eases, they were treated in the most insolent and insulting manner. When one of the deputation, who was a member of the same chapel as his imperious master, being stong by the insulting mariner in which they were treated, ventured to remind the insolent Naboth to whom they were talking, that he had himself once occupied the humble situation of a hand-loom weaver, and he ought not now to treat with such insolence the persons who had assisted, by their labour, to raise him from that situation to the one which he now possessed; for which piece of audacious contulabour, to raise him from that situation to the one which he now possessed; for which piece of audacious contumacy he was ordered never more to approach that place. The case was laid before the parsou, who erased his name from the book of life!

Trade had not then, however, begun to flag, and the hands were being rapidly swallowed up in the great vortex of Bractord. This speedily brought the Craven wretches to their senses. The deputation, which they had dismissed in such an outrageous manner, was now sent for by the relenting tyrauts, promised forgiveness, and begged to return to their work along with the rest of the hands, and the obnoxious innovation should be discontinued. The victorious weavers now turned their rage against the dog-fighting tool of the master, besieged his house, and drove him from the neighbourhood.

him from the neighbourhood.

The week following, on the market-dip, the manufacturers met in confab on the matter, when a Gothamite from the neighbourhood of Colne, of the name of Smith, gave it as his opinion that Mr. Craven had gone the wrong way to work. He should, in the first place, have reduced the hands ten or twenty per cent.; numbers of them would immediately have struck. Those who remained should then have been offered two looms each, by way of recompensing them for their fidelity, giving them a hint that they would then be better than they were before the reduction. He would thus have killed two hirds with one stone.

A Mr. Sharp, of Bingley, who seems to have been sharper than his *Craven* brother of Thornton, took the hint, and acted accordingly, but hitherto, however, with no better result, for the hands all struck against the whole scheme, and are now out. The power-loom weavers of this part of the country ought to render them every assistance in their power; for, if the manufacturers can succeed in this infamous plan, one-half of the weavers will immediately be thrown out of comployment. diately be thrown out of employment.

The number out on strike is 250. Persons willing to assist them in this struggle must send to Mr. John Smith, of Regent-street, Bingley.

Bingley.

C. Shaekleton.

The Weavers' Strike. Bingley—We have received with our correspondent's letter, the following appeal on a printed handbill:—We, the Weavers of Messrs. Jonas Sharp and Sons, have heen now on strike since the 30th of October, 1850. Messrs. Jonas Sharp and Sons, begun with the pulling down of our Wages, and then wanted to force each weaver to tend the veoles for the Weavers, believe this to be worse than the reduction of threepence per piece, as it would throw one half of the Weavers into the labour market, and then they could force us to weave for any price they thought fit. And to all the Weavers we would say under whomsoever they are employed, if you consider your own, and our interest, as they are hound up together, you will still continue the support already bestowed upon us, for which we return you our sincere thanks. The average number of Weavers now on strike is two hundred and fifty. We remain yours, the Weavers, late in the employ of Messrs. Sharp and Sons. Please hand it forward to the next loom. Bingley, November 20th, 1850."

[We would simply suggest to our readers, workers at

[We would simply suggest to our readers, workers at "the Loom," or elsewhere, to hand forward their mite, in aid of these their suffering brethren.—Ed.]

TITLES AND NAMES.—Our men of rank are not the only persons who go by different appellations in different parts of their lives. We all moult our names in the natural course of life.

Poetry for the People.

THE SILENT CELL. BY ERNEST JONES.

(Composed in Westminster Prison while confined in a solitary cell on bread and water.)

They told me 'twas a fearful thing To pine in prison lone:
The brain became a shrivelled scroll,
The heart a living stone.

Nor solitude, nor silent cell, The teening mind can tame; No tribute needs the granite-will, No food the planet-flame!

Denied the fruit of others' thought, To write my own denied,—
Sweet sisters, Hope and Mem'ry, brought
Bright volumes to my side.

And oft we trace, with airy pen, Full many a word of worth; For time will pass, and Freedom then Shall flash them on the earth!

They told me that my veins would flag, My ardour would decay, And, heavily, their fetters drag My blood's young strength away.

Oft, to passion's stormy gale, When sleep I seek in vain, Fleets of fancy up them sail, And anchor in my brain.

But never a wish for base retreat. Or thought of a recreant part, While yet a single pulse shall beat Proud marches in my heart.

They'll find me still unchanged and strong, When breaks their fancy thrall; With hate—for not one living soul, And pity—for them all!

KINKEL* 18 FREE!

(From The Leader.)

Kinkel is free! Let the wind bear the sound The sphered earth around, And widsper, as it flies
Beneath Vienna's wall,
Where Blum in silence lies,
The words so dear to all—
"Kinkel is free!"

Kinkel is free!
Let lightning's rapid flight,
These accents of delight,
Flash on its fiery wings
From Warsaw to Biscay;
And in the Courts of Kings
Write in the face of the Write, in the face of day,
"Kinkel is free!"

Kinkel is free!
From far Kutayah's wall
hear the answering call
of Kossuth's manly voice;
And o'er Atlauta's brine
The Exiled shout—"Rejoice!
Our brother of the Rhine,
Kinkel is free!"

Kinkel is free!
A beaker full of wine,
Fresh from the rocky Rhine!
Brave Kinkel, health to thee!
With heating hearts, and eyes
Moist with glad tears, do we
Shout back the welcome eries,
"Kiukel is free!"

Nov. 12/1850.

[°Gottfried Kinkel is a staunch patriot of great learning; a devoted republican. He was captured at Radstadt and imprisoned for life by the Prussians. The other day has cell was found empty, and a rope hanging from his window. As yet, we are happy to say, his escape has not been contradicted.—Ep.]

STATESMEN.—Statesmen can never understand the difference between mechanical and organic action in governments. In the midst of the soft, tender peach is formed the hard kernel; and this is cloven not by force from without, but by the gentle upward growth of the young shoot within; and in like manner does public opinion gently harden into a mass, which preserves the shoots of the future, and which cannot be broken.

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OF THE DIST. HEIRN D

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. I.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1850.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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European Central Demarratir Committee.

TO THE ARMIES OF THE "HOLY ALLIANCE" OF KINGS. •

Soldiers: - The tyrants that oppress you are lifting the banner of universal war. Power-less to defend their despotism against the development of intellect and the advance of human rights, once more they appeal to the fratricidal policy of battles.

Their pretexts you are aware of; their

objects are these :-

They hope to drown in blood that spirit of freedom which now animates alike the serfs of the Ukraine, and the pariahs of western civilization; they hope, by rekindling in you the murderous instincts of warfare, to postpone for a long time the reign of human brotherhood.

Will you consent to this soldiers? Count their numbers-count your own. How many do they number-emperors and kings, minions and accomplices? Scarcely a few thousands. Your disunion alone is their strength.

Behold that monarch, who, exalting his will above the eternal voice of reason, thinks himself a god on earth, because he leads sixty millions of men, his equals, like a flock of sheep. What would become of that power of which he is so proud, if those men remem-bered that they owed their blood, some to achieve the resurrection of heroic Poland, that martyr among nations,—some to the moral resurrection of their race,—all to the cause of human brotherhood and freedom?

And would that first among his vassals, the Emperor of Austria, who, though yesterday but a child, has steeped his diadem in blood, at Vienna as at Pesth, at Milan as at Venice and at Brescia; would he, we ask, reign for a day, nay, for a single hour, if every one of you, Poles! Italians! Huugarians! Austrians! was to rally round the flag of freedom,-the true flag of honour?

They have takeu care, we well know, to remove you from your native lauds. Hungary that guards Italy, Austria that watches over the disarmed Hungarians; the

* From La Voix du Proscrit. Translated expressly for the Friend of the l'eople, by Ennest Jones.

Italians march against the Germans, and Poland, that recruits the armies of all three of its oppressors, is drained off into Siberia and the Caucasus. Thus they hope to estrange you from the memories of home and childhood; thus they hope to increase your customary hatred, your prejudices that their despotisms have nourished, to subjugate the one through the other, and thus eusure your universal servitude.

But as though some invisible hand was forcing your tyrants to bring you together, you will soon be parted from each other only by the fire of your bivouacks. Therefore you can, and you ought to, frustrate their macchiavelian combinations. Patriotism and humanity command this, for there is one great duty for the individual as for the natiou, for the soldier as for the citizen—whether they groan under foreign oppression, or whether, oppressed themselves, they are the instruments of again oppressing their neighbours: that duty is to be free, and to bear to each other a mutual love.

Then act like brothers, all you who combine with the profession of military servitude, the memory of an enslaved country. If you b long to races hitherto hostile, moved by one common hatred of tyranny, oue common love of freedom, you should unito against one common foe. Let your hands be joined, your hearts beat in sympathy—from the videtti to the battalion—from the tent to the camp, let the mysterious symbol of union be understood, and soon shall the army of despotism become the host of freedom.

If, owing to your isolation, to the pitiless rigour of military despotism, your efforts are thwarted, and you cannot organise a revolution in your camps, you cannot revolt in the broad light of day—then descrt, one by one, ten by ten - what matters it how it is achieved? but, above all, do not desert without your arm's, for you will need them to reconquer your liberty.

Do not fear the fancied disgrace which the rules of passive obedience attach to those who break their military oath. Soldiers of your country! sons of humanity ' do you know when you are really deserters? It is when you let your reason and your courage be enchained by the mandates of an iniqui- despot, as they are doing to day?

tous system. It is the banner of honour, on the contrary, under to you return, when you break those vows imposed on you by force, and sanctified by fraud.

If you find a general insurrection, a wholesale desertion impossible—then, instead of striking those who are called your enemies, but who are in reality your brothers, die!—die as martyrs, and history will remember your names, and hold your humble devotion as illustrious, as the most vaunted of achievments.

German soldiers! you who ought to have no other object than to create a great German fatherland, will you serve the cause of kings, and betray your common mother? Remember, victors or vanquished, your lot is slavery! Shall noble-hearted Germany have armed all her children in vain? Oh, doubtlessly those who, long curbed under the military yoke, have forgotten country and home to become the minions of tyranny, may still deal death with a cold heart and a steady hand when the barbarous word goes forth; but now it is the entire nation that rises, with its gallant spirit, and its invincible horror of bondage, There we meet once more that noble youth that fought for liberty at Vienna, at Berlin, at Stuttgardt, at Baden, and at Rastadt. Shall the murderous prejudices of the barrack outweigh the great-hearted inspirations of so many free and valiant spirits? There, too, we meet again the glorious wrecks of the Hungarian and Polish phalanxes; there we meet the sons of unhappy Italy. Soldiers of Freedom! will you strike these martyrs? Oh, far sooner from camp to camp be the holy conspiracy organised that we are preaching to the soldiers, reunited under the same banner. Mingle your ranks, and let one mighty cry of Freedom burst from each fraternising heart.

And you, soldiers of the Prussian Landwehr, will you trust a King who has been forsworn ten times, after having knelt at the feet of a triumphant revolution? - after having bowed barc-headed before the corpses of the people fallen beneath the bullets of his No, no, the sentence has gone satellites? forth against him and his race: its execution cannot be far distant. He and his have they not always compacted with the Russian

You have the destiny of Germany in your hands; then do not lay down your arms till

the Republic has been proclaimed.
Soldiers of the Holy Alliance of Kings! Remember, all of you, the sublime example recently given you by the Hessian army, where not a single officer was found to crush the legitimate resistance of a people strong in the justice of its dause. Do not forget that every one of them broke his sword that he might not break his duty as a citizen. And yet no blood was shed!

Soldiers of the Holy Alliance! forget not that your enemies are in the palaces of kings. Form but the resolve, and the criminal projects of absolutism will but have contributed to establish the liberty of all peoples, the

Universal Republic.

LEDRU ROLLIN. Darasz, Delegate of the Polish Central Democratic Committee. JOSEPH MAZZINI.

ARNOLD RUGE, Ex-Member of the Constituent Assembly of Frankfort.

THE GERMAN STATE COMEDY.

CERTAINLY, an edifying spectacle this German Comedy of War, which Austria and Prussia have been playing of late. It contains all the essentials of a first-rate Adelphi plot, and no doubt brought out with Wright and Bedford to play Schwartzenberg and Manteuffel, would have an "amazing run." has, however, heen too ridiculons for comedy, and too serious for a farce. First, the Elector of Hesse packed up his pipe and tohacco ponch, and disappeared hefore a writ which he knew was out against him, from the firm of Constitution and Co.; and as he fled one way, his confidential clerk, Hassenpflug, a forger, by the bye, ran off in another, almost without "a change." Then the armies gathered together, the Kings and Dukes took counsel; with a meck gravity, certain negotiations, heneficial alone to post inns and railway companies, were carried on. A gentleman bearing the ridiculous name of Prince Turn and Taxes (Thurn and Taxis), made himself conspicuous by his agility and ubiquity. The King of Prussia tried to say yes and no to the same query, so that on the stage he would require two faces, two voices, two throats, each of which would, donbtless, be well paved with champagne. Then, half-bnried in paper, the grim and grave Manteuffel, would be discerned amusing his leisure by working the problem-" what force is requisite to compress Prussian liberty to a level with Russian ditto, or given a few rights; how to frustrate and neutra-lize them." Suddenly the visionary Radowite Suddenly the visionary Radowitz would enter on the scene, like the ghost of Junius, described by Byron, as an indescribable, impalpable, undefined, changcable shape-the very genius of the moderate Utopia and unlimited procrastination and protean shiftiness. Now all would be action, hustle and hurry—the very atmosphere would he warlike, and Radowitz would fizz like a two-penny cracker on the fifth of November. But no sooner seated on the explosive seat of the Foreign office, than he would be blown off again—for a noted body-snatcher, Nicholas, in the background, and a Don Juan Mephistophes, named Schwartzenberg, at Vienna, would be understood to object. Again the armies would gather, the people arm, and the whole nation become a vast camp. Surely the spectators have no right to ask for what purpose? But, contrary to dramatic usage, they did and do ask, Why was the territory of Hesse completely covered with sham warriors? The Prussians said they were going to fight for German liberty, and as to the Austrians and Bavarians, they did not exactly know for what they drew their swords. War was, however, imminent. The hostile armies were within arm's length of each other. When, lo! a special

traiu carries Manteuffel to Olmutz, another dashes wildly down to the same town from Vienna, and, as it should be, Manteuffel and Schwartzenberg rush into each other's arms, a courtly Russian minis. ter looking on and applauding the act of fraternity; and this was fighting for German Unity! That poor brain bewildered Elector of Hesse goes hack to his subjects, as the Daily News says, "to eat humble and take his chance with the constitutionals; while Prussian and Austro-Bavarian armies bow each other out, like rival dancing masters disappointed of a pupil, or rival swell mohsmen who have both made a grab at the same pocket. And thus, for the present, ends the serio-comic-melodrama of GERMANY BETRAYED by her KINGS.

GEORGE HOOPER.

DOWN WITH THE TYRANTS.

WITH HINTS WHAT TO DO WITH THEM.

THERE'S a title that I think entitles me to contrihute another article to "The Friend of the People," even if the circumstance under which I write did not. Mr. Harney is not yet sufficiently recovered to resume his usual duties as Editor, though happily able to commence; therefore I bcg to offer him a short paper by way of further assistance. Called down to Norwich to lecture, I write from that place, and from Diss, where I conclude my paper, or I should gladly make it longer. As some associations among the Chartists have nominated me to serve on the Executive, I embrace this opportunity to explain the grounds of my constant adhesion to their movement. I have heen a Chartist since 1832, eight years before the "Old Guards" were christened.

In good truth, I am more of a Chartist than many who bear that name. They say, down with the tyrants, meaning Class rulers only; I say down with all tyrants, whether set up by others or kept up by ourselves.

Ignorance is a great tyrant: it makes us impotent: it hides from us our power: it prevents us getting improvement: it makes us make war on our friends hy blinding us from seeing who they really are: it keeps us from seeing the opportunities which lie at our feet, wherehy we might emancipate oursclves half as fast again as we do-Ignorance therefore is a tyrant, and I say," Down with that Tyrant!"

Prejudice is a tyrant. It prevents us working with each other: it prevents us working with many who might and would help us well: it makes us work only in one way, and what is worse, suspect all who would work in a different way, although for the same end. Therefore Prejudice is a pernicious Tyrant, and I say "Down with that Tyrant."

Supineness'is also a Tyrant. It makes us talk about subscriptions and never pay them: it makes us talk ahout meetings, and hardly ever go to them: it makes us proud of our Democratic papers, but does not make us take them in: it makes us expect our leaders to stand by us, but never makes us think of standing by them: it sends us to our assemblies with unshorn chins, dirty faces, and dirty clothes, whereby we look like black slaves, when we at least might have the credit of looking like white ones. Supineness is therefore a Tyrant, and I say "Down with that Tyrant."

Indignation is a Tyrant: hecause a man who is merely indignant is not good for much. So many think that if they are indignant at wrong, that is enough. It is not enough. I know as well as any Chartist in the land, that the working classes have reason enough to be indignant. As I have said elsewhere: * Brightly shines the light of history on national progress. Improvements, inventions, extension of commerce, and energy of production, reflect rays of prosperity over the extent of the nation, and in the glare of projecting riches few look below, where the dark shade of humbler destiny is obscured. Grandly and nobly uprears the stalwart structures of our manufacturing greatness; but let us not be blind to the dreary fate of many thousands, who waste their days in unnoted, unavailing anxieties. In bare gar-

* People's Review.

rets, in cold, dirty, comfortless courts, in suffocatink mills, in filthy, sooty, greasy shops, how many sin into the grave, uncheered even by a better prospect. for their unhappy offspring? Let those who are scandalised at the stern, unsocial, autagonistic creed of the poor, remember in what a harsh and hopcless school they have been reared! When the Falcon. saw a poor Fowl escape anxiously from the hands of one who endeavoured to catch it, he reproached it with ingratitude. 'During the day,' said the Palcon, 'the men nourish you with grains-during: the night, they concede you shelter where you can room; unexposed to the inclemency of the weather: yet in spite of all these cares, when they endeavour to catch you, you endeavour to fice from them. This is what I never do. A savage hird of prey as I am, and under no obligations to them, I assume tame. ness when they seek to caress me, and even eat out of their hands.' 'All that is very true which you say,' rejoined the Fowl, 'hut you comprehend not the reason which makes me flee. You have never seen a Falcon on the spit, but I have seen thousands of Fowls there.' We therefore have all of us reason enough to be indignant I know, for we are all on the Spit of Tyranny. But it is no good being indignant. It is not enough to hate Tyranny, we must put it down; and I am so resolved to put it down that I can't find time to vent my indignation. Now many Chartists waste half their time in venting their indignation. Indignation therefore delays redress-Indignation therefore is a Tyrant, and I say "Down with that Tyrant also!"

Class legislators are Tyrants, who ought to be put down. But how? One way is to knock them down, and that is the only mode many people think of. But that's not the only way-besides, it's a wasteful way. It's not a good way, because if you knock them down they sometimes get up again, as they have done in France. The fact is, it's a worn-out way. Any savage can take that way. We have found out other ways, and I think better ways. When a builder finds an old house good for nothing, he of course removes it, hut he never thinks of "knocking" it down. That would be a great waste. He takes it to pieces—and uses up the materials for some new fabric. That's the way I would serve all tyrannies. I would not knock them down. I would take them. to pieces-then they can never get together again! I would use them up—then they could not get on their legs again and use me up. This is a commercial age, and I would level on commercial principles. I would not waste a single tyrant-I would sell his old material to the Reformers, to make something useful of. I would apply Cobden's Free Trade rule to them—"buy them in the cheapest market and sell them in the dearest."

Tyranny should not he suffered to escape into an idle grave. It should be turned to a good account. Permit me to subscribe myself,

A leveller upon commercial principles, G. J. HOLYOAKE.

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE.

(From the New York Tribune.)

A very interesting discussion has latterly engaged the democratic portion of the French press. occasion was the great question which the ambition of Louis Napoleon has raised; namely, whether the provisions of the Constitution shall be annulled for the gratification of that gentleman. The Constitution being thus up for consideration, the inquiry has naturally extended beyond the meaning of its prescriptions to their logical validity and the political philosophy on which they are founded. The query whether the term of the President can be indefinitely prolonged, without violation of the fundamental law, naturally suggests another as to the need of having a President at all, and, after lengthened consideration, it has been agreed by the organs of the republican and socialist party of all shades, that such an officer is not necessary.

This opinion had hitherto been held only by the more ultra and radical Democrats. When the

present Constitution was formed, the more moderate Republicans would not hear of a Government without an Executivo as an independent branch. They regarded it as a necessary check and balance upon the Legislature, and accordingly were strenuous for its adoption among the institutions of the new State. But the experience of two short years has shaken their faith, and many of them are now ready to try a more democratic system. Still, it is perhaps not so much that they have changed any part of their political convictions, as that they see danger in the peculiar position which Louis Napoleon has acquired, and which he could not have acquired had there been no Presidency. They accordingly contend for the abolition of that office rather as a device to escape a difficulty now at hand, than because they are persuaded that under any state of things the affairs of the country would be better conducted without it. Not so the thorough Democrats and Socialists; they only say now what they have always said under all circumstances.

Of course the American prejudico founded on the American liabit, and originating, along with many good and many bad political notions, in England, is, that there must be a President in every Republic. But yet, speaking for ourselves, we confess an inability to be convinced by the arguments we have yet listened to on that side. The weight of reason appears to us to be with the Democrats.

We are convinced that this country would have been spared many evils, had the executive power been exercised with direct responsibility to the People through their representatives. The worst stretches of authority, the most palpable inroads upon the spirit and letter of the Constitution, the most flagrant violations of the popular conseience and will, have been accomplished by the President, while Congress, if accessory, has been made so after the commission of the crime. For instance, the war against Mexico could only have been declared by an Executive clothed for the time with power actually irresponsible. The People, could they have exercised a decisive control in the case, would never have dono it nor permitted it.

The same is the case with corruptions and abuses of less glaring kinds. They creep into every Government just in proportion as it is remoto from direct popular control. In this country the Federal Senato is notoriously a great deal more corrupt than the other branch of Congress, for the reason that its members are not elected by the people and hold office for a long term. The fact that the representative must soon give an account of his stewardship and have judgment passed upon him at the ballot-box, checks him in the im. pulses which the Senator may indulge without fear. Indeed, if there is any evil which needs reforming, any wrong which time has made respectable, but against which the voice of the masses is raised, any great speculation upon the public, it is sure to find support and protection in the Senatc.

The truth is, that the whole theory of checks and balances, of getting round a people and making them do just what they don't want to do, is illusory. Give us Free Schools and a just distribution of the Soil, and the Government of the People will of necessity be honest, manly, peaceful, friendly to progress. It is absurd to say that, in a Republic, the masses need to be kept in leading-strings for ever, and to have rulers and law-makers above them. The power is theirs of right, and we need not fear that they will exercise it badly. There was a time when it was thought very dangerous for Judges to be appointed by popular election, but experience has proved the fear to be ridiculous. So, in time, we shall see the same final condemnation passed on every institution and every arrangement designed to control and hinder the action of the popular will. Democracy will yet accomplish its perfect work. Ç. A. D.

GERMAN STUDENTS: GOTTFRIED KIN-KEL, AND THE MARTYRS OF 1848-49.

THROUGH all their history the spirit of liberty has. burned brightly in the hearts of the famous students of Germany.

Upon all occasions when there was an opportunity of aiming a blow at tyranny, they have stood in the foremost ranks. They stood by old John Huss and Luther; and the long bloody thirty years' war can well attest to their love of fatherland, their devotedness and their bravery l The field of Gmunden, where fell the fiery Unknown, drank a deep rich draught of efferveseing studentblood. The Battle of Leipsic bears bloody testimony to their lion-hearted valour; they did deeds worthy of Thermopylæ, and the inspired boys-the gallant band of Jahn-wero literally cut to pieces. And then how dastardly were they deceived by the false German princes. The traitors, who, in their hour of need, cried to the brave young beating hearts to help them to liberate their country from the fetters of Napolcon-and had no sooner achieved their victory over the invader, than they turned and trampled on the very hearts of their gallant rescuers. Ho was a wise man who said, put not your trust in princes!"

But warned by the past, the students of Germany will not again pour out their best and bravest blood at the beek and bidding of traitors and hypoerites. The lesson has been burned and branded into the heart of them, and henceforth their arms, as well as their sympathies, are with the people. In the great day of the Future they will be found side by side with the proletarians, resolved to work out their country's salvation, or fall together.

Gottfried Kinkel, whose recent escape from the dungeons of Spandau, has excited so much interest, was, in his youth, one of the glorious student-band. Having distinguished himself in various branches of learning, he was appointed professor of Theology. in the University of Bonn. His marriago with a lady who had renounced the Catholic religion to become his wife, subjected him to such serious annoyances that he was induced to change the theological chair for that of German Antiquity. With a family of four children his happiness was complete.

But the revolution of 1848 came, with its uprisings of the long-oppressed-its wrock of thrones and dynasties. France awoke the trumpet-voice of freedom, and Milan gloriously responded. Berlin brought the bloody-minded and perjured Prussian king on his knees before the injured People-and a republic was onthroned in the capital of the Cæsars.

Kinkel joined the democratic party, was elected a member of the Prussian National Assembly, and took his scat on the extreme left. The revolution progressed. The Prussian king and the German princes proved themselves traitors. Baden became the theatre of a sanguinary strugglo. In one of the conflicts, Kinkel-who had joined the revolutionary army as a volunteer-was wounded in the head and

takeu prisoner by the Prussians.

Nearly all the leading revolutionists who fell into the hands of the Prussians, were put through the mockery of a trial by court-martial, and mercilessly shot. Kinkel was condemned to death, but escaped the fate of so many of his comrades, his sentence being commuted to imprisonment with hard labour for life. They clothed him in the dress of the vilest criminal, shaved his head, and gave him the worst prison food. They deprived him of all books except the Bible, and made him wind wool from half-past four in the morning until five in the evening-until his right arm was lamed and wellnigh uscless. In one year his intense sufferings had wrought such a change in him that his own daughter did not recognise him. This continued for twelve months, when he was tricd with others for taking part in storming an arsenal. His defence overpowered every heart. Even the soldiers guarding him were affected to tears. All the ac-

cused were acquitted, but Kinkel remained under sentence, of imprisonment for life. His wife attempted to speak to him, but was brutally driven back by her husband's gaolers. Sho was about to retire in despair, when Kinkel cried cried out in a loud voice, "Jane, come to me: it is thy husband who calls thee!" Thereupon the soldiers lowered their arms, permitted hor to approach, and she shed bitter tears on the bosom of her husband. He was then transported to the jail of Spandau near Berlin, where he remained until his recent escapo.

The Leader tells the story in a few words:-"An officer's uniform was secretly conveyed to him, the password given him, and by the aid of a duplicate key of his cell he walked out, was mistaken by the sentinel for an officer, and passed without question. What a moment must that have been as he gave the password! What a rolling of the stone from his breast as he fairly stepped be-yond the shadow of Spandau!" Escaping his pursuers, Kinkel passed through France, and is now safe in England,

Kinkel is freo: and our hearts beat higher, and our eyes grow brighter as we read that at least one of freedom's apostles has escaped the hellish fangs of his blood-thirsty enemies. Yet is our joy dashed with grief at the thought of the thousands of political prisoners who are pining in the dungeons of France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Italy, Poland, Hungary, and Siberia. Men of England! let the thought burn into your souls, that, not merely for their own countrymen, but for us also these martyrs have suffered and are suffering. For us, they have sacrificed heart love, and fond affection; home, friends, everything ! to live and die for freedom. Then think of the numbers that have gone down in their blood-who have laid down their bodies as barricades for freedom, and can no more answer when the trump of liberty shall sound its next summons,-

> They are gone.
> When hope's blossoms many-numbered-Stirred as if to burst-When on earthquake-edge all slumbered-Who have man accurst-When our hearts like throbbing drums, Beat for Freedom, ha! it comes. God! they stumbled among tombs.

Freedom's strong ones young and hoary, Beautiful of faith; And her first dawn-blush of glory-Gilds their camp of death.—
There they lie in shrouds of blood,
Murdered where for Right they stood!
Murdered, Christ-like, doing good.

They are gone,
And 'tis good to die, up-giving
Valour's vengeful breath—
To nurse heroes of the living Thus divine is death!
One by one, dear hearts! they left us, Yet Hope hath not all bereft us Triumph lamps the gap they cleft us.

They are here ! Here! where life ran bloody rain— When power from God seem'd wrencht— Here! where tears fall molten brain, And hands are agony-clenelit!
See them! count their wounds! ha! now
There's a glory where the plough
Of Pain's fire-crown scam'd each brow.

They are here ! In the Etna of each heart,
Where Vengeance laughs hell-mirth! In the torture-tears that start O'er their glorious worth! Tears? ave, tears of fire! proud weepers!
Tavenge these soul-sepultured sleepers!
Fire! to smith Death's blood-seed reapers.

They are here! In the starry march of Time, Beating at our side!
Let us live their lives sublime,
Die as they have died!
God shall wake! these martyrs come
Myriad-fold, from their heart tomb! In the Despot's day of doom.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENCE.

Ernest Jones's Lettea.—In the remarks prefacing Mr. Jones's letter on "The Manchester Conference," published in our "Preliminary Number," it, was stated that only "mutilated versions" had been published in the Star, Leader, and Reynolds's Newspaper. By an inlucky blunder, the copy published in the "Preliminary Number" was a repetition of one of the aforesaid "mutilated versions." The following are the omitted passages; they are placed in the original immediately after the words—"Il ask you can they be our friends?"—(See 3rd and 4th lines from the top of the 2nd column, page 3.—"Though insignificant in numbers, they call themselves 'national;' they are the offspring of morbid ambition, personal vanity, or avarice, and no doubt snug 'secretaryships' and 'patriotic funds' may be in perspective for some of the founders. They are established by poor gentlemen, too poor to be idle, and too idle to work, who cannot afford to wait while the movement developes itself by a healthy and natural course, but dile to work, who cannot afford to wait while the movement developes itself by a healthy and natural course, but
want to force it prematurely,—men who are ready to risk
the ultimate ruin of the cause for their own Immediate
benefit. Fellow-countrymen! how long will you be decelved and led by a few designing demagogues, whose
quarrels and selfishness upset the fabric of power that it
has taken years of toil to create? You have been warned
against poor gentlemen from the ranks of the aristocracy;
I warn you against poor gentlemen from the ranks of the
proletarians, men who have served their claims to gentility
from your pence and your adhesion, and now assume to you
the airs that a true gentleman would never adopt; men
who must keep themselves at the head of the movement,
in order to live without work,—and if driven from that
position, must join the middle class, talk of 'peace, law,'
and order,—to if repelled by them, must create a sectional
and antagonistic movement of their own. These are some
of the men who send their votes of sympathy to the Conference-mongers in Manchester, in hopes that they will be ef the men who send their votes of sympathy to the Conference-mongers in Manchester, in hopes that they will be restored to their forfeited position, or, at least, benefit by the Chartist movement being thrown into confusion. I regret that any one who has deserved greatly of his country should have been deceived into supporting their pernicious views."

L. GLEAVE.—Received. Thanks.

W. B., Rochester.—Please to send your address.

J. GLOVER, Cheltenham.—Send your address.

A. FRIEND, Alloa.—The money collected in the Meadow Mill (3s. 9d.) was acknowledged in No. 22 of the R. R., and was subsequently paid over to the committee. The cost of the Part, including postage. would be 1s.

CHARLES ERNEST, York.—A letter addressed to you has been returned by the Post Office, endorsed, "Not known at York."

THE POLISH EXILES, WHO HAVE FORMED THEMSELVES INTO A WORKI'S O ASSOCIATION. To their English Brethren, who did not abandon them in their distress.—Brethren, who did not abandon them in their distress.—Brethren, who homourable to you, who—though poor yourselves—did not abandon them in their distress.—Brethren, who there is no provide the provide of the provide provide the provide of material wants, the mutually supporting each other, and the cultivating our minds by the acquiring as much knowledge as means and circumstances will allow. To attain that desirable object, we meet once a week, in order to deposit our fraternal studies and the cultivating our minds by the acquiring as much knowledge as means and circumstances will allow. To attain that desirable object, we meet once a week, in order to deposit our fraternal studies and the provide one which we have felt our duty to publicly comminicate to you. As long as work was more attainable, the approach of the winter did not much alarm us; but the porsuasion, that we have eithed in tume that alarm us; but the presuasion, that we have mether time nor means sufficient to provide against the menacing of cold and hunger. The decidency of the winter did not much alarm us; but the presuasion, that we have mether time nor means against the presuasion of the winter did not much alarm us; but the presuasion, that we have mether time nor means against the menacing of cold and hunger. The decidency of the winter did not much alarm us; but the presuasion, the week of the winter of the winter did not much alarm us; but the presuasion, the week of the winter did not much alarm us; but the presuasion, the week of the winter did not much alarm us; but the presuasion of the winter did not much alarm us; but the necessary strength to end the providence has more than the providence has merchally vide to understanting and the week of the winter THE POLISH EXILES, WHO HAVE FORMED THRMSELVES INTO A WORKING ASSOCIATION. To their English Brethren, who did not abandon them in their distress.—Brethren,—The

with the names of volunteers. A charge of one penny is made at the door, and in this way as much as £3 10s, is raised, leaving, after ball rent, music, &c., is paid for, about £1 10s, or £2. We have been at no expense for bills since the first announcement, as we find the audience gives since the first announcement, as we find the addictive gives sufficient publicity to the entertainment. In this way we have been able to render assistance to home and foreign martyrs for the cause of liberty. Our only reason for seeking this publicity is to let others know one way that they may do their duty to the soldiers of freedom.—Your fraternally,

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED FOR THE POLISH REFUGEES. Wm. Myers, 6d.; Barnsley, per T. Lingard, 1s. 3d.; W. B., Rochester, 1s.; Friends at Deptford, per J. Morgan, 2s. 3d.; H. Read, Turnham Green, 1s.

The readers of the Democratic Newspapers are aware of certain unhappy differences which have sprung up-both amongst the Polish Refugees and certain of their English friends. I would not have alluded to this unplea-sant subject could I have avoided it; but I am compelled sant subject could I have avoided it; but I am compelled to do so, that my readers may understand my reason for requesting that henceforth I may be excused from receiving monies for the Refugees. For some time past, two or three committees have been in existence, each professing to be the only legitimate representative of the Refugees. In this state of things I have been in doubt as to which of the Committees I should pay the subscriptions to. In the division that has taken place I understand that the original Committee has elected to confine its labours to helping some twenty-six of the Refugees forming the Society. division that has taken place I understand that the original Committee has elected to confine its labours to helping some twenty-six of the Refugees forming the Society, whose address is given in the preceding column. "The Committee of Metropolitan Trades" gives its support to the Refugees living at the "Fraternal Home,' who number, I believe, upwards of fifty. The monies acknowledged in Nos. 22, 23, and 24 of the R. R., I have paid over to the Trades Committee, (representing the "Fraternal Home" Poles). I had originally intended to divide the money between the two sections of Refugees; but informed that other parties had paid the whole of the cash they held to the smaller section, I considered it the faircst to pay the whole of the money I held to thelargest section. I have the receipts of the several person's to whom I have transferred monies received by me during the last six mouths, which receipts are open to any one who may choose to Inspect them. My friends will understand the unpleasantness of my position, necessarily giving offence to at least one section of the Refugees and their friends. To avoid this, I must decline receiving any further subscriptions. Instead of sending the monies to me, the friends of the Refugees will oblige by forwarding their contributions direct to the committees. Those who wish to contribute to the "Exiles who have formed themselves into a Working Association," will please address money orders, &c., to Julius Czesnicki, care of Captain J. B. ROLA, 39. Upper Norton-street, Portland Place; or to Thomas Ferguson, 3, Gray's Buildings, Elizabeth-st., Hackney-road, London. Those who wish to aid the Poles residing at the "Fraternal Home," will please to address to John Scotter (Treasurer to the Metropolitan Trades' Committee), Rising Sun, Callender Yard, Long-Alley, Moorfields, London.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1850.

OUR MISSION.

To deserve the proud title of "FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE" will be the mission of this publication.

Not by flattering the people, not by pandering to popular prejudice and passion, but by advocating the eternal principles of Truth and Justice-whether with or without the assent of the voice of the multitude-will be the course taken by us in making good our claim

to the title of the People's Friend.

We hold it to be our first duty to assert and maintain absolute freedom of opinion. Every man desires freedom of opinion for himself, but how few are willing to accord the same to others! The government fetters freedom of opinion by laws to restrict speech. and publication. Religious sectaries, prevented wielding the sword of persecution. console themselves by anathematizing each other with all that rancour and bitterness. of heart, which so well becomes the preachers of "peace on-earth and good-will to men!" Even patriotic journalists—with one or two honourable exceptions-prostitutethe press to the service of their petty ambition and paltry egotism, to the exclusion of that freedom of discussion, wanting which every other kind of freedom is impossible. In opposition to usurping rulers, bigotted sectarians, and charlatan "patriots," it shall be our work to vindicate the first of all rights the right to absolute freedom of opinion.

The Rights of Labour will be fearlessly advocated in this publication. The formation and proceedings of Trades' Unions, and other societies for the protection of the working classes, will be faithfully set forth in our "Labour Record." Intelligence of "strikes," and other disputes between employers and workmen, will be impartially chronicled. The progress of labour associations, and other co-operative experiments, will be duly recorded. The completeness of this department of our publication will in a great measure depend upon the assistance of friends belonging to the trades, and other organised bodies of the working classes. Information-early and authentic—on all subjects connected with labour, is respectfully solicited. We shall take occasion, while exposing present evils, to point out the means by which those evils may be remedied, and the Rights of Labour established and secured against all aggression.

The great democratic principle of the People's Sovereignty will be contended for by the FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE, on the ground both of principle and policy. In our eves, no sovereignty save that of the People is legitimate. The abstract right is, however, of less importance than the power for good which the active possession of that right would confer upon the people. For the down-trodden millions the obtainment of political power is a question of primary importance. Exercising the sovereignty of the State, the people would have but to will their social emancipation. and all tyranny, injustice, and class-oppression would forthwith disappear. The abolition of class-made laws and institutions, and the legal establishment of Universal Suffrage, will

inaugurate the reign of the people, the only

legitimate sovereign.

Believing that all the peoples of the earth are brethren, we shall labour to promote the active fraternity of nations. The voice of our brother democrats of continental Europe will be heard through our columns, and an effort will be made to counteract the evils of the diplomatic system of our rulers, by appealing to the people to perform their part in the grand drama of European politics. The renewal of the great conflict between the nations and their tyrants cannot be far distant, and to point out the course which the British people should take in connection with that conflict, will be one of the duties of the FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

ORDER, FAMILY, AND PROPERTY.

BY LOUIS BLANC.

WE have fallen on evil days. The reign of hatred and of brute force has replaced the era of tranquil power and magnanimity, opened up by the revolution We have seen falsehood developed of February. as a scientific theory, and calumny pursued as a regular system; suspicion has watched over every dwelling, and the regime of terror has prevailed in every family. The effrontery and baseness of anonymous informers are unbounded. Paris is filled with spies; the duties of citizenship are confounded with the actions of those wretches called, by the degenerate Romans of the Empire, delators, -whose memory has been handed down by history to the eternal execration of posterity! Yet while the Genius of Evil has been thus busily employed, the Ideas belonging to the future, have spread more and more, and their irresistible power of expansion announces the approaching triumph of the veritable -the democratic and social Republic. What matters it that these generous and noble ideas have been calumniated? They have spread and multiplied in the midst of the base and most shameful attacks, - a snshcient proof that they are invincible. Our adversaries are never tired of shouting-"We are the defenders of order, family, and property!" That is the mask under which they hide, and which must be torn away. The defenders of order? The reign of anarchy and confusion, the state of thing where class interests perpetually come into collision under the leave-alone system, which means the leave to suffer, the leave to die system, -is the reign of Order then! A régime founded upon order is one then, which inevitably conducts to crises and gluts in the comme cial,—and to revolutions in the political, world; it is a system where order is placed between the, bailiff and the executioner; under which prevails an incessant and terrible disquietude, - the disquietude of starvation in one class, the disquietude of fear in another. Order! can it exist otherwise than by means of concord and harmony. If this order they talk about be the veritable order, how could so many people be agreed on the necesssity of troubling it? Would its maintenance depend on soldiers and cannon? True order, which consists in the satisfaction of all rights and wants, in the solidity of all interests,has no need of such protection; it will protect it-They proclaim that order is re-established, when the streets are deserted and the people are starving in silence. But such order is the order of the tomb, the dead do not complain. . They tell us they are the defenders of the institution of family. But we attack the system they dare to aphold, in the name of this institution. Because it does not exist for the proletarian, to whom marriage is only an aggravation of misery; for the father, who is obliged to bury his children, at seven or eight years old, in the living grave of unhealthy factories and mills, where premature and excessive labour and the contact of the two sexes, destroy and degrade them - body and sonl. The increasing nnmber of foundling hospitals, of infanticides caused by want, certainly plead most powerfully for the ex-

isting social system, - when the question relates to the sanctity of maternal love and the respect due to family relationships! Is this institution efficaciously protected, when starvation is proved to be the most powerful cause of prostitution? And if we look at other classes of society, what do we find? Marriage is simply a speculation, a commercial enterprise, a sacrilegious bargain, where money takes the place of feeling. Family ties are loosened, often altogether broken, by the influence of self-interest. Brothers are furiously quarrelling over their paternal inheritance; children engaging in lawsuits with their parents, before judges too much accustomed to such unnatural strife. And the indefatigable apologists of the social system which authorises all these horrors, do not shrink from pronouncing the word family! That word which one can never hear without emotion, so much does it express of what is gentle and sacred! They pretend to be the defenders of property. But if property be a right, as they themselves allow, why do they seek to maintain it as a privilege? If it be true, as they have the impudence to acknowledge, that property is one of the Rights of Man, a right inherent in human nature,-why do they reject institutions, which, by generalizing the use of the instruments of labour, would make this right of property accessible to all? Is it, that in their eyes, the poor are not human beings? Isithat proletarians are not men? And why will they not recognise the right to work, which even Turgot allowed to be the most inviolable of all Why do they not promote association, by means of which the right to be employed could be so easily realised? Ah! it appears that the race of men yet exists, of whom Necker said,—"if, after appropriating the air, as others have appropriated the land, they could invent machines for condensing the air here, and rarifying it there, they would exclaim, we have the right of regulating the respiration of the whole human race!" No, the friends of family, property, and order, are not those who wish these things to exist as privileges, as the exclusive possession of a few persons. The Socialists are true defenders of family, property, and order. For the Socialists demand that the principle of association be substituted for that of competition; the solidarity of interests for their antagonism, the union of forces for their rivality, certainty for hazard, harmony for anarchy. And that is what constitutes order. The Socialists demand the abolition of enpidity and want, as the two chief causes of the weakening of domestic ties amongst one class of society, and the total dissolution of these ties amongst another. And that would be protection for the institution of family. The Socialists demand that every one should be assured not only of finding work, but of receiving the truits of his labour. And that is the only stable, because it is the only true, foundation of property. Such are principles whose triumph will be the advent of the honest Republic, the democratic and social Reublic. They are blind indeed who do not see that this triumph is near! They are mad who think it is impossible. The destruction of the proletariat, such is the historical work reserved for the nineteenth century. A great and glorious work, worthy of our devotion to it!

ENGLISH CARDINALS.

THERE have not been very many English Cardinals. Of course every one is aware that one Englishman attained the rank both of Cardinal and Pope, Nicholas Breakspeare, Adrian IV. In 1406, Langley, Bishop of Durham, was created a Cardinal by Pope John XXIII. He was little distinguished as a polemic or a scholar, and the probability is, that this was a compliment to the wealthiest and most powerful British see: to the only Bishop who coined his own money, had his own legal courts, and was, ex-officio, secular Sovereign of two important counties. sey was the next Cardinal, we believe. A pluralist to an unprecedented and an unfollowed extent, yet a liberal patron of polite culture in its every form. One cannot Hunt's Journal.

wander about the gardens and galleries of Hamp ton Court and be severe upon his memory : and, after all, the Wolsey of Shakspeare will efface the Cardinal of history. John Fisher was the next Cardinal. A conscientious, brave, and simple man. He believed in the Maid of Kent: he was the only Bishop who protested to the last against the divorce of Henry from Catherine, in defiance of that monarch's fury: he refused to acknowledge the Royal supremacy, when Henry spoiled the spoiler, and assumed the headship of the Church. Cast into prison by Henry, he remained resolute to the last, though treated with the utmost severity in the dungeons of the Tower, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, with serene composure, in his eightieth year, while his Cardinal's hat was yet in France on its journey hither. A headless, hatless, hapless Cardinal! It is supposed that his death was caused by the injudicious kindness of the Pope. King Henry's design was to let Fisher lie in the Tower till age and infirmity removed him. The Popc compassionating the sufferings of his brave adherent, and thinking that as a cardinal he would meet with some respect from the King, raised him to that dignity and forwarded the scarlet hat. But Henry caused it to be seized at Calais, and after discovering that Fisher was prepared to receive it with honour, exclaimed :--"Ah! is he then so lusty. Well, let the Pope send him a hat an' he list. Mother of God! he shall wear it on his shoulders then, for I will leave him never a head to set it on!" Which brutal joke the Monarch soon rendered a practical one. Pole was raised to the scarlet the very year after poor Fisher's death. By the mother's side he was a blood relation of Henry VIII. He, however, took the same view of the supremacy question as John Fisher, though in a less open, less heroic manner. He took care to place the British Channel. He took care to place the British Channel between him and his implacable relative, directly he perceived disgrace inevitable. During the lifetime of Henry and Edward, he was Poste restante on the Continent, which means never resting long in one locality. Proud of any Englishman of condition to advocate the Papal side, more especially of a relative of the rebellious King, the Pope made Pole a Cardinal while only in Deacon's orders. He, however, prudently declined exhibiting his Scarlet in England till the accession of Mary; and then he revisited his native land, his creed and himself being in the ascendant. What share he took in the bloodshed of that period is uncertain; he certainly accepted the Primacy on the martyrdom of Cranmer. He lived not to see the reverse again, dying within sixteen hours of his sanguinary mistress. The next Cardinal was a son of the Earl of Arundel, a certain Cardinal Howard. who figured in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Henry Benedict Stuart, grandson of James II., and brother of the unfortunate Charles Edward, was created Cardinal and Bishop of Frascati about the time of his brother's ill-fated attempt on England. As he was previously called Duke of York, he changed his title to Cardinal of York. On the dcath of Charles Edward in 1788, he assumed the phantom of British sovereignty, coining a few coins and medals, pro forma. He died at Rome in 1808. Strange to say, Sir Walter Scott professed loyalty to the house of Stuart till his death, and only after that event looked favourably on the house of Hanover. When Charles X. was driven from the throne of France, to make way for the Citizen King, he found a temporary asylum at Lullworth Castle in Dorsctshire, the seat of Mr. Weld. A gentleman of the Weld family was created a Cardinal in consequence; and is but lately deceased. completes the list, we believe, to the present Cardinal Wiseman, who assumes the Scarlet with a different intention and under different auspices

GEORGE SAND.

BY JOSEPH MAZZINI.

[WE purpose to lay before our readers some of the most beautiful portions of the writings of "George Sand;" commencing with Consucto. Preparatory thereto we reprint the following analytical review of her life and writings, penned by her illustrious

friend, the Roman Triumvir.]

But a few years ago and George Sand was, here in England, prejudged an outlaw. There was a terror in her name, a triple censure—religious, political, and social—upon her books. People took great care not to read them—they contented themselves with judging them. The few minds hardy enough to venture into the abyss were eautious not to avow it; they confessed to Paul de Kock and Balsac. From the height of its Gotbic watch-tower sounded the alarm-gan of the old Quarterly. Let the enemy but touch British ground with the sole of his foot, and public morality was evidently rnined for ever. The enemy has now penetrated to the very heart of the kingdom. George Sand is read, admired, and loved. And strange to say, we do not anticipate that by so doing it will materially affect public morality.

There is in this simple fact, in this decisive change of opinion, as its regards the powerful writer who bears the name of George Sand, something more than a caprice, a passing infatuation. There is an evidence of true progress; a precious result of several beneficent and honourable causes which are at work, the inevitable action of which the few chosen souls have long watched in silence; and which it is well to point out at the present

time.

First, there is the all-powerfulness of genius. Between this sun of the soul, which God has placed as a beacon between ourselves and him, at an elcvation far above us, and the millions of men who must strengthen and enlighten themselves by it, hypocritical prejudices, the low hatred of mediocrity, the petty reactions of the idolators of the past, the cowardly uneasiness of disturbed indolence. may accumulate thick unwholesome vapours; but it is only for a time; and the immortality of genius can wait patiently for its day of triumpb. All those who have watched the sunrise upon the Alps from some lofty peak have seen, as I have from Mount Cenis, first, the night, the vast night, sad and void, but in which one would say a creation was elaborating itself-then the first ray of light trembling upon the horizon, vague and pale like a timid and uncertain hope; then the long line of fire cutting the blue heaven, firm and decided as a promise; and then, as at a given signal, the sca of vapours mounts slowly from the abyss, grey and sombre as Doubt, extending itself like a shroud between the earth and the star of day, rising like a bad thought betwixt the world and truth; to which succeeds the strnggle eminently poetic between the orb, apparently beamless and lifeless, and the rolling mist, here black as envy, there dull and heavy as senseless ignorance, a biting cold the while encircling you in its serpentlike folds, threatening your heart like uncertainty in the hour of trial-until at last the sun, disengaging himself from the cloud, reveals himself high in heaven, calm in his glory, and inundates you, in the midst of the dazzling snows, with warmth and light. Such is the life of Genius. Envy and persecution ; - but on one side of the tomb, it matters little which, assured triumph. You may burn the works of Rousseau in the public market-place; the spirit of Rousseau will survive, it will appear to you years afterwards embodied in the French constitution. You may misinterpret the spirit, and blacken at your leisure, the memory of Byronyou may exile his statue from Westminster Abbey: but the people, who recognise in him the victim of one epoch and the prophet of another, will read, and adopt him as their own, in spite of you; and posterity will end by placing his proscribed statue above the tomb where will lie for ever interred the

principle of aristocracy. You may sound your alarm against George Sand in your old Quarterly, and forbid your youth to read her: you will find some day, without well knowing how, the best places in your library usurped by her volumes. It is not so easy to suppress one of the two first living of writers* of France; and when I say this, I speak of literary merit merely, of what regards form alone.

Another cause is the indestructibility of all roal genuine individuality. You may stiffe, and would to God that this happened more frequently than it does, every thought of the artist who is not true to himself; every talent yoked to the service of a fictitious, conventional, and unreal faith. "Lies," as Carlyle says, "exist there only to be extinguished." And however brilliant and life-like may be the colours in which it arrays itself, the dawn is the sure summons for any spectre in human shape to disappear. But where there is a human being, the reality of a life, the impress of a soul, feeling, suffering, aspiring and diffusing itself abroad, all the powers of the world united will not succeed in annihilating one atom of it. Human nature is sacred; imperishable of God, of whom it is a reflex; death is only for forms. George Sand is a powerful reality. All that she expresses, even supposing it error, is to her truth, it is written with her heart's blood; she would be ready, doubt it not, to sign it with the blood of her body. She has often scandalised and shocked her readers; but it has never been in seeking merely for an artistic effect, or for an eccentricity of the woman of genius. No; she has always believed herself to be accomplishing a duty. With a nature eminently democratic, tortured by the necessity of loving and being loved, yearning mid a stormy life for peace and order, how many times must she not have felt almost frightened at the solitude into which she was plunging? How many times would she not have preferred, had it been possible, to act in all things with the multitude! But there was within her that instinct of strong souls, the fascination of truth, the revolt against the false and the unjust, the ardour of proselytism. And she has always-God knows with what sufferingobeyed this instinct. The form of her aspirations for social reform, and of her religious presentiments, has sometimes slightly changed; she has immediately hastened to declare it. Each of her books is eminently an action. It is a manifestation, I might say a confession, so much is there that is religious in that which characterises her, made without reserve and without disguise, without pride as without false shame, and picturing truly the state of her mind at the time of its production. It has been found easy to invent against her almost all kinds of accusations; but never those of hypocrisy, of jesuitism, or of the vanity of an artist attitudinising or draping herself in order to

But what is more, the individuality of George Sand is not only her own, it is that of her age; it is in this kind of identity that lies above all the secret of the immense repugnance, and the immense sympathy which she has excited. It was felt from the first that there was in that voice, melodiously sad, yet proud and firm, more than an individual inspiration; it spoke the secret of the world around her; the complaint of the age groping onward amidst ruins; the aspiration, vigorous though ill defined, of the coming generations. In that double series, embracing all the high priests of art, from Homer to Goethe on one side, from Dante to Byron on the other, the place of George Sand cannot be doubted. By the peculiar nature of her artistic genius, as well as by the temper of her soul, keenly alive to holy indignation, to exalted pity, and to boundless love, she belongs entirely to the second-to the geniuses who suffer, struggle, and aspire, not to those who calinly contemplate; to those who desire to transform the medium in which humanity works, not to those

* The other is Felicité Lamenais.

who elevate themselves, calm and impassable, above it; to the prophets of the ideal, the future, not to the painters of the real and present. She is born an apostle. Sorrows, uncertainties, hopes, daring, all that characterises a race fluctuating like our own, between a cradle and a tomb, between an epoch which is passing away, and another which approaches, she accepts all, and embodies all in herself. She had encountered every obstacle in our adventurous path; she has been wounded by every thorn; she has dared the edge of each giddy precipice; ever in advance, she beekons to us with her hand, pointing out all the difficulties to be smoothed away, all the gulfs to be closed up. Coming in the days of 1830, after an heroic effort, which those who made it fondly hoped would have advanced the world a step, but which ended in nothing better than a pateling up of the old system, she felt at once that the question of life could not be solved by resting on the surface of a simple political organisation; that it throbbed at the very beart of society; and making a scalpel of her pen, she probed the evil to its very scat, and laid it bare. Whenever this happens in the world's history; whenever some one amongst us, appointed by God for the task, comes to disturb the first impulse of the crowd is inevitably hostile.
"Why troublest thou the night with thy cries?" "Why do you say the demi-gods to Promethe tear me from this welcome slumber?" says the unhappy one, wearied by suffering, to those who urge him onwards; "I was about to lose the consciousness of my miscry; you recall me to it—accursed be ye!" Human indolence and apathy arc the greatest enemies that truth, and the genius which proclaims truth can encounter upon earth.

Behold Byron! he appears, long before George Sand, at the close of one epoch, but before the appearance of the other; in the midst of a community based upon an aristocraey which has outlived the vigour of its prime, surrounded by a Enrope containing nothing grand, unless it be Napoleon on one side, and Pitt on the other—genius degraded to the level of egotism, intellect bound to the service of the past. The future bas nowhere an interpreter; belief is no more, there is its pretence; prayer is no more, there is a movement of the lips at a fixed day and hour for the sake of the family, or what is called the people; love is no more, desire has taken its place; the holy warfare of ideas is abandoned, the conflict is that of interests. The worship of great thoughts has passed away; that which is has but the torn banner of some corpse-like traditions,—that which would be hoists only the standard of physical wants, of material appetites; around him are ruins; beyond him the desert; the horizon is blank; a long czy of suffering and indignation escapes from the breast of Byron; he is answered by anathemas. He departs; he hurries through Europe in search of an ideal to adore; he traverses it distracted, palpitating like Mazeppa on the horse, borne onwards by a fierce desire; the wolves of cnvy and calumny pursuing him. He visits Greece; he visits Italy; if any where a spark of the sacred fire, a ray of divine poetry is preserved, it must be there. Nothing. A glorious past, a degrading present; none of life's poetry; no movement, save that of the sufferer turning on his couch to relieve his pain. Byron, from the solitude of his exile, turns his eyes again towards England; he sings. What does he sing? What springs from the mysterious and yet unique conception which rules, one would say in spite of himself, over all that escapes from him in his sleepless night? The funeral hymn, the death, the epitaph of the aristocratic idea; we discovered it, we continentalists, before his wn country. He takes his types from amongst those privileged by strength, beauty, and individual power. They are grand, poetical, and heroic; but solitary, isolated; they hold no communion with the world around them, unless it be to rule over it; they have no kindred; they live from

their own life alone. They repulse humanity, and regard the crowd with disdain. Each of them says, I have faith in myself; never, I have faith in ourselves. They all aspire to power or to happiness. The one and the other alike escape them. Byron destroys them one after the other, as if he were the executioner of a sentence decreed in heaven; they all die, and a popular malediction wanders round their solitary tombs. This is, for those who read with the soul's eyes, what Byron sings, or rather what humanity sings through him. The crowd do not comprehend it; they listen, faseinated for an instant, then repent, and avenge their momentary forgetfulness by calumniating and insulting the poet. His intuition of the death of a form of society they eall wounded self-love; his sorrow for all is attributed to cowardly egotism. They credit not the traces of profound suffering which betray themselves through his lineaments; they credit not the presentiment of a new life which from time to time escapes his trembling lips; they believe not in the despairing embrace in which he grasps the material universe, heaven, stars, lakes, Alps, and sea, and identifies himself with it, and through it with God, of whom, to him at least, it is the symbol. They do, however, take into consideration some unhappy moments, in which, wearied out by the emptiness of life, he has raised with remorse, I am sure, the cup of ignoble pleasures to his lips, believing he might find forgetfulness there. How many times have not his accusers drained this cup, without redeeming the sin by a single virtue; without, I will not say bearing, but without having even the capacity of appreciating, the burden which weighed upon Byron! And did he not himself break into fragments this unworthy cup, immediately that the ery of new life was heard in Greece; immediately that something appeared worthy of the devotion of his life. Such has been, for I have not in the least departed from my subject, such is still, with a large portion of the society of the present day, the fate of George Sand. And it is this which renders her doubly dear and sacred to us. She has suffered through us and for us. She has passed through the crisis of the age. The evil that she has pictured is not her evil it is ours. It does not come to us from her; it was and is yet around us in the air we breathe, in the foundations of our corrupt society, in the hypocrisy above all which has spread its ample cloak over all the manifestations of our life. Only whilst we, partly from incapacity, partly from cowar lice, have been silent at the risk of allowing the evil to become a fatal sore, she has spoken; she has with daring hand torn away the veil; she has laid bare the festering wounds, and she has cried to ns, Behold your society! She has had not only the intuition but the courage and the sincerity of genius. God! she has had also as much as possible its reward. I do not speak of glory, which, whatever has been done to prevent it, has crowned her; I know well that she values it but little. I do not even speak of something much more precious, -of the small number of chosen souls, the initiated and precursive of every country, who communicate with her from afar, whom her voice encourages and consoles, who rise up stronger from the perusal of her works, and follow all her steps with love and admiration. I speak of the reward which God has given her through her own conscience, by the work of holy calm which has been achieved within her, and which has found its gradual expression in the series of her works. It is this work which it is most essential to point out to all those who would from the present time truly comprehend and judge George Sand. They must embrace her whole career, and follow it step by step in its ascending progress, from the depths and raised nevelf by degrees. There may possibly question which is beginning to fermont in men's exist some danger to the weak in one or other of her isolated volumes, but good, and great good here, of the emany pation of woman, of the determination of her uties and her rights in the world, of Four.

Sovereign good of numan nature,—Bacon.

PARLIAMENT.—Wise men who meet in solemn conclave to represent themselves.—An ill-constructed grate, which gives out smoke enough to fill a nation, but not heat to prevent each other from doing anything.—The Council-of Four. the stagnant vapours of society, up to the clear

of the whole. How may things which appear | to us offensive, out of place, and prosaic in nature, reveal themselves full of meaning, and harmonised in the general beauty of the whole, when the landscape unrolls itself from the high peak, to the persevering traveller! How we shall smile at these sorrows, at these inexplicable discords that we now call by the name of evil, when, the painful eourse of development and trial once accomplished, we can from the height of a superior and perfected existence feel and understand our life in its unity of intelligence, of love, and of power! The law of physical nature, and of our life, is often reproduced in miniature in the task of genius: and I regret that the translator of George Sand has failed to perceive this, and that she has commenced by destroying all idea of progressive order, of the moral and philosophical reationship of her works.

There are two phases, elearly distinctive, and vet thoroughly in unison, since they spring one from the other, in the works of George Sand. The Byronic inspiration preponderates in the first, of which Lélia is the culminating point. The protestation there is bold, obstinate, with an onergy at times startling; the suffering poignant, sometimes to despair. The writer there denounces society as it is, rather than proclaims society as it will be. It is not that the hopes of better things are wanting to her : Indiana, so far as protestation against the actual state of woman is concerned, suffices, by itself, to prove the contrary; for through all the influences of Delmare and Raymond, types of brutality and vice, she preserves for her heroine enough of life to bless and bc blessed, when Ralph, the type of love founded upon sclf-devotion, reveals himself to her. Still, one would say that these hopes are rather the suggestion of the intellect, than a belief of the soul. The expression of them is cold, and almost gives the idea of an after thought. The element of George Sand is, nevertheless, above all suffering: the convulsive sense of her own sorrows uniting themselves to those of the world, and of the reaction resulting from them. By and bye, her thoughts elevate and clear themselves: her looks turn oftener to the future; the religious sentiment, so prominent in George Sand, becomes more and more developed and intense. The turbid stream more developed and intense. purifies itself in mounting towards heaven, and falls again in dew. Calm succeeds to storm; the very shadow of sceptioism has disappeared before faith; faith, sad and without the spring of youth, for its torch does not shine on this side of the tomb; but strong, and unshakeable as all religious conviction. Our earthly life is not the Right to happiness, it is the *Duty* of development; sorrow is not Evil, since it stimulates and purifies: virtue is constancy in devotion; all error passes away; truth is eternal, and must, by a law of providence, trinmph sooner or later in the individual as in humanity. George Sand has learnt these things, and repeats them to us with the sweet and impressive voice of a sister. There is still, as in the sounds of the Æolian harp, an echo of a past agony; but the voice of the angel preponderates. As at a beautiful sunset you may detect yourself, when reading the accents of a brooding melancholy, murmuring -It is not for ever. The admirable Lettres d'un Voyageur, mark the transition point between the two phases which I have just pointed

I have said somwhere in the beginning of these pages, and I recall it when citing Les I.z. t'un Voyageur, which no man could e... ha . 'tten' -that, thanks be to God, George Sand is a woman. It is this indeed which is the last and most important cause of the immense excitation produced by her works. As a writer, as an apostle of religious democracy, Goorge Sand, high as she may be placed, does not stand such alone. What she

the materials for decision were wanting to us; and it was evidently not from our impressions, from our judgments, that we could draw them. We might, indeed, in some exceptional moments of revelation through affection, understand a woman; woman, all that she feels, all that she dreams, all that she pursues, what sanctifies her or makes her fall, what weighs upon her and transforms her true nature, in the true arrangement of society, a woman only could tell us; and no woman has as yet told us. Some women indeed, before her, had endcavoured to deal with the question; but simply on the ground of right, and, as theorists, giving us what the common element of humanity could supply, and nothing more; nothing that a mun could not have written. George Sand is one of those geniuses whose every work contains the image of its author, visibly transferred to its page by her own tears and heart's blood.

Queries .- Whether those who employ neither heads nor hands for the common benefit, deserve not to be expelled like drones out of a well-governed state? Whether he whose luxury consumeth foreign products, and whose industry produceth nothing domestic to exchange for them, is not so far injurious to his country? Whether necessity is not to be hearkened to before convenience, and convenience before luxury? Whether it would not be more reasonable to mend our state than complain of it? and how far this may be in our own power? Whether, in all public institutions, there should not be an end proposed, which is to be the rule and limit of the means? Whether this end should not be the wellbeing of the whole? And whether, in order to this, the first step should not be to clothe and feed our people? Whether there be upon earth a Christian or civilized people, so beggarly, wretched, and destitute, as the common Irish? Whether, nevertheless, there is any other people whose wants may be more easily supplied from home? Whether there be any other nation, possessed of so much good land, and so many able hands to work it, which is yet beholden for bread to foreign countries? Whether she would not be a very vile matron, and justly thought either mad or foolish, that should give away the necessaries of life from her naked and famished children, in exchange for pearls to stick in her hair, and sweetmeats to please her own palate? Whether a nation might not be considered as a family? Whether the way to make men industrious be not to let them taste the fruits of their industry? and whether the labouring ox should be muzzled.—Bishop Berkeley

HENRY VIII. AND THE MONASTERIES .- In less than two years, the King became possessed of all the monastic revenues. The monasteries visited [by the royal commissioners appointed to visit and report upon the state of the monasteries, &c], amounted to 645; of which twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a seat in Parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in secral counties, 2,374 chantries and free chapels and 110 hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to £161,000, which was >; sut one-twentieth part of the national income But, as great murmurs were excited by some on that occasion, Henry took care that all those who could be useful to him, or even dangerous in case of opposition, should be sharers in the spoil. He either made a rift... the revenues of the convents to his principal courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. - Goldsmith's England.

The search of truth, which is the wooing of it—the perception of truth, which is the presence of it—and the belief of truth, which is the enjoying of it—constitute the sovereign good of human nature.—Bacon.

Labour Record.

STRIKE AT THE "CRYSTAL PALACE."—We have received intelligence that this strike continues; and not withstanding the scarcity of employment for painters and glaziers, which annually marks this period as one of suffering to that class of men,—very few have; as yet, been induced to give Messrs. Fox and Henderson's terms a trial—and of those few nearly all have left—being unable to earn "salt to their porridge." It is true that, daily, numbers of men crowd round the doors, anxious to be employed; but they are men who have nothing in common with mechanics,—save the working jacket—the garb of Labour, which they disgrace. Messrs. F. and H. have, no doubt, been already bitten by some of these gentry. In the meantime, visitors to the works report "no progress" in the roof-glazing, which was the department the "turn-outs" were engaged on; and as the covering in is of the first importance, Messrs. Fox and Henderson will be compelled—as the time advances—to yield to the just demands of the operatives. A Committee has been formed to aid the men who have struck, and contributions for that purpose will be received at the Ennismore Arms, Hyde Park.

Easten Countries' Enoine-Drivers and Firemen.—This long-continued strike has not yet terminated. At a recent meeting of the "turn-outs" a vast number of accidents and casualties were reported as having occurred on the line in consequence of the wretched manner in which the trains are worked by the "knob-sticks" who have taken the places of the men on strike. The destruction of engines and other property has been immense. Mister Gooch, who undertook to save thirty thousand pounds in the Company's annual outlay, must have already caused a loss of some thousands of pounds. Within the last fortnight thirty boiler-makers, together with smiths and fitters, numbering altogether hetween sixty and seventy men, have been set to work to repair the damage done by the "knob-sticks." A few more of the turn-outs have obtained employment on other lines. Those who are still out of work-are as determ STRIKE AT THE "CRYSTAL PALACE."-We have received

of the workmen, late in the employ of Caslon and Co.,—who have not yet obtained an engagement at other establishments, possess within themselves all the elements of a complete and thoroughly-efficient Typefounding Establishment, and are now open to an engagement, on condition of receiving London prices for their work. Large consumers of Type will ind that by manufacturing for themselves they will effect a considerable saving in their annual expenditure. It may be mentioned that the most extensive printers in the world (Messrs. Clowes) manufacture their own type. Every explanation and information will be given on application to the Typefounders' Secretary, at the "George" Inn, Foster's Buildings; Whitecross Sfreet, Barbican, London.

Buckingham Palace,—This, like its more modern neighbour the "Crystal" Palace, is becoming notorious in consequence of the tyranny of a certain would-be imitator of Mister Gooch—the Eastern Counties' slave driver. The person alluded to is officiating as foreman over the stone masons engaged on the works in front of this Mansion of Royalty, and (according to a correspondent) exerts his little "brief authority" in forcing the men to labour beyond their strength—subjecting them to endless annoyances, and discharging them on the most frivolous pretences. We advise this gentleman (?) to mend his manners—otherwise we shall be under the necessity of gibbeting him by name, in the "Friend of the People."

The Norther Millocrafts.—In chanexion with the strike of weavers? "Il hands—late in the employ of Messrs. Schofield, """ ase Mill, near Littleborou"h, we have received the collowing address:—To the member. of the Lancashi and Yorkshire Factory Workers Union. The town of carrington may be denominated the "White slave market of Lan "ire,"—In this boasted land of liberty, the Board of ("rdians are publicly advertizing the labour of English L. and English women at any price manufacturers may be dlsposed to offer. At a public meeting held in Warrington, the population assembled in thousands, they none will be induced to accept the miserable p._ance offered by those avaricious; grasping, and monopolizing masters, who are seeking for wealth from the blood, bones, and sinews of an oppressed working population. To obtain hands, the following amongst other means has been resorted to:—the bellman has been sent out in Todmorden, stating that a new mill is being started at Littleborough, and — he place was small, a sufficient number of hands could not be obtained to work the same, and requested any one in want of employment to make immediate application. Now the fact is, there is no new mill starting,

for the mill alluded to has been established more than eighteen years, so this is one of those cunning devices for which these avaricious mill-owners have rendered themwhich these avaricious mill-owners have rendered themselves so truly notorious. But to return to the distress which is existing in Warrington.—The Board of Guardians there will not appropriate what has been collected in poor rates, to those poor individuals who are out of employ, but would rather compel them to seek for work "Away from home and all its pleasures," and sell their labour at any price, which a mercenary individual may be supposed to offer. The Fancy Union has shown its abhorrence of the inhuman effort, and has attempted to alleviate their sufferings by contributing the handsome sum of £50 to their support,—Five pounds has attempted to alleviate their support,—Five pounds has also been sent from Bury,—and Fifteen pounds is to be sent from Ileywood,—and it is humbly hoped that you, my fellow workmen, will contribute your mite towards so great and magnaninous an object, remember that "every little makes n mickle," and that the gratitude evinced by the Warrington people for your contributions, will at least deter them from accepting the miserable wages offered by our inte employers, and you will thereby accelerate the period when the latter will be obliged to pay what is just, right, and rensonable, and stand on the same footing as other manufacturers. Samuel Taylor, Agent to the Union.

A WORKING BOILDER'S ASSOCIATION.—The third society of the kind in the metropolis is in course of formation.

of the kind in the metropolis is in course of formation.

LABOUR ASSOCIATIONS IN AMERICA.—The Journeymen Tailors' Co-operative Union, 134, Nassau Street, New York, are in full business, and have on hand three thousand dollars' worth of stock. The Hat Finishers of New York have formed a Co-operative Union, the capital of which is to be five thousand dollars, and which is to start with fifty members. At the first meeting, which was largely attended, fifty-one names were put down to the list of subscribers for shares of twenty-five dollars each—some of whom design to take four or even more shares. A store is to bo hired, and a system of trade commenced as soon as possible. It is designed to invite all Hat-finishers throughout the city and the United States to combine in a series possible. It is designed to invite all Hat-finishers throughout the city and the United States to combine in a series of Co-operative Unions, in order to protect the labourer, and secure a fair compensation for labour and skill. The association of Tailoresses in Philadelphia has so far succeeded that the workers connected with it receive the highest prices pald in that city. The Moulders of Cincinnati have formed a "Labour Partnership." They have a very large and substantial brick building, erected at a heavy cost, and well supplied with all the means of casting stoves and hollow-ware on a large scale. About thirty men are now employed labouring for themselves and under their own absolute control. As many more can be accommodated.

DUCAL PENSIONS AND THE PEOPLE'S PENCE. The following pensions are annually paid out of the Post Office revenues :- Duke of Marlborough, 4,000l.; Duke of Grafton, 3,407l. 10s.; heirs of the Duke of Schomberg, 4,000l.; making 11,407l. 10s. The first has been paid for nearly 140 years, in addition to the hundreds of thousands received, in other ways, by the great Duke and his successors. The first Duke of Grafton was one of Charles II.'s illegitimate children; and this pension, besides one of 7,191l. 12s., payable out of the excise revenues, has been paid above 170 years. The original Duke of Schomberg was a Dutchman, who fought at the battle of the Boyne; and now, 160 years after, we are paying the same sum to one of his descendants. The payment of the above three pensions absorbs the postage of no less than 2,72. penny letters, without deduction on the expense.

> They are slaves who fear to speak For the fallen and the weak; They are slaves who will not choose Hatred, scoffing or abuse, Rather than in silence shrink From the truth they needs must think; They are slaves who dare not be In the right with two or three.

GREAT MEN-COME THEY FROM THE PEOPLE OR GREAT MEN—COME THEY FROM THE PEOPLE OR THE 'TY'!—It appears from a table, arranged by 'that, while the people have furnished alty-one e world-renowned lawyers, not one ever came from the ranks of the nobility. The pople have furnished twenty-eight statesmen, and the nobility seven; the people, fifteen patriots, like Hampden, Pym. &c., the nobility five; philosophers—the people-eighteen, the nobility none; poets—the —the people eighteen, the nobility none; peniosopners—the people 130, the nobility seven; authors—the people 210, the nobility ten; great commanders—the people thirty, the nobility two; and so on, to the end. The talent, the genus, and the wealth of the country, are of the people; and yet the poblity country are of the people; and yet the nobility consume all offices, all lands, and pretend to a state of refinement, unknown anywhere else, on the face of the globe.

Poetry for the People.

RHYMES FOR THE LANDLORDED.

OUR HERITAGE.

God's gift, the Land, our common heritage,—
To Adam and his seed, and not entail'd
Upon a few! What "deed" hath countervail'd That tenure handed down from age to age ?

God's only curse is labour: with the sweat Of honest brows to e rn the fruit of toil.

He plagued us not with landlerds, to despoil

The labourer of his God-acknowledged debt.

Parcel the measured ocean, fence the air,—
Claim property in clouds and spray-topp'd waves,—
In sun and stars,—in heaven, as in our graves,—
If thou art carth-lord, Tyrant! and God's heir.

SPARTACUS.

CHORUS OF CAPTIVES.

In the great morning of the world, The spirit of God with night unfurled The flag of Freedom over Chaos, And all its bunded anarchs fled, Like vultures frightened from Imans Before an earthquake's tread.
So from Time's tempestuous dawn
Freedom's splendour burst and shone:
Thermopylae and Marathon Thermopylæ and Marathon
Caught, like mountains beacon-lighted,
The springing Fire.—The winged giory
Ou Pmilippi half-alighted,
Like an eagle on a promontory.
Its unweard wings could fau
The quenchless ashes of Milan.
From age to age, from man to man,
It lived; and it, from land to land,
Florence, Albion, Switzerland.
Then night fell; and, as from night
Re-assuming fiery flight,
From the west swift Freedom came,
Against the course of heaven and doom,
A second sun arrayed in flame,
To burn, to kindle, to illume.
From far Atlantis its young beams
Chased the shadows and the dreams.
France, with all her sanguine streams,
Hid, but quenched it not; again
Through couds its shafts of glory rain,
From utmost Germany to Spain.
Let Freedom leave, where'er she flies,
A desert or a paracise;
Let the beautiful and the brove A desert or a paragise; Let the beautiful and the brave Share her glory, or a grave !

SHELLRY.

THE STAR OF FREEDOM.

AIR-"Le Chant du Départ."

The day-star of the Brave Is yet by danger clouded, And Treason rules darkly the air; And treason rules darkly the air;
And the King and the Slave,
In their falsehood enshrouded,
Would doom our free hopes to despair.
Despair, ye Accurst! ye Oppressors!
The hour of the Free turns the glass;
And the steps of the world's Redressors
Shall tread you to dust as they need Shall tread you to dust as they pass.

CHORUS.

The Peoplo's Star hath grandly risen! We are free, and for ever free:
Our earth no more shall be a prison;
No more shall slaves or tyrauts be.

The day-star of the Free
Ascends on high in glory,
And victory dawns on our path:
O ye Kings! what are ye,
We should falter before ye, We should falter before ye,
Or dread the vain threats of your wrath?
Despair, ye Accurst! ye Oppressors!
The hand of the Brave turns the glass;
And the steps of the world's Redressors
Shall tread you to dust as they pass.

cnonus.

The Peoplo's Star hath grandly risen!
We are free, and for ever free:
Our earth no more shall be a prison;
No more shall slaves or tyrauts he.

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KRIND PEOPLE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATE RNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 2.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1850.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."— MILTON.

ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF OPINION.

COMMENCING what I trust will be a longcontinued series of "Letters to the People, I select for my motto the simple yet sublime sentence from the "Areopagitica" of MIL-TON:—"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." Perhaps no sentence of like brevity in the English language, expresses so clearly and forcibly the great Protestant principle of THE RIGHT OF PRI-VATE JUDGMENT, - the great Democratic principle to which this publication is pledged: ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF OPINION.

Of course absolute Freedom of Opinion includes the right to the unfettered expression of opinion by means of both voice and pen. Neither penal laws nor priestly despotism, nor sectarian intolerance, nor mob violence can be permitted to interfere with the freedom of the platform or the press, without violating that right which MILTON wisely held to be the most important and

valuable of all liberties.

For let this right be claimed and maintained by each man, not merely for himself, but also for his fellow-men, and no evil power can prevent the progress of the Human Race from ignorance, error, slavery, and misery, to knowledge, wisdom, liberty, and happiness. A man determined to exercise his right "to know," must necessarily exercise his power to think. Mere blind belief may have no better foundation than custom, ignorance, prejudice, or fear; but knowledge must be based upon eternal Truth. The thinking man is not to be easily duped; and he who seeks knowledge through inquiry and reflection will at least achieve mental freedom, the first and indispensable requisite for obtaining, securing, and enjoying every other description of freedom. A man determined to exercise the liberty "to know," will not long remain a believer in the divine right of Popes and Kings, nor be content to submit to institutions designed to enchain,

dwarf, and corrupt the physical, mental, and moral energies of his fellow creatures.

The exercise of the liberty "to utter and to argue freely according to conscience" would, if permitted by priests, kings, and dominant sects and classes, be all-sufficient to ensure the triumph of Right over Wrong. This well understood our immortal MILTON, when he penned that fine and oft-quoted sentence: -- "Let Truth and Falsehood grapple;who ever knew Truth put to the worst in a

fair and open encounter?"

But when and where has Truth had the fair play demanded for her by Milton as the necessary condition to ensure victory over Falsehood? Alas! the records of History attest that in no country, in no age, has Truth been allowed to engage in a "fair and open encounter" with her ancient adversary. Even in our own time, in this much-vaunted "age of progress," Truth fares not much better than she did in the olden time. To say nothing of the Asiatic and African nations, look at our Europe! See the millions of Russia steeped in absolute brutishness, the abject, willing slaves of a crowned miscreant who proclaims himself an earthly god, proscribes Knowledge, Truth, and Freedom, and to prevent their invasion of the vast hell over which he reigns, guards the frontiers thereof with an impenetrable chevaux-de-frise composed of the knout and the sabre.

In the states cursed with Austrian rule, military ruffianism stifles every attempted expression of opinion adverse to the ruling despotism.* In Germany, "constitutional" mockeries fail to afford protection to those who dare attempt to exercise the right of free discussion. In Italy, the censorship is re-established, and the triple-crowned head of the Papacy conspires with the royal assassin of Naples, and the lieutenants of Austria, to trample out the last spark of that intellectual fire which blazed so gloriously on the altars of the Roman Republic. A journal

published in Naples by permission of the government, and, therefore, devoted to the service of Tyranny and Falsehood, has just published a list of the books absolutely prohibited by the Neapolitan Government - in the original or translations, printed at home or imported from abroad. This list includes the works of Sophocles, Lucretius, Lucian, Shakspeare, Moliere, Schiller, Sismondi, and Humboldt. Judge what chance Truth has of engaging in "a fair and open encounter" in Naples, blessed with the rule of a blood-lapping king, knowledge-hating priests, and liberty hating Jesuits! Freedom of the press is known but by name in France, and freedom of speech through the medium of public meetings, &c., is absolutely denied. The dungeons are crowded with the victims of the great Anti-Republican Conspiracy organized by the usurers, the military, and the priesthood. Montalembert, the lay champion of the Papacy, demands "a Roman expedition against the interior"—that is against the French Republicans, Socialists, and defenders of Free Thought. He pronounces the sword "holy" and blesses it as "the sceptre of the Church." Truth might as well seek fair play under the naked despotism of NICHOLAS, as under the system lyingly denominated a "Republic," of which the creature Buonaparte is the nominal head. It would be superfluous to speak of the other nations of Continental Europe. Even the "Model Republic," across the Atlantic, has not yet learned to respect the Absolute Freedom of Opinion. The political equality of all religious sects, and the absence of any state-church redound to the credit of the United States; but in too many instances the right "to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience" is grossly violated within the boundaries of that great Republic. Turn to our own country. Sedition laws

and libel laws circumscribe and fetter the right of speech and publication. By the operation of the infamous "taxes on knowledge," and cunningly-devised fiscal restrictions, the newspaper press has become a monopoly in the liands of capitalists, and is consequently devoted to the interests of the rich, and opposed to the rights of the poor. The most

infamous journal on the face of the earth is the Times. The newspapers have largely contributed to the outburst of fanaticism which during the last few weeks has shaken "the isle from its propriety." Nothing like free discussion has been permitted at the "No Popery" meetings. Knaves have combined with dupes to raise a "Church and Queen" howl; and the champions of Protestantism, have disgraced themselves, if not their cause, by the exhibition of that intolerant and persecuting spirit which they would fain make the world believe is monopolised by the priests of Romanism.

Advocating Absolute Freedom of Opinion, I of course respect the opinion of those who honestly raise their voices against "the encroachments of Popery." But the rights of Roman Catholics must also be respected. The liberty of opinion, like every other description liberty, "has justice for its rule, and the rights of others for its boundaries." Absolute Greedom of Opinion means freedom for all to know, to utter, to argue, to write, to publish, and to worship "according to conscience." The true Protestant, the faithful asserter of the Right of Private Judgment, will say with Byron:—

"I wish men to be free From mobs as kings, from you as well as me."

This much by way of preface. Future letters will be devoted to an examination of the question at issue between the Pope and the English Church and Government. To "war with all who war with thought," whether Pope or Premier, Cardinalor Bishop, will be the work of this publication. Our freedom-seeking fathers demanded "A Charch without a Bishop, and a State without a King." The same principle, divested of Cromwellan Puritanism, is inscribed on the Democratic banner of the nineteenth century. Spiritual and temperal tyranny must give way to ABSOLUTE FREEDOM OF OPINION, AND THE SOVERMIGNTY OF THE MILLIONS.

L' AMI DU PEUPLE.

HOLY OIL FROM HEAVEN! THE CATHEDRAL OF RHEIMS. In this old town is one of the most magnificent cathedrals of Europe in splendid preservation. The sight seer will remark the curious old relievos on the exterior-the books of the day-to the illiterate peasant, teaching and fleecing him. The rewards of the good are duly set forth, and the devil is not forgotten. Satanic personages with horns and tails, carred in the old stone, are portrayed dragging howling sinners by ropes to a great cauldron where another devil is punching them down with as little ceremony as if they were so much dirty linen in the cauldron of the week's wash. Enter the edifice : few such sights await you; some four hundred few such sights await you; some four hundred feet of length—a ceiling perhaps half that in height, narrow galleries of dizzy elevation, where you can walk round. Here your imagination may summon up the past. In this overwhelming evidence of man's genius, we may revive the political, as well as the religious history of the past. For here were the French-Kings erowned, the highest dignitaries of the Church anointing them with no common oil-no; the sweetest olive or double-strained blubber would not do for the Capets. What then? Learn, verdant traveller, that the oil used for the Kings of France came from Heaven. A pigeon brought a flask from God, in his beak. This tremendous conjunction of ornithology and pomatum is represented by pictures in the church. On the breaking out of the revolu-tion, the artistic records of the event were de-

stroyed, as well as the holy oil flask. But faith can work miracles. So when the Bourbons came again into power, the holy bottle was restored, although it had been smashed to pieces. Physicians who should never countenance cruckty turn army-surgeons, and were not men found who for a consideration mend limbs broken in cold blood, war would cease; so, too, were artists great they would not paint lies and shames for their daily bread, But such being the case, a splendid new picture represents the first King of France about to be crowned by the Bishop, when a pigeon with a flask (not labelled) in its bill, bursts through the clouds, and brings down the genuine article to grease the forehead-an ungent for the royal wheels, to prevent rust. As that babe of grace, William the Conqueror, came from France, it may be presumed that he took some of that oil to England; and it would be a curious speculation to ascertain if there was not a little more of the same kind left to grease the majestic front of Her "Sacred Majesty," that being the quack-adjective applied to her by the Privy Council.—From Notes on Europe by an American; published in the New York Tribune.

THE OLD MAN OF THE CHURCH.

It has been truly said that "The tyranny of priestcraft is ten times worse than that of government, because the former aims at enslaving the mind, which the latter can rarely accomplish, the tyranny of priestcraft is indeed most wicked; an usurping and despotic government may prevent free discussion, it may punish, imprison, and murder those who will not bow to its decrees. All this it may, and frequently does do, but this is tyranny over the body, here force triumphs over right, and though we are enslaved, we are not degraded; but it is very different with priests when they become our tyrants; they meddle first with the mind. they dethrone reason, and violate the sanctuary of truth—they inflict upon us the degradation of being willing slaves, and once enchained in mind, no opposition is offered to the enslavement of our bodles,"-" How slowly has reason extended her empire in Europe! And why? because she has been persecuted in every step of her progress, the priesthood of every denomination have from the first leagued with Kings and Nobles to preventher triumph; every means have been resorted to, to keep the people in darkness, mystery in politicsmystery in religion-and keeping common sense at a distance. Reason has been given to man to enable him to distinguish truth from error, but the spread of truth is never permitted so long as it is in the power of the clergy to prevent it." And this is true not only of Europe but of the whole

William Howitt in his admirable work on Priestcraft" thus pictures "The Old Man of the Church." Sinbad, the sailor, in his adventurous wanderings, once chanced to land on a desert island, in which a strange creature, the Old Man of the Sea lcapt upou his shoulders, and there, spite of all his etforts to dislodge him, night and day, for a long time maintained his station. By day he compelled poor Sinbad, by a vigorous application of his heels to his ribs, to go where he pleased, beneath the trees, whence he plucked fruit, or to the stream, where he drank. By night he still clung, even in his claim, with such anxiety cars to his reach. his sleep, with such sensitiveness to his neck, that it was impossible to unscat him. At length a successful stratagem presented itself to Sinbad. He found a gourd and squeezed into it the juice of the grape, and set it in a certain place till it had fermented and became strong wine. This he put to the mouth of the Old Man of the Sea, who drank it greedily, became drunk, and fell asleep so soundly, that Sinbad unfolded his clinging legs from his breast, hurled him from his shoulders, and, as he lay, crushed his head with a stone. The adventure of Sinbad was awkward enough, but that of poor human nature has been infinitely worse. The Old Man of the Church from age to age, from land

to land, has ridden on the shoulders of humanity, and set at defiance all endeavours and all scheme to dislodge him. Unlike the Old Man of the Sea: whose best beverage was a brook, he is too well inured to strong drinks to be readily overcome by them. He is one of those drinkers called deepstomached and strong headed; who sit out all guests, dare and bear all spirituous potations, and laugh in invulnerable comfort, over the intoxication of the prostrated multitude. And what wonder? His seat has ever been at the boards of princes. The most sparkling cup has not passed by him untasted; the most fiery fluid has not daunted him. He has received the vintages reserved solely for Kings and their favourites; and though there was blood in it he has not blenched. The tears of misery, dropped into it, could not render it too bitter; the bloody sweat-drops of despair, too poisonous; though the sound of battle was in his ears, he ceased not to grasp the flaggon-it was music, -though martyrs burned at their stakes before him and the very glow of their fires came strongly upon him, he interrupted not his carouse, but only cooled his wine more gratefully. He has quaffed the juice of all vines; presided at the festivities of all nations; poured libations to all Gods; iu the wild orgies of the ancient German and British forests he, has revelled in the midnight feast of skulls, he has pledged the savage and the cannibal; the war feast of the wilderness or the sacred banquet of the refined Greek, alike found him a guest; he has taken the cup of pollution from the hand of the Babylonian harlot, and pledged, in robes of the Gallie Primate, rennnciation of the Christian religion with the Atheist. Lover of all royal fetes, delighter in the crimsoned-cushioned ease of all festivals in high places; soul of all jollity where the plunderers and deluders of man meet to rejoice over their achievements; inspirers of all choice schemes for the destruction of liberty and genuine knowledge, when the vintage of triumphant fraud ferments in his brain, till the wine of God's wrath in the shape of man's indignation, confound him-what shall move him from his living throne? From the days of the Flood to those of Queen Victoria of England, he has ridden on, exultingly, the everlasting incubus of the groaning world !'

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

RED-STOCKINGS versus LAWN-SLEEVES.

OLD. Mother Church is all in a twitter at the bare idea of certain naughty Popish attempts to poach on her sacred manor. A fearful shriek of clerical woe has been raised from one end of England to the other, while faithful Protestants have duly responded to the call of the "pulpit drum ecclesiastic" by frantic "No Popery" battle shouts, and the sacrifice of innumerable Guys. Any act of the imbecile old man, who at present so unworthily occupies the chair of Gregory the Great, -or any amount of silly fanatical clamour that could be raised in this silly fanatical country of ours, would be unworthy of your notice, my Proletarian Brothers, -were it not that these things have elicited an expression of opinion from two "illustrious personages," two of the highest authorities "as by law established in Church and State;" namely, from the Bishop of London, and Lord John Russell. Constitutional authorities both. repositories of the accumulated "wisdom of our ancestors"—surely if a solution of the great question of the ago is to be looked for at all, we might look for it at such hands. And if the rulers of society have not the remotest glimpse of the idea agitating the minds of those they aspire to govern, -not the faintest notion of the social problem of the age they pretend to direct and represent,—they should have the grace to remain silent. But the Bishop rambles in a distracted manner through a "charge" about the size of an octavo volume, the Whig Prime Minister fills a long letter with the silliest twaddle about "a nation which has so nobly vindicated its right to freedom of opinion,

civil, political, and religious;" yet neither of these gentlemen really say anyhing, though they speak at great length. Both the Bishop and the Minister are extremely alarmed, but it is satisfactory to learn that the "alarm" of the latter, is "not equal to his indignation;" and that he relies on "a nation which looks with scorn at the laborious endeavours which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul."

Well crowed, little Bantam! A shrill blast that on the trumpet of constitutional Whiggery, a good specimen of public-dinner liberal elaptrap! dare any onc-even a Whig official-prate about Freedom, when the laws relating to'sedition and high treason are so loosely framed (purposely, I opine) that any protest against the present shameful system of class legislation, of misgovernment and no-government, can be construed as treason, and punished by transportation and imprisonment? Whilst, on the one hand, the felon's doom, -on the other, the persecution and hatred of the "respectable classes," await all those who affirm that the Proletarian is also a human being; that wagesslavery ought to be abolished; that the Propie ought to have an equal share with the privileged, legalised horde of bandits, who have hitherto monopolized all the advantages of civilization,—whilst this is the case, it is an insolent mockery to talk of Freedom. The felon's doom, did I say? Murderers are never starved to death-like Sharp and Williams; thieves are not insulted-like Brnest Jones. It disgusts one to hear the sacred name of Freedom thus blasphemed; the highest and neblest law of Humanity profaned by a "red-tape talking machine," who babbles he knows not what. Evidently, there is no solution of any problem whatsoever to be expected from such a source. Poor governor of practical England in the enlightened nineteenth century! Do Whig chimeras of "freedom, civil, religious, and political"-feed the hungry, clothe the naked, or empty the jails and workhouses which have been filled by leaving ignorance and famine to make their home in the dwellings of the poor? Will all this preaching about constitutional fictions,—now fast be-coming an intolerable nuisance—will it reolaim the 15 million acres of land at present lying waste and useless, but which would, if properly cultivated with the spade furnish the means of comfortable subsistence for 60 millions of "surplus population?" Yet no l prate, prate, prate, goes his lordship,—like all their lordships, past; present, or to come. A chattering, mischievous magpie, with a constitutio al chorus of 658 geese. Turn we now to the Bishop. Let us see in what way a spiritual guide of men in these distracted times, proposes to aid our temporal head in resisting the papistical efforts "which are now making to confine the intellect and enslave the soul." How does old Mether Church come up to the rescue? Why, as I think, in a very inefficient, hobbling limping. "old Mother Hubbard who went to the cupboard," sort of way. The aim of Popery being the confining and enslaving of the intellect and soul, I presume the aim of the Anglican Church and of all true Protestants is the opposite of this; namely, the enlargement and liberation of the intellect and soul. How then, does the Bishop propose to forther this Protestant aim? Simply, by stifling all free thought, all free inquiry, hy preventing the development of the intellectual and moral nature of man beyond the limits of a few narrow episcopalian symbols and dogmas; hy "oonfining the intellect and soul" strictly within the inviolable precincts of the Thirty-nine Articles! In this "Charge" (of the church militant), I find the following astonishing sentence,—the Bishop, after premising that the Latin Church addresses herself to the senses of men by "mummeries," and to their understandings by "snhtle dialecticians and persuasive orators"—hopes that "none of you will give the least countenance to their proceedings nor run the risk of impairing the strength of your own convictions, and of weakening your attachment to the Church of which you are members, by attend-

ing any of their services, or listening to their lectures." For the Thirty-nine Articles substitute the decisions of the Council of Trent, for the Anglican Bishop substitute the Romish Cardinal,—and then show me in what the two churches—the Papist and the so-called Protestant—differ. They unite in repudiating the principle of free enquiry: they both impose an outward restraint upon the mind; they both assume that points of faith ought to be decided by some other authority than that of individual men, each for himself.

HOWARD MORTON. (Concluded in No. 3.)

COMING OUT OF EGYPT.

FULL of grand and glorious meaning is that old tradition of the Israelites coming out of the land of bondage. The people are crushed and ground into the mire of misery—they must ery aloud in their desolation when there is none to answer, and suffer in their sorrow when there is none to save; they must plod on, in the night time of sore affliction and the dark days of adversity-bear the stripes of the cruel taskmaster's lash, evon make bricks without straw, before the deliverance comes. Then arises the Moses, and smites the bonds that bind them to the chariot-wheels of despotism, and champions them in the noble march to freedom. They go up out of Egypt, and pass the Red Sca of fierce tribulation. Forty long years of toil and travail, must be wrought out with tears and agony-sweat in the wilderness. Then comes the ascent of the Mount Pisgah, and behold the houndless heauty of the promised land !

Brothers, the peoples of the world are now about to go up out of Egypt, the land of slavery and the shadow of death! They have suffered horrors unknown to the denizens in the land of the Pharoahs. Mothers and Fathers torn asunder in their old age and thrust out of existence in the parish hastille. Sons driven to choose hetween starvation and the hulks, daughters thrust beneath the feet of the trampling town, and little children torn in their early infancy from the arms of their mothers, to carn their own dear bread by eternally taxing their tender strength and cheapening their flesh and blood-thousands of these are born annually even as the silkworms are, for the young life to be wrung out of them, and fashioned iuto aristocratic raiment and splendid attire. Having horne and suffered all the misery which is chronicled in the lives of the poor, they will now go forth toward the land of promise. The deliverer, the Moses, has arisen, and the land is already ripe with preparations for the coming journey. may not live to see the day when the people shall hurst the last manaeles of tyranny-for it is written that of all the multitudinous host which went up out of Egypt, there were but few lived to look on the Canaan of their aspirations; even so may we fall by the way and perish. Yet, Ohmy Brothers, while the day of our being is yet at the full-ere the night cometh when no man shall work, let us work in earnest to basten the time, let each of us resolve to live a life which shall break at least one fink of Error's mighty chain, and the people shall soon go free! Let cach of us resolve to pluck up one weed, and humanity shall speedily become a garden of flowers. Hold on, and let not the heart die within you, my Brother, -though you are toiling and teiling with no other interest in life then to toil and to suffer-though you have run the gauntlet of misery-and in this glorious God's world with its rich over-brimmings of plenteousness and its boundless wealth of blessings and beauty-seem to have no part nor lot save to toil in darkling despair. You were not fashioned thus divinely to slink and skulk about the world as though you were a helot and interloper; your place is here! your work is here! and you were not meant to droop and suffer, believe that. Even now I see a light burning in your eyes which is the light of knowledge, knowledge which shall enable you to conquer the evil circumstances

which surround you with such untoward influences. All this toil and sufering and martyrdom for faith in progress has not been in vain. Not in vain have the armies of death-devoted lived martyr lives and died the martyr's death. Not in vain has their heroio thought been spoken, or their daring deeds been done. Not in vain is the earth watered by your sweat and tears. Not in vain do these groans and lamentations go up to God. For martyrdom and victory are twins. Still hope, still work on, my suffering brother, though you may never become great as the world goes, though your life may not stand as a glorious pillar of strength in the new temple of humanity, yet there needs lath and plaster as well as pillars to build with, and better is it to be as lath and plaster in the Temple of Freedom than to stand as strong pillars of great strength in the tabernacles of Tyranny.

Brave spirits are abroad, they are starting from our midst, I mark them in the hidden ways of life doing the work of God's own lion-hearted heroes! laying their lives on the altar of their faith. world may little need their proud daring, their majestic struggling, and their silent sufferings now, but ere long shall the up-thundering sound of their mighty workings dash down barrier and mound and put the world to shame. The trumpet of the time gives no uncertain sound, it oalls upon all the truth and manliness which is in men, and bids them prepare for the on coming battle. Let the hypocrite and the mammonite, war's crimson worshipper, and the worn hack of expediency slink to their hiding-holes and blind their eyes like the ostrich in the sand, all true hearts will leap up at the sound of the battle, with war to all shams and hypocrisies; and strike heart-home at all cowardice and slavery: sloth and oppression have yet to he started by such utterances from poverty's nether hell of torture, as all their silken pillows will not drown; only rip up the surface of this silken seeming, there lier a weltering hell of misery and wretchodness from which the smoke of torment ascends, ever ascends. Toil was not meant to be a curse, nor the destiny of the toiler hopeless want and endless.drudgery; nor because we refuse allegiance to kingeraft, priesteraft, and aristocraft are we about to how the divinity within us at the shrine of the mammonites, the golden calves! No chivalry have they, no altar of love in their hearts, with their gilded hypocrisy, yelept respectability; and their hearts a yearn for nothing nobler than breeches-pecket music; we shall not prostrate onrselves before the Juggernant of any such tyrannywhich is the sediment filtered from all past tyrannies. The people are coming out of the land of bond-age—they will pass through the long wilderness of this competitive strife—and the tyrants will yet pass through the Red Sea of the people's hatred; and though we who are now sowing the grain of our being for the future food of humanity-though we may not reap the fruit of our own toil-yet shall the harvest come in its own good time, even though it be garnered above our

GERALD MASSEY.

INTERESTING FACTS .- Why have white veils a tendency to promote sunburn and freckles? Because they increase the power of the sun's light .-Why does a flannel covering keep a man warm in winter, and ice from melting in summer? Because both prevents the passage of heat from a man and to the ice. - Why does a person with a cold in the head, catarrh from the eyes and nose, experience more relief on applying to the face a linen and cambric handkerchief than one made of cotton? Because the linen, hy conducting, readily absorbs the heat. and diminishes the inflammation, while the latter, by refusing to give passage to the heat, increases the temperature and the pain .- Why is loose clothing warmer than such as fits close? Because the quantity of imperfectly conducted air thus confined around the body resists the escape of the animal

NOTICE TO READERS.

Although my health is sufficiently restored to enable me to relieve "The Committee of Friends" of the onerous task of preparing the current number of the Friend of the People, I am not yet in a position to do entire justice to the publication, nor to fully realize the views I entertained when announcing the present series. I hope that in a week or two all need for explanations or apologies of this kind will have ceased. I beg to express—in the fewest possible words, but with the most sincere feelings of gratitude—my heart-felt thanks to Messrs. Holyoake, Jones, Pettie, and the rest of the "Committee of Friends" for their truly fraternal kindness, and brotherly services during my severe illness.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

NOTICE.

WE have received a number of letters from friends in various parts of the country expressing their good wishes, and their desire to assist in promoting the circulation of the Friend of the People. We beg to apprise our friends of one mode of helping this journal. We have had printed a considerable number of "double-crown" placards, containing a bold and striking announcement of the title and principles of this publication; these placards we wish to have exhibited in the principal towns, either by being posted on the walls, or by being carried about on boards, or perambulating advertising vans. Some of our correspondents have offered, in the name of themselves and friends, to defray the expense of exhibiting placards if supplied with them. If half-a-dozen friends in every town of importance will follow this example, the Friend of the People may be extensively advertised. The placards could be forwarded through the local bookseller's London parcels. Friends applying for placards must state through whose parcel they are to be sent, taking care to give the name of the local bookseller and London publisher. Copies of a smaller bill (crown octavo) intended for news-agents' shops, and which friends will oblige by distributing, will be forwarded with the placards. Address to G. J. Harney, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, London.

POLISII REFUGEES.

Come ye, who have the cause at heart,
And cheerfully subscribe your part.

To the Demograts of England,—Brother Proletarians—Twenty-six Refugces, who confide in the integrity of the old Committee, are at the present time in a state of the old Committee, are at the present time in a state of the old Committee, are at the present time in a state of the old Committee, are at the present time in a state of the old Committee, are at the present time in a state of the old Committee, are at the present time in a state of the old Committee, are at the present time in a state of the funds at their disposal, feel themselves fully justified in stating that the unfortunate exiles possess a powerful claim on the sympathics of all who desire the emancipation of the human family. They having fought under those lion-hearted warriors and leaders—Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and Guyon—up to the period of the betrayal of the noble Hungarian struggle by the black-hearted treacherous fiend, General Georgey. During their sojourn in this country, they have been working at slipper making, and other humble occupations, and when at work would not receive a fraction from the funds; but at the present time, work having failed, are without the means of earning their subsistence. The Committee therefore trust that this appeal to the Proletarian classes will be heartily responded to. Our Polish friends receive 6d. a day, out of which they have to pay 3d. for lodgings. They are desirous of obtaining work, and would be glad to receive intelligence of any employment. A charge having been made against the Committee, that, at the Cowper-street meeting, fearing a disturbance from certain Polish Refugces from Turnmill-street, they engaged a number of policemen; the Committee beg to state that they never agreed to, nor sanctioned, at any of the Committee meetings, any police interference; they, therefore, altogether repudiate the charge.

Subscriptions and communications received by A. E. De-la-force, Secretary to the Metropolitan Trades, 10, North-squa

* When the Commtitee can pay them.

the Crown and Anchor Locality, Waterloo Town; II. Styles, Secretary to the East London Scientific Institution, 11, Nelson street, Hackney-road; J. E. Moring, City Locality, 26, Golden-lane, Barbican; J. Arnott, Secretary to the National Charter Association, 14, Southampton-street, Strand; Captain Rola Bartochowski, 39, Upper Norton-street, Portland-place; the Leader Office, Cranecourt, Fleet-street; and Thomas Furgusson, 3, Gay's-buildings, Elizabeth-street, Hackney-road, Secretary to the Polish Committee.

WILLIAM DAVIS.

J. J. BEZER.

Sub-Committee.

} Sub-Committee. J. J. BEZER. J. J. BRISCK,

THE FRATERNAL HOME.—Friends willing to assist the Fifty-six Polish Refugees, located at the Fraternal Home, are requested to address to the Treasurer, Mr. John Scotter, Rising Sun, Callender-yard, Long-alley, Moorfields, London.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1850.

THE PRUSSIAN TRAITOR.

THE strongest words would fail to give adequate expression to the feelings of scorn and indignation which at this moment fill the hearts of those who have watched the course, and marked the doings, of the royal traitor of Prussia.

As we anticipated, he has betrayed the Hessians and Holsteiners; has consented to league with Austria, and become in all re-

spects the vassal of the Tsar.

In March, 1848, his Prussian Kingship mounted the black-red-gold cockade, and riding through Berlin proclaimed that he had placed himself at the head of the move-ment to establish the unity of the German Fatherland. Taking him at his word, the majority of the members of the Frankfort Assembly solicited his acceptance of the Imperial Crown. Coveting the bauble, but lacking the courage to face the dangers which possibly would have accompanied the gratification of his ambition, he declined the tempting offer. Probably he hoped to gain the prize by some less direct means, unfettered too by the constitutional guarantees devised by the Frankfort systemmongers.

The Frankfort Assembly was dissolved and dispersed, and the constitutional structure, elaborated with so much labour of tongue, was consigned to the limbo of German day-dreams. His Prussian Kingship thereupon set to work on his own account. Accordingly he concocted a new scheme of union, manufactured a new constitution, and assembled a Parliament at Erfurt. The thing was seen to be a sham, and failing to elicit the support of any party, quickly

perished.

A "College of Princes" was the next dodge. A combination of wolves must be a remarkably pleasant affair for the unfortunate sheep!

The union or alliance of the north German states with Prussia at their head, excited the jealousy of Austria and Bavaria. These "powers," in conjunction with Saxony, &c., &c., determined to reconstitute the old Frankfort Diet, abolished, or rather smashed up, by the revolution of 1848. and Austria were engaged in a diplomatic paper war when the Hessian affair brought 'the German question" to a crisis.

The Hessians were in favour of "German Unity," that is of the Northern, or Prussian Union. On the other hand, the Elector inclined to the policy of Austria. As regards

ruling them after the good old fashion, without the intervention of a Parliament. Accordingly he dispersed the legislature, and attempted to collect the taxes refused by the popular representatives. His subjects refused to cash up, and then like all robbers he tried. or would have tried, the efficacy of brute force; but lo! his army failed him. The troops had sworn to support the Constitution, and to the great dismay of the Elector made known their resolution to abide by their oath. "His Highness" then took to flight, and like other right-divine ruffians who have found themselves too weak to carry out their big threats, managed to show a good pair of heels. No one pursued, no one had raised a finger against him, nor even uttered a threat. As soon as he was beyond the reach of his subjects, he commenced fulminating his denunciations, declaring that he was Elector, prince, and sovereign, "by the grace of God," demanding the taxes in virtue thereof, and decreeing the courts of law, the army, &c., to be guilty of treason for upholding the Constitution. He at the same time applied to the Federal Diet-that is to say the ghost of that delectable body, raised by Austria—for troops to enable him to re-enter his electorate and put down the Constitutionalists by force. His demand was immediately responded to, and large bodies of Austrian and Bavarian troops were marched upon Hesse-Cassel. The Hessian people, having stood by Prussia as opposed to the pretensions of Austria, and looking to the Prussian Government as the representative of Constitutionalism in opposition to Absolutism, imagined that they would be protected by the strong arm of Prussia. They felt assured of that protection when Prussian troops proceeded to occupy their territory. At this crisis the Russian Autocrat inter-

fered, and at a Conference held at Warsaw. dictated the coercion of the Hessians, and the abandonment of Holstein to Denmark. The Prussian representative, Count Brandenburg, assented to these commands, and General RADOWITZ, who affected a war-policy in opposition to Austria, resigned his seat in the Prussian Cabinet. At this moment Count Brandenburg died, and suddenly the Prussian Government, apparently changing its policy, and repudiating the resolutions taken at Warsaw, decreed the organisation of the entire Prussian army, and set about making every preparation for war. The Prussian Chambers were opened, and the king, delivering one of his mock-heroic harangues, declared that Prussian honour and German rights should be maintained, even, if necessary, at the cost of war. "Great sensation" throughout Europe, but greater still when it became known that the traitor had not much more than finished the reading of his speech ere he commenced negociating with the enemy, and that that negociation had resulted in a new act of treason to Germany. created a storm in the Chamber of Representatives, and the cry was raised, "Away with this ministry!" To get rid of this opposition "His Majesty" prorogued the Chambers to the 3rd of January, although the supplies

had not been voted, nor even the ordinary addresses in answer to the "Royal Speech."

The treaty of Olmutz, agreed to by the governments of Austria and Prussia, differs in no essential respect from the arrangement dictated at Warsaw by Nicholas. The mean. his own people, he had a strong fancy for ing of the treaty is, that the brigands instead

of combating each other for supremacy, agree to pursue their respectable calling in concert. Woe to the people when their tyrants fraternise! The governments of Austria and Prussia have agreed that their troops shall jointly occupy Hesse-Cassel, for the purpose of restoring the authority of the run-away Elector. An Austrian and a Prussian commissioner are to be sent to Holstein to command submission to Denmark; in the event of opposition to this command, the Holsteiners are to be coerced by the armies of Austria and Prussia. Lastly, a conference of the German potentates, or their delegates, is to be held at Dresden, for the purpose of re-establishing the Federal authority. In that Conference the German people will have no voice, and whatever may be agreed upon will be in the nature of a conspiracy against German Freedom, and the common interests of the human race.

So much for FREDERICK WILLIAM'S patronage of "German Unity!"

A decree has been published in the Berlin Gazette ordaining the reduction of the Prussian army. After two months' soldiering, the men of the Landwehr will return to their homes to repair, as they best may, the injury caused to their families, and to brood over the disgrace inflicted upon themselves and their country. The famous king who with

"——twenty thousand men
Marched up the hill, and then marched down
again,"

will henceforth be considered a very magnificent personage compared with his Prussian kingship, who placed himself at the head of three hundred thousand soldiers, to betray his country! Never was national humiliation more striking: — an entire people called to arms, not to fight for their freedom, not to combat for their independence, not to conquer or to succour other nations, but to participate in an act of treason to themselves and their father-land!

The "independence of Germany," conquered from Napoleon has become a mockery and a lie. The Warsaw Conference, the Olmutz treaty, the betrayal of Hesse and Holstein have been dictated by the Russian autocrat, who will also dictate the conclusions of the forthcoming conference. Germany has become Russianised, the German Princes are the mere lieutenants of Nicholas, and the sceptre they bow to is the lance of the Cossack. Yet a little while and Germany will enjoy the knout, with all the other blessings of Muscovite civilization!

But no! this shall not be. The aspiring intellect of Germany will not long submit to the brutish, mind-killing supremacy of Russia. The German kings and princes having proved themselves traitors as well as tyrants, perjurers, and political parricides, must be got rid of. For Germany there is but one course of action—Revolution; and that revolution must be radical and complete. No more trust in princes, no more belief in kings, no more Constitutional fictions, and humbug compromises. The reign of the People must supersede worn-out Royalty, and bankrupt Federalism. O haste the day that shall witness the victorious uprising of the German Democracy and the establishment of the GREAT GERMAN REPUBLIC ONE AND INDIVISIBLE.

ADDRESS OF THE ITALIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.
GENTLEMEN,—On the 2nd of July, 1849, after a resistance of two months, your troops took possession of Rome. The Government of the Republic was overthrown.

Your forces entered, you then said after victory—for you held different language before—to protect the Pope against the yoke of Austrian intervention. And now Austria is encamped in the Legations, and oppresses and murders at her pleasure. Sho occupies Bologna—she fortifies herself in Accona.

Your forces entered to restore peace to the Roman States. Your peace is a military partition of territory, maintained by 25,000 or 30,000 foreign

They entered to re-establish public order, disturbed by what you call a faction, to assure to the Roman population good government and true liberty. Such were your promises, attested in your latest despatches, repeated at the tribune, recorded in a dictatorial, almost menacing, letter of the President of France. And the very shadow of liberty has disappeared. Rome is in the hards of a despotic clerical government. Pius IX. has renewed the tradition of George XVI.

We said to you then,—Gentlemen, you are deceived. The faction is Rome and the whole population. A faction is a minority seeking to seize upon power by intrigue or terror. To possess themselves of power, the Republicans of Rome awaited the almost unanimous manifestation of the people, legally convoked and represented. The Republic, proclaimed by a Constituent Assembly, was sanctioned by the spontaneous and pacific expression of adhesion of all the communes of the Roman States. Behold their addresses—verify them. You cannot avoid seeing that a system of terror at Rome would have been, not merely criminal, but impossible. The reign of terror commences only with you; but it will not change the people, and it will obtain nothing from the Pope.

Well, gentlemen, the faction has now been conquered, proscribed, imprisoned full seventeen months. The army is dissolved—the national guard is dissolved—the re-organization of the state from above is complete. What have you obtained from the people? What have you obtained from the Pope?

The People is sad—sombre—irritated; it hates and despises you; and to restrain it, you are obliged to send reinforcements to your corps of occupation.

The Pope has yielded nothing. You would demand from him, you said, the principles of the statute—the laws of your civil code, a complete judicial reform, a municipal and provincial organization founded on election, a deliberate assembly for finances, an almost universal amnesty, and the secularization of the administration. He has given nothing. You declared that there should be no inquisitorial researches into the past: he has replied to you by dismissals and arrests en masse. You boasted* that you would not permit any acts of violence to be committed under your eyes; and some few weeks ago under your own eyes, six persons were executed for past political offences.

Behold, gentlemen, the result of your expedition to Rome, for which you have sacrificed, in the murder of a friendly people, the gold, the blood, and the honour of France.

Gentlemen, seventeen months ago it might have been that you were yourselves deceived; Europe now knows that it is France that has been betrayed —France whose initiative for good is threatened with destruction at Rome—France, whose soldiers take part in arms at the Saturnalia of a power which is expiring, and in the condemnation to twenty years' imprisonment of young men guilty of illuminating their windows with tri-coloured Bengal lights.

Gentlemen, they are your colours which are Sitting of the Assembly of Oct. 18. Speech of the President of the Council.

there condemned; it is your republican flag which is being nailed to the galleys. A thought hostile to your liberty broods over all the shameful episode; it directed your arms against Rome, because that was the price of an electoral bargain; it deals abroad a first blow to the institutions which you conquered in February; it desired to train the soldiers of France to fire, wherever it might be, on the republican flag; it sought a second Algeria; through Rome it prepares a Satory; by the crusade against the Italian Republic it prepares that expedition of Rome against the interior, whichone of your orators announced to you with such audacity, and which your majority, gentlemen, enfecbled, enervated by the crime which you have allowed to be committed, was able to hear proclaimed with indifference.

Members of a National Committee, of which the nucleus was elected by sixty members of that Assembly which you dispersed by your bayonets, and which has been completed by the choice of a great number of Italian patriots, all bound together by the same idea; interpreters of the nows of the Roman populations again subjected by you, to the law of silence, we come, gentlemen, to renew before you and to France, the protest of Rome against your violation of her territory, against the overthrow of her Republic, against the prolonged occupation of your troops,

We protest, in the name of Article 5 of the Pramble of your Constitution—iu the name of your official declarations of the 16th, 24th, and 26th of April—in the name of the solemn vote of your Assembly of the 7th May—in the name of the written declarations of M. de Courcelles, on the 13th of June—in the name of the engagements solemnly entered into at the tribuno by your President of the Council, and by your Ministers in the sittings of the 13th, 18th, and 19th of October, 1849.

We protest, in the name of the imperishable right of nations— in the name of eternal justice—in the name of God, who has created his people for liberty, and not for oppression by brute force.

You may, gentlemen, put down our protest—for a time; you cannot refute it. We said to you, seventeen months ago, restore the right of suffrage to the Roman people, and let it proclaim its inmost desires concerning the Government which you have re-imposed upon it; and we repeat our demand to-day. Summon the people to vote—it will accomplish our victory by the suffrage. Recall your troops—it will conquer for us by insurrection.

You know this, gentlemen, and therefore you will not do it.

You entered Rome, because you dared not forbid the entry of the Austrians into the Legations. You remain there, because you dare not hear the mighty cry of "Vive la Republique," which two hours after your departure would be raised to declare your policy criminal and false.

Remain, then, gentlemen. It may be that the lesson is not yet complete—it may be in order that the national Italian thought, of which Rome has been the cradle and must be the temple, shall have a more resistless outburst—that fer some short time yet all eyes may behold the spectacle of the Papacy depending for its reign on foreign bayonets alone.

But take care, gentlemen, lest Europe should one day say to France, "The nation which destroys the liberty of others has no right to the enjoyment of it herself;" take care lest history say of you, "After, having submitted to the policy of corruption they inaugurated the policy of cowardice. They had neither the frank brutality of crime, nor the blessed courage of repentance."

For the Italian National Committee,

JOSEPH MAZZINI.
JOSEPH SIRTORI.
AURELIO SAFFI.
AURELIO SALICETI.
MATTIA MONTECCHI.
CEBARE AGOSTINI. Secretary.
From the Leader.

Leaves from our Tibrary.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND.

That the reader may the better understand and appreciate the extracts we purpose to give from this enchanting work, we shall connect the several passages by a brief outline of the portions omitted

in this reprint.].

Consuelo, born about a century ago, was a native of Spain; her parents had been poor wanderers. Her father she never knew. Whilst yet a young child she had travelled with her mother through many countries, at last finding a resting place in Venice. In her girlhood she was anything but handsome. Her face was round, sallow, and insignificant. Her short thick hair fastened behind her ears gave to her a singularity of aspect. Her figure was elastic and flexible, but without form, fulness, or attraction. Whether her foot was large or small it was impossible to say, her shoes were so bad. Nevertheless her excellent heart, manifested by her every act and word, won for her the liking of those who could not admire her appearance. People, patting her on the head, said, "After all, you are a good sort of creature." Consuelo was perfectly satisfied, although she knew very well that that meant, "You are nothing more."

At the opening of the story, Conspelo is represented as about fourteen years of age, and a pupil of Porpora, a celebrated professor of music. suelo, inspired by an ardent worship of the divine art, and gifted by nature with a voice of the highest order of harmony, is the favourite pupil of Porpora. Singing at a rehearsal in the church of the Mendicanti, Consuelo is overheard by the Count Zustiniani proprietor of the Theatre of San Samuel. He is enraptured, but on the singer being pointed out to him, he pronounces her appearance execrable, and exclaims in mock despair: "Just Heaven! how canst thou so err as to ponr the fire of genius into heads so poorly

formed ?'

While yet in her girlhood, Consuelo had become the betrothed of Anzeleto, some few years her senior, one of the poorest but handsomest youths in Venice. "Modelled like a young Bacchus, 'his features displayed that singular union, not unfrequent in the creations of Greeian statuary, of careless irony with dreamy melancholy. His fine hair somewhat bronzed by the sun, clustered in Antinous-like curls, about his alabaster neck : his features were regular, and beautifully formed. but there was something bold and forward in the expression of his jet black eyes." "He had met the little Spaniard by chance singing hymns before the Mandonette; and for the pleasure of exercising his voice, had joined her for hours together beneath the stars," He felt friendship for Consuelo, and called it "love." On her side, Consuelo's love for Anzoleto was intense; and she never imagined that he could love any one but herself. Vain and selfish, Anzoleto was unworthy the love he had inspired.

Anzoleto was the protege of Count Zustiniani. Having a fine tenor voice the youth had been sent by the count to Porpora for instruction, but the professor rejected him. Placed under another professor, he at the age of twenty-three was considered capable of being brought out at San Samuel. Put through a final preparatory trial, his efforts were warmly applauded by all but Porpera who, while admitting him to be possessed of genius, declared he (Anzoleto) knew nothing, and had studied nothing, and that his career would be

as the flash of a meteor.

In this crisis of his fortunes, Anzolcto, inspired by vanity, pays his court to Corilla, the handsome mima donna of Zustimani's theatro. She enconvages his advances and from that moment the lover of Consuelo begins a course of duplicity, the

results of which are, his own degradation and remorse, and the misery of his betrothed. But previous to the discovery of her lover's faithlessness, Consuelo is herself engaged as prima donna at the theatre. In the course of a few years her personal appearance has vastly improved. Although not considered "a beauty," she has a noble figure, possessed of fine eyes, teeth, hands, feet, and hair. When she sang, "a divine glow overspread her features, and the sacred fire of genius darted from her large black eyes." By some of the most eminent professors and critics her singing is pronounced exquisite—magnificent. It is required of her to show that she can sing the music of the theatre with as much ability and purity as that of the church. Certain observations from the lips of Porpora cause her to exclaim; "You will frighten me, Oh my Master!" Porpora answers (let the young and the aspiring mark his words!)

"Fools alone are timid. Whoever is inspired with the love of art need fear nothing. If you tremble, it is because you are vain; if you lose your resources it is because they are false; and if so, I shall be the first to say-'Consuelo is

good for naught."

Consuelo obeys the voice of her master, sings, and again excites the most rapturous applause.

At length Consuelo and Anzoleto appear together on the stage of San Samuel. His success is but moderate, hers complete and overwhelming. Anzoleto discouraged and half jealous of the success of his betrothed, has his worst thoughts inflamed by Corilla, with whom he continues his unworthy intrigue. Lured by her and his own evil passions to lower and lower depths of falsehood and folly, Anzoleto passes three days without seeing Consuelo. Thus far we have given an outline of the story preparatory to quoting the

"Surprised to find another day pass away in the solitude of her garret, Consuelo grew uneasy and as still another day of mortal anguish and vain expectation drew to its close, she wrapped herself in a thick mantle, for the famous singer was no longer sheltered by her obsenrity, and ran to the house occupied for some weeks by Anzoleto. a more comfortable abode than what he had before enjoyed, and one of numerous houses which the count possessed in the city. She did not find him, and learned that he was seldom there.

"This did not enlighten her as to his infidelity. She knew his wandering and poetie habits, and thought that, not feeling at home in these sumptuous abodes, he had returned to his old quarters. She was about to continue her scarel, when on returning to pass the door a second time, she found herself face to face with Porpora.

"Consuela," said he in a low voice, "it is useless to hide from me your features. I have just heard your voice, and cannot be mistaken in it. I have just What do you here at this hour, my poor child,

and whom do you seek in this house?

"'I seek my betrothed, replied Consuelo, while she passed her arm within that of her old master; 'and I do not know why I should blash to confess it to my best friend. I see very well that you disapprove of my attachment, but I could not tell an untruth. I am unhappy; I have not seen Anzoleto since the day before yesterday at the theatre; 'he must be unwell.'

"'. He unwell!' said the professor, shrugging

"" Come, my poor girl, we must talk over this matter; and since you have at last opened your heart to me, I must open mine also. Give me your arm; we can converse as we go along. Listen, Consuelo, and attend earnestly to what I say. You cannot—you ought not to be the wife of this young man. I forbid you, in the name of God, who has inspired me with the feelings of a father towards you.

"'Oh, my master,' replied Consuclo, mournfully, "ask of me the sacrlfice of my life, but not that of my love.'

"'I do not ask it-I command it,' said Por-

pora, firmly. . The lover is accursed-he will prove your torment and your shame, if you do no forswear him for ever.

"'Dear master,' replied she, with a sad and tender smile, 'you have told me so very often-I have endeavoured in vain to obey you. You dislike this poor youth; you do not know him, and I am certain you will alter your mind.'

" 'Consuelo,' said the master, more decidedly, 'I have till now, I know, made vain and uscless objections. I spoke to you as an artist and as to an artist, as I only saw one in your betrothed: Now I speak to you as a man-I speak to you of a man-and I address you as a woman. This woman's love is wasted; the man is unworthy of it, and he who tells you so knows he speaks the

"'Oh, Heavens! Anzoleto-my only friend, my protector, my brother-unworthy of my love! Ah, you do not know what he has done for me; how he has eared for me since I was left alone in the world. I must tell you all; and Consuelo related the history of her life and of her love, and

it was one and the some history.

"Porpora was affected, but not shaken from

"'In all this,' said he, 'I see nothing but your innocence, your virtue, your fidelity. As to him, I see very well that he has need of your society and your instructions, to which, whatever you may think, he owes the little that he knows, and the little he is worth. It is not, however, the less true, that this pure and upright lover is no better than a castaway-that he spends his time and money in low dissipation-and only thinks of turning

you to the best account in forwarding his career.' "Take heed to what you say," replied Consuelo, in suffocating accents. 'I have always believed in you, O my master! after God; but as to what concerns Anzoleto, I have resolved to close my heart and my ears. Ah, suffer me to leave you,' she added, taking her arm from the profes-

sor-'it is death to listen to you.'

"'Let it be death then to your fatal passion, and through the truth let me restore you to life." he said, pressing her arm to his generous and indignant breast.

" And you were seeking this evening the man

who may not and cannot be your husband.

" 'Who told you so?'

" ' Would Corilla ever p rmit him?'

" Corilla !-- What has ne to say to Corilla ?" "'We are but a few paces from this girl's abode. Do you seek your betrothed ?-if you

have conrage you will find him there.

"'No, no! a thousand times no! said Consuclo, tottering as she went, and leaning for support against the wall. 'Let me live, my master -do not kill me erc I have well begun to live. I

told you that it was death to listen to you.'
"You must drink of the cup,' said the inexorable old man; 'I but fulfil your destiny. *

"'Mercy, Mercy!' exclaimed Consuclo, pale as death. 'Suffer me yet to doubt. Give me a day, were it but a single day, to believe in him-I and not prepared for this infliction.

"' No, not a day-not a single hour,' replied he inflexibly. 'Away! I shall not be able to recall the passing hour, to lay the truth open to you; and the faithless one will take advantage of the day which you ask, to place you again under the dominion of falsehood. Come with mc—I command you—I insist on it.'
""Well, I will go! exclaimed Consuctor of her

gaining strength, through a violent reaction of her "I will go, were it only to demonstrate your injustice and the truth of my lover: for you deceive yourself unworthily, as you would also deceive me. Come, then, executioner as you

aro, I shall follow, for I do not fear you.'

'Porpora took her at her word; and seizing her with a hand of iron, he conducted her to the mansion which he inhabited. Having passed through the corridors and mounted the stairs, they reached at last a terrace whence they could distinguish over

the roof of a lower building completely uninhabited, the palace of Corilla, entirely darkened with the exception of one lighted window, which opened upon the sombre and silent front of the deserted house. Any one at this window might suppose that no person could see them; for the balcony prevented any one from seeing up from below. There was nothing level with it, and above, nothing but the cornice of the house which Porpora inhabited, and which was not placed so as to command the palace of the singer. But Corilla was ignorant that there was at the angle a projection covered with lead, a sort of recess concealed by a large chimney, where the maestro with artistic caprice came every evening to gaze at the stars, shun his fellows, and dream of sacred or dramatic subjects. Chance had thus revealed to him the intimacy of Anzoleto with Corilla, and Consuelo had only to look in the direction pointed out, to discover her lover in a tender tête-a-tête with her rival. She instantly turued away; and Porpora, who dreaded the effects of the sight upon her, had held her with superhuman strength, led her to a lower story into his apartments, shutting the door and window to couceal the explosion which he anticipated.

"But there was no explosion. Consuclo remained silent, and as it were stunned. Porpora spoke to her. She made no reply, and signed to him not to question her. She then rose, and going to a large pitcher of iced water which stood on the harpsichord, swallowed great draughts of it, took several turns up and down the apartment, and sat down before her master without uttering a word.

- "'Well,' said he, 'did I deceive you? What do you think of doing?"
- "A painful shudder shook her motionless figure—she passed her hand over her forelicad.
- "'I can think of nothing,' said she, 'till I understand what has happened to me.'
 - "'And what remains to be understood?"
- "Everything! because I understand nothing. I am seeking for the cause of my misfortune without finding anything to explain it to me. What have I done to Anzoleto that he should cease to love me? What fault have I committed to render me unworthy in his eyes? You cannot tell me, for I search into my own heart and can find there no key to the mystery. O! it is inconceivable. My mother believed in the power of charms. Is Corilla a magician?
- "'My poor child,' said the maestro, 'there is indeed a magician, but she is called Vanity; there is indeed a poison, which is called Envy. Corilla can dispense it, but it was not she who moulded the soul so fitted for its reception. The venom already flowed in the impure veins of Anzoleto. An extra dose has changed him from a knave into a traitor—faithless as well as ungrateful.'
 - "' What vanity, what envy?'
- "The vanity of surpassing others. The desire to excel, and rage at being surpassed by you."
- "'Is that credible? Can a man be jealous of the advantages of a woman? Can a lover be displeased with the success of his beloved? Alas! there are indeed many things which I neither know nor understand."
- "And will never comprehend, but which you will experience every hour of your existence. You will learn that a man can be jealous of the superiority of a woman, when this man is an ambitious artist; and that a lover can loathe the success of his beloved when the theatre is the arcna of their efforts. It is because an actor is no longer; a man, Consuelo—he is turned into a woman. He lives but through the medium of his sickly vanity, which alone he seeks to gratify, and for which alone he labours. The beauty of a woman he feels a grievance; her talent extinguishes or competes with his own. A woman is his rival, or

rather he is the rival of a woman; he has all the littleness, all the caprice, all the wants, all the ridiculous airs of a coquette. This is the character of the greatest number of persons belonging to the theatre. There are indeed grand exceptions, but they are so rare, so admirable, that one should bow before them and render them homage, as to the wisest and best. Anzoleto is no exception; he is the vainest of the vain. In that one word you have the explanation of his conduct.'

- "But what unintelligible ravenge! What poor and insufficient means! How can Corilla recompense him for his losses with the public? Had he only spoken openly to me of his suffering (alas! it needed only a word for that), I should have understood him perhaps—at least I would have compassionated him, and retired to yield him, the first place."

 * * * * * *
- "''Think of music, the divinc art, Consuelo; you would not dare to say that you love it only for Auzoleto?"
- "'I have loved art for itself also; but I never separated in my thoughts these inseparable objects—my life and that of Anzoleto. How shall I be able to love anything when the half of my existtence is taken away?"
- "Anzoleto was nothing more to you than an idea, and this idea imparted life. You will replace it by one greater, purer, more elevating. Your soul, your genius, your entire being, will no longer be at the mercy of a deceitful, fragile form; you shall contemplate the sublime ideal stripped of its earthly covering; you shall mount heavenward, and live in holy unison with God himself."
- "'Do you wish, as you once did, that I should become a nun?'
- "'No; this were to confine the exercise of your artistic faculties to one direction, whereas you should embrace all. Whatever you do, or whatever you are, in the theatre or in the cloister, you may be a saint, the bride of heaven.'
- shrouded in a mysterious garb. Permit me to retire, dear master; I require time to collect my thoughts and question my heart.
- "You have said it, Consuelo; you need insight into yourself. Hitherto in giving up your heart and your prospects to one so much your inferior, you have not known yourself. You have mistaken your destiny, seeing that you were born without an equal, and consequently without the possibility of an associate in this world. Solitude, absolute liberty, are needful for you. I would not wish you husband or lover, or family, or passions, or bonds of any kind. It is thus I have conceived your existence, and would direct your career. The day on which you give yourself away, you lose your divinity."
- "She took her leave, apparently tranquil, but in reality deeply agitated. The great though austere artist conducted her home, always preaching but never convincing. He nevertheless was of infinite service in opening to her a vast field of serious thought and inquiry, wherein Anzoleto's particular crime served but as a painful and solemn introduction to thoughts of eternity. She passed long hours, praying, weeping and reflecting; then lay down to rest, with a virtuous and confiding hopein a merciful and compassionate God."*

(To be continued.)

* These extracts are taken from the translation published in the series of excellent works, denominated "The Parlour Library."

The only One Thino that Never Changes.—We see from the foreign correspondence of the newspapers that "Prince Taxis has been ordered to make an immediate advance." It is very curious, but directly there is a war, or even the rumour of a war, it is sure to be followed—no matter in what kingdoni—by an immediate advance of Taxes.—Planch.

WHO ROLLED THE POWDER IN?

A LAY OF THE GUNDOWDER PLOT.

They've done their task, and every cask
Is piled within the cell:
They've heaped the wood in order good,
And hid the powder well.
And Guido Fawkes, who seldom talks,
Remarked with cheerful gice,—
"The moon is bright—they Il fly by night!
Now, sirs, let's turn the key."

The wind without blew cold and stout,
As though it smelt of snow—
But was't the breeze that made the knees
Of Tresham' tremble so?
With ready hand, at Guy's command,
He rolled the powder in;
But what's the cause that Tresham's jaws
Are chattering to the chin?

Nor wine nor beer his heart can cheer,
As in his chamber lone
He walks the plank with heavy clank,
And vents the frequent groan.
"Alack!" quoth he, "that this should be—
Alack, and well-a-day!
I had the hope to bring the Pope
But in a different way.

"I'd risk a rope to bring the Pope By gradual means and slow! But Guido Fawkes, who seldom talks, Won't let me manage so. That furious man has hatch'd a plan. That must undo us all; He'd blow the Peers unto the spheres, And throne the Cardinal!

"It's time I took from other book
Than his a saving leaf;
I'll do it - yes! I'll e'en confess,
Like many a conscious thief.
And on the whole, upon my soul,
As Garnet used to teach,
When human schemes are valu as dreams,
'Tis always best to peach!

"My mind's made up!" He drained the cup.
Then straightway sate him down.
Divulged the whole, whitewashed his soul,
And saved the British crown;—
Disclosed the walks of Guido Fawkes,
And swore, with pious aim,
That from the first he thoughthim cursed,
And still opined the same,

"Poor Guido died, and Tresham eyed
His dangling corpse on high;
Yet no one durst reflect at first
On him who played the spy,
Did any want a Protestant,
As stiff as a rattan,
To rail at home 'gainst priests at RomeWhy, Tresham was their man!

"Twas nothing though he'd kissed the Tee Abroad in various ways, Or managed rather that his wife's fathert Should bear the blame and praise. Yet somehow men, who knew him when He wooed the Man of Sin, Would slightly sneer, and whispernear, Who rolled the powder in?

MORAL

If you, dear youth, are bent on truth
In these degenerate days,
And if you dare one hour to spare
For aught but "Roman Lays;"
If, shunning rhymes, you read the Times,
And search its columns through,
You'll find perhaps that Tresham's lapse
Is matched by something new.

Our champion John, with armour on, Is ready now to stand (For so we hope) against the Pope, At least on English land. 'Gainst foreign rule and Roman bull He'll fight, and surely win.

But—tarry yet—and don't forget Who Rolled the Fowder in!

* The traitor of the Guupowder Plot...
† Query.-Lord Minto, Lord John's "wife's father?"

One of the most remarkable instances of sagacity of which we have any record, is Wolsey's remark on the press. Speaking in the name of the Roman clergy, this haughty prelate said, "We must destroy the press, or the press will destroy us." How truly foreseen, and how entirely verified:

Labour Record

Co-operative Chronicle.

TRADES' UNIONS.

AMALOAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS, MILLWRIGHTS, SMITHS, AND PATTERN MAKERS.—From an address prefixed to a published report of the minutes of a delegate meeting, representing the above named trades, held at Birmingham, in September last, we give the following extracts, elucidatory of the objects, &c., of the Amalgamated Society.—'It has long been a fact, apparent to a great number of our members, that the rules of our trade are in a declining position, that its interests are not properly protected, and that evils are imposed upon us, which year by year reduce the advantages we possessed. But now that we have amassed power by our union, we may expect, with prudent firmness, to meet these continued onslaughts with some chance of success. That the trade interests may be properly protected, we have decided upon District Committees in every locality where our Society exists, who are provided with powers to a limited extent; but the great feature of their exigtence will be, their constant communication with the seat of government, the information that they will gather in their districts of the opinions of men, and the practices of workshops, and the great benefit that will be derived from such an intercourse with the various branches of our Society. Expenses will be incurred in carrying out these views, and have been provided by a fund in connexion with the general fund of our society, of 5d. per month per member, which being collected with, and forming part of the general contribution to the Society, will entirely supersede voluntary contributions which have so long pressed heavily on the best members of our society. Another source of power will be the reduction of the number of non-Society will be so great induced the streets in a destitute condition. To prevent surpulsa labour as tar as possible, we must assimilate the hours of labour with the amount of work to be done. Piece-work and "Piece Work." Men have worked twelve, thirteen, and fourteen hours per day, whilst others have walked the streets in a destitute cond

ample, of relieving labour from the oppression of capital, and of giving an evidence to the world of the benefits of association.

WM. NEWTON, RT. SWIFT, JOHN DAVIES, COMMITTEE.

PROPOSED TAILORS' Union.—It is reported that the tailors of Scotland intend to hold a Conference in Edinburgh or Glasgow for the purpose of forming a National Union to repress the "sweating system," and reduce the hours of labour to ten daily.

STRIKES.

THE EASTERN COUNTIES ENGINE DRIVERS AND FIREMEN.—
The working of the Eastern Counties line becomes every day more and more disgraceful to the directors, ruinous to the shareholders, and dangerous so far as concerns the travelling public. In proof of this, witness the unaswerable statements made at a recent public meeting of the men on strike:—The chairman (Mr.Jolly) read a written statement, from which it appeared that trains laden with fish had come into violent collison with others laden with butchers' come into violent collison with others laden with list had meat. Trucks laden with corn had been run into and smashed to pieces. The destruction of property was frightful, and the company must have lost some hundreds of pounds in the course of two or three weeks. Fitters and boiler-makers were being employed to the number of a hundred additional hands to repair the damage done by the "knobsticks." Other statements made by the several hundred additional hands to repair the damage done by the "knobsticks." Other statements made by the several speakers showed that the company, instead of saving £30,000 would lose some thousands sterling in consequence of Gooch's mis-management. Before the strike took place the cost of management at Norwich was only £156 per year; of late the cost had been at the rate of £600 yearly. Gooch it appears has some infamous backers, among it them the superintendent of the Dover line, who has discharged two men for attending meetings called to render support to the Eastern Counties turn-outs. The men on strike continue unanimous and determined in their resolution not to give in until they are guaranteed against the strike continue unanimous and determined in their resolution not to give in until they are guaranteed against the petty and intolerable tyranny of such as Gooch, and assured a fair remuneration in return for their arduous toil. Within a few weeks the half-yearly meeting of the shareholders will take place, and it has been suggested that public meetings be got up in every town along the line, to agree to memorials or addresses to the shareholders, remonstrating against the present management, and demanding a change. It is likely that this suggestion will be acted upon.

WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.

The miseries of unlimited competition, the abuse of the powers of capital, have long taught the Working Classes that Union is their only strength. The undermentioned Associations of journeymen of various trades have therefore commenced business, hoping by their united labour to maintain themselves and families. If not always abic to compete with the nominal cheapness of the slop-seller, or the low priced tradesman, they hope, in the quality and workmanship of their goods, to guarantee to all customers the fullest value of their orders. Whilst those who look beyond the Work to the Worker, who feel that custom itself has its morality, and that the Working Classes of England have been stinted of their due reward in money, health, knowledge, and all that makes the man, will surely rejoice in aiding a movement which tends to substitute airy workshops for dens of filth and fever—fair prices for starvation wages—fellowship for division—and moral as well as practical self-government, for mechanical obedience, or thraldom bitterly felt—and by the peaceful, healthy, intelligent, and gradual processes of labour, to check, for ever, the blind and sudden struggles of want. The following is a list of the Associations already established in the metropolis: lished in the metropolis:

WORKING TAILORS' ASSOCIATION, 34, Castle-street,

Oxford-street,
NORTH-LONDON NEEDLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION,
31, Red Lion-square.

WORKING SHOE MAKERS' ASSOCIATIONS:
Ladies and Gentlemen's Boot and Shoe-makers,
11b, Tottenham Court-road.
Gentlemen's Boot and Shoe, and Strong Shoemakers, 151, High Holborn.
BRANCH:—5, Church-street, Chelsea.
West-end Working Boot-makers, 8, Castle-street,
Oxford-street

Oxford-street.

WORKING PRINTERS' ASSOCIATION, 4a, Johnson'scourt, Fleet-street.

WORKING BAKERS ASSOCIATION, 56, Clipstone-street, Fitzroy-square.

WORKING BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION, 76, Charlottestreet, Fitzroy-square.

PIMLICO WORKING BUILDERS' ASSOCIATION, 2,

Upper Porset-street.

A central board meets every Monday at the Central Office, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square. Conferences of the Associates are held monthly.

(F) How many in buying goods in Regent-street, or Oxford-street, ever think that human hands have been employed in making them up, and of how many bitter tears have been shed over them. The slop system and middle men make a man's own wife and children his most dungerous rivals and destroyers of the fruits of his industry; and if the system is allowed to grow until it perishes of its own rottenness, the whole country may perish with it.—

Professor Maurice.

Poetry for the People.

RHYMES FOR THE LANDLORDED.

H.

PROPERTY.

THE black cock on the pathless moor, The red deer in the fern, You cloud of rooks the plough'd field o'er, The river-watching hern,
The pheasant in the lofty wood,—
And all God's creatures free
To roam through earth, and air, and flood,—
These are not Property.

But earth, its mines, its thousand streams,—
And air's uncounted waves,
Freighted with gold and silver beams
To brighten lowliest graves,—
The mountain-cleaving waterfall,—
The ever-restless sea,—
God gave, not to a few, but all,
As common Property.

What thou hast grown, or nurtured,—that
Thou well may'st call thine own:
Thy horse, thy kine, thy household cat,—
The harvest thou hast sown. But earth belongeth to the whole,-God gave it not to thee; Nor made the meanest human soul Another's Property. SPARTACUS.

OUR LAND.

'Tis the Land our stalwart Fore-sires trode, Where the brave and heroic-souled Where the brave and heroic-souled—
Gave Freedom baptism of their best blood,
In the martyr-days of old!
And lives there no remnant of that brave blood,
Gone down in its pride all-glorious?
O! but to stand as our Hampden stood!
Or die as he died victorious! For our rare old land, and our dear old land, With its memories bright and brave! And sing O! for the hour its Sons shall band, To free it of Despot and Slave.

Cromwell is of us! and Shakespere's thought Cromwell is of us! and Shakespere's thought
Be-kings us all crowns above!
And Freedom's faith fierce splendours caught,
From our grand old Milton's love!
And we should be marching on gallantly,
With their proud stride from glory to glory!
For the Right! in our might, striking valiantly,
Like the free who are famous in story,—
For our rare old land! and our dear old land,
With its memories bright and brave!
And sing 0! for the hour its sons shall band,
To free it of Despot and Slave.

On Naseby-field of the fight sublime, Our old red Rose doth blow! Would to God, that the soul of our earlier time Were stirring with us now! T'ward the golden clime of the Future, Earth sweeps, And the Time trumpets true men to freedom! In the hearts of Slaves, the mounting god leaps! But O'! for the men to lead them! For our rare old land, and our dear old land!
With its memories bright and brave! And sing 0! for the hour its sons shall band,
To free it of Despot and Slave.

What do we lack, that the red, red Wrong
Should starve us 'mid heaps of gold?
We have brains as broad! we have arms as strong!
We have hearts as great and bold!
Will a thousand more years' meek suffering, school
Our lives to a sterner bravery?
No! down and down with their robber rule;
And trample at once your slavery!
For our rare old land, and our dear old land!
With its memories bright and brave!
And sing O! for the hour its sons shall hand. And sing O! for the hour its sons shall band,
To free it of Despot and Slave. GERALD MASSEY.

The name of Liberty is so alluring, that all who fight for it are sure of obtaining our secret wishes in their favour; their cause is that of the whole human race, and becomes our own. We average ourselves on our oppressors, by venting freely, at least, our hatred against foreign oppressors. At the noise of these chains that are breaking, it seems to us that ours are about to become lighter; and for a few moments we think we breathe a purer air, when we learn that the universe reckons some tyrants less. Besides, these great revolutions of Liberty are lessons to despots; they warn them not to reckon upon too long a continuance of the people's patience, and upon eternal impunity.—William Francis Raynat.

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FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 3.]

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1850.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."—Milton.

THE DESPOTS' CONSPIRACY.

CONTINUED illness—My health being rather worse than better as compared with last week—compels the postponement of the promised "examination of the question at issue between the Pope and the English Church and Government." Instead thereof, let me offer a few additional remarks on the subjects embraced in my last week's letter, and the arti-

cle on German politics.

When commenting on the conspiracy of the tyrannical governments of the Continent, I was not then aware of the proposed Press law for Saxony. The Leader, of December the 14th, contained a brief but well written notice of the said measure. The new law opens with a paragraph which says, "The censorship is abolished." Perhaps so, nominally; but every succeeding clause of the bill shews the first to be in fact a mockery and a lie. All journals will have to pay caution money, which will be forfeited on the slightest ground of complaint. The Post Office will be commanded not to forward any paper which the Minister of the Interior may designate—a ruinous clause to all opposition papers. One of the clauses is as follows, "Every one concerned in the publication of a book or paper, (editor, author, publisher, printer, seller,) is commanded to ascertain that the publication contains nothing contrary to the Press laws." Imagine printers and publishers making themselves acquainted with the contents of every book and newspaper passing through their hands, under pain of fine and imprisonment! Another clause sets forth that "the Minister of the Interior may prohibit all books not published the company of the comp lished in Saxony." Any one selling such books to be fined, or to suffer from one week to three months' incarceration. The Leader exposes the absurdity and tyranny of this clause, observing, that "At Leipsig the booksellers receive parcels from all parts of Germany to send them to all parts of the world; they act as mere agents, but the government now proposes to make them responsible for

the contents of their parcels. Leipsig subsists by its book trade. What cotton goods are to Manchester, what hard-ware is to Sheffield, that is the book trade to Leipsig. The proposed law will produce either a revolution or

the rain of the country."

No doubt the measure will become law: the Saxon king having abolished every re-form gained for the people by the revolu-tionary movements of 1843, and established instead of a free parliament a junta of petty aristocrats and tools of the government, ready to legalise every liberticidal project concocted by the Government. Let it never be forgotten, when Republicans are accused of violence and sauguinary propensities, that whereas the Saxon people inspired by the spirit of Demoeracy abolished the punishment of death, the Saxon king, as soon as he had succeeded in substituting reaction for reformation, undid the work of the people and re-established death punishments. Let it not be forgotten, too, that this royal hangman called in foreign troops to bombard his capital, while he ran away and hid himself in a fortress 'till the work of butchery was over. No wonder the Prussian traitor and the blood-stained Kaiser have selected Dresden as the theatre of the forthcoming conference of royal and courtly eonspirators.

Nearly every day new facts proclaim the rancorous and unmitigated persecution directed by the enemies of the people against the friends of Freedom of Thought and Opinion. In Prussia, by the present Press regulations and the arbitrary conduct of the government, the existence of democratic newspapers is rendered impossible. Nevertheless there are certain journals that dare to express the opinion that the rights and honour of Prussia have been sacrificed by the Olmutz treatythe writers are to be muzzled. A letter of the Minister of Justice (?) has been issued, directing the public prosecutors to watch narrowly the journals and prosecute whenever possible. It is intimated, by those who profess to be well-informed, that in the event of acquittals too often taking place, "offences of the Press" will be withdrawn from the cognizance of juries altogether. Thus his Grace-of-God king-ship hopes to check every expression of discontent, and subject the betrayed people

whom he afflicts with his rule to the silence

of despair.

Seizures and prosecutions of the Republican papers occur almost daily in France. The Paris correspondent of the Morning Chronicle, announcing the prosecution of a new journal entitled the Vote Universelle, on a lying charge of having attacked property and attempted to excite hatred between the different classes of eitizens, admits the falsehood of the accusation, but adds: "The journal is Republican, and will therefore be condemned!" Royalism is rewarded and Republicanism persecuted by the government of Louis Napoleon. This practical blasphemy cannot long continue. Traitors and oppressors may triumph for a season, but in spite of perfidy and persecution, the enemies of Knowledge, Freedom, and Justice will yet be vanquished, and their fall will establish the Freedom of the Press, and secure to the people every other guarantee for the maintenance of Absolute Freedom of Opinion.

The forthcoming Conference at Dresden is intended to be a German edition of the European Congress of Vienna. The brigand rulers -big and little-of Germany will come together to consult not ou the means calculated to promote the welfare of the Fatherland, but to secure their own unhallowed usurpation, at the cost of the slavery and misery of the millions. In the Conference the peo-ple will be altogether unrepresented, and no voice will be raised in behalf of their rights and interests. It is not improbable that Austria and Prussia will combine to make spoil of some of the third-rate states. The fear of this has thrown the little thieves iuto a state of undisguised alarm. The absorption of the smaller, by the larger states, would ultimately prove beneficial. All advances towards the unity of Germany under the reign of Kingcraft will render more easy the establishment of the Republie-"one and indivisible."

By far the most important work of the Conference will be the devising of means to arrest, if possible, the progress of Democracy and Socialism. The policy of the new Federal authority, may be anticipated from the present course of the Austrian Government in relation to its subjects. It is admitted even by the correspondent of that vile Austro-Rus-

sian journal, the *Times*, that Austria is now governed as absolutely as before the Revolution; and the aim of the government is to subject all Germany to the same system. It is evident that the king of Prussia is bent on pursuing a like course. Should the Chambers be re-assembled in January, and the ministers find themselves in a minority, "his majesty" will dissolve the unruly constitutionalists and try his hand once more at governing without a parliament.

These frantic attempts to stem the tide of democracy attest the fears which beset the royal and princely conspirators. "Austria," says one of the writers in the Times, "is alarmed at the progress revolutionary and socialist ideas have made in Germany. She would wish but for one sort of war, that of order against anarchy." Alarmed from the same cause, and driven by the march of events to have recourso to the same policy, the Prussian government also desires but "one sort of war"-that of despotism against the people. Hence the accord of the two great brigand Powers of Central Europe. Like the order-mongers of France, they hate each other most cordially, but are nevertheless compelled to unite to resist the advances of their terrible enemy—the revolutionary democracy.

But vain will be their union; they are doomed. The people are weary of their existence, and wait but for the favourable moment to make a clean sweep of the present villanous system, and those who profit by it. The very instruments of tyranny are becoming "innoculated" with revolutionary principles. The Vienna correspondent of the Times admits that the political opinions of at least one-half of the soldiers enrolled under the banner of Austria are hostile to the government. Speaking of the disbandment of a portion of the Austrian army, the same writer adds, "The high discipline makes the army trustworthy for the time being; but when its component parts, ceasing to be machines, become thinking beings, things will assume a very different appearance." It appears that the South Slavonian races and the Magyars, heretofore enemies, are likely to form a coalition against their common foe, the Austrian government. The Times admits that the people of Austria proper will make common cause with their disappointed brethren. The Prussian government is similarly undermined; and throughout the smaller States the principles of Republicanism, Socialism, and Communism, animate a vast multitude eager for revolution. Italy is ripe for revolt; the Republicans are vastly increasing in number, and it is stated that "there is no want of money and arms; the party only waits its time." France is a slumbering volcano. Ere long the hidden fires will again burst forth, the revolutionary lava will overflow and utterly consume every vestige of despotism—temporal and spiritual, political and social.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

The Pass.—The celchrated Andrew Marvel gives the following pertinent description of the powers of the press:

"The press, invented much about the same time as the Reformation, bath done more mischief to the discipline of our church than all the doctrines can make amends for. It was a happy time when all learning was in manuscript, as id some little officer did keep the keys of the library! Now; since printing came into the world, such is the mischief, that a man cannot write a book but presently, he is answered! There have been ways found out to fine, not the people, but even the grounds and fields where they assembled! but no art yet could prevent these seditions

meetings of letters! Two or three brawny fellows in a corner, with mere ink and elbow-grease, do more harm than a hundred systematic divines. Their ugly printing letters, that look like so many rotten teeth, how often have they heen pulled out by the public tooth-drawer; and yet these rascally operators of the press have got a trick to fasten them again in a few minutes, that they grow as firm a set, and as cutting and talkative, as ever! O Priating! how hast thou "disturbed the peace!" Lead' when moulded into bullets, is not so mortal as when founded into letters! There was a mistake, sure, in the story of Cadmus; and the serpent's teeth which he sowed were nothing else but the letters which he invented.

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS.

THE EGYPTIAN PRIESTHOOD.

The ancient Egyptians were notorious for their superstition; the country was covered with temples and swarmed with priests. Their gods included dogs, cats, lizards, several noxious animals, &c., &c. Juvenal ridiculed them for making gods of their onions, and growing gods in their gardenbeds by thousands. The principal popular gods were Horus, Osiris, and Typhon. The priests had another trinity, Emepth, Eicton, and Phtha; they had also their great mother Isis, Cercs or the earth. Every god had his shrine, every shrine its train of priests. To destroy one of the animal gods was a capital offence. According to Herodotus, when a cat died, the family cut off their eyebrows and exhibited other signs of mourning. When a dog died they shaved their heads. Those animals and many others were buried in sacred chests. Diodorus narrates that a Reman soldier having by accident killed a cat, the common people instantly attacked him. In vain the king's guards attempted to save him. The royal authority and the dread power of the Roman name failed to protect the luckless offender, who fell a victim to the rage of the superstitious and besotted multitude. The crocodile was held to be divine by one part of the people, and execrated by another. Where it was worshipped it had temples, a numerous band of pricets, and after death, was embalmed - Maximus, Tyrius, says a woman reared a young crocodile, and the Egyptians esteemed her highly fortunate, as the nurse of a deity. The woman had a child which used to play with the crocodile, till the animal one day turned fierce and atc it up; the woman exulted, and counted the ohild's fate blessed in the extreme to have been the victim of her domestic god! If we may believe Herodotus, the Egyptians did not practice the horrible custom of human sacrifices; but Strabo asserts the contrary. He states that they annually sacrificed to the Nile a noble virgin who was arrayed in rich robes and hurled into the stream. Diodorous affirms that they sacrificed red-haired men at the tomb of Osiris, because his mortal enemy, Typhon, was of that colour. The Phallic rites and other abominable customs can only be alluded to, not described. The priests monopolised all science, which they employed in advancing and consolidating their domination while the people were crammed with all sorts of fabulous puerilities. Under their rule the great mass of the Egyptians were sunk in ignorance and slavery, The nobles and military chiefs of course shared power with the priests, but the latter constituted the chief class, and were the real sovereigns of the country, Even the Egyptian kings were in all things subject to the priests. No wonder Egypt became "the mother-land of superstitions."

THE PRIESTS OF GREECE.

Notwithstanding the free genius and splendid intellect of the ancient Greeks, they did not escape the follies of superstition and the delusions of priesteraft. The priests adapted their policy to the spirit of the people. Like the Papal priests in after-times they employed the fine arts to enhance their grandeur and influence. For the gods—or, rather the knaves by whem the gods were manufactured—were erected those magnificent temples, the ruins of which yet remain. Those temples were adorned with that matchless statuary, specimens of which still exist; also with those wonderful paintings which, though now lost, com-

manded the highest praise of ancient authors. Human sacrifices were common; Aristomenes the Messinian sacrificed three hundred men to Jupiter. Themistocles sacrifleed some Persian captives to procure the assistance of the gods. Young damsels were beaten to death with bundles of rods in honour of Bacehus. The Lacedemonians scourged children to death in honour of Diana Orthia, and according to Plutarch, the Greeks sacrificed many children annually to Saturn. The augurs, a kind of Pagan monks, pretended to predict good and evil by examining the intestines of animals, watching the flight of birds, and various other kinds of humbug. The oracles were a favonrite means of practising deceptions on popular credulity. They were situated in solemn temples or gloomy groves, and surrounded by everything calculated to terrify and confound the imagination. The answers of the oracle were usually delivered by priestesses who exhibited the most frightful contortions, and uttered the most dreadful cries while professing to deliver the will of the gods. Strabo narrates that multitudes flocked to these oracles to take counsel about the management of their affairs; insomuch that no husiness of any consequence was undertaken, no war waged, peace concluded, new form of government instituted, or new laws enacted without the approbation of an oracle. Crossus, before he durst venture to declare war against the Persians, cousulted, not only all the most famous oracles of Greece, but sent ambassadors to Libva to ask advice of Jupiter-Ammon. The same course was pursued by the law-givers, Minos and Lycurgus; most probably because those eminent men found it necessary to conciliate the priests and influence the multitude by obtaining for the institutions they had framed the sanction of the popular superstition. We have not space to describe the "Mysteries" and "Festivals" in which the terrible ond the beautiful were alternately employed to imtimidate and fascinate the multitude. By those means the priests acquired immense wealth and influence. The ancient writers have recorded the vast riches amassed in their temples. When the Phoeenses seized on the treasures of Apollo at Delphi, they amounted to ten thousand talents--above two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds—probably but a small portion of what holy perfidy had previously secured. The Romans closely imitated the Greeks. The most enlightened and the most heroic peoples of ancient Europe, as well as the most barbarous and servile, were the victims of the crimes and frauds of PRIESTS!

(To be continued).

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

RED-STOCKINGS versus LAWN-SLEEVES.

(Concluded from No. 2.)

My Proletarian Brothers, this case of Redstockings versus Lawn-sleeves, wherein the Lawnsleeves have openly assumed a most illogical and absurd position, is among the most important and cheering signs of the times. Because it shows that the world of Ideas is taking the same direction as the world of Facts. The inward world is obeying the same law as the outward world. The modern middle-class system of production and distribution is constantly tending towards the destruction of the small capitalist, the master tradesman, the retail shopkceper, the small manufacturer, &c., tending towards the division of society into the two great classes of rich and poor, capitalist and wages slaves, privileged and unprivileged, financial, aristocrat, and proletarian. When this division is accomplished, a servile war will be the inevitable result. The two hostile armies must fight out the last of the innumerable classbattles, and the victory will be to the strongest clase-to the revolutionary, proletariat. They are the Men of the Future, and the task entrusted to them as the re-organization of society, the creation of a new heavens and a new earth, when the

old shall have been "rolled up like a scroll," and untirly abolished. I have said the inward world is obeying the same law. The world of thought is rapidly breaking up into two camps; the one containing the partizans of despotic authority; the other, the champions of unlimited free thought; of unlimited, unchecked, intellectual. and moral development. Now, one effect of this spiritual movement will be, that the partizans of intellectual despotism, (who are also invariably the upholders of secular despotism) will no longer get leave to masquerade among the defenders of liberty. Protestantism must now accept the reformation of the nineteenth century, or enter the Camp of the Past. The present weak and con-temptible aspect of Protestantism is the result of the miserable compromise between truth and falsehood,—the halting between two opinions,—which has been going on ever since the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The more logical and sincere class of minds, in England as well as in Germany, has come to similar conclusions. On all sides, thinking mea are either re-entering the pale of Rome, or throwing off the whole superstructure of scholastic theology as a dead weight, which impedes the healthy action of their minds, as something which is worse than useless. Here then, we see the dawn of the new reformation; we have the tendencies of the present age developed in the form of two frightful bugbears; on the one hand, appearing as the Catliolicism; on the other, as the "Rationalism with infidelity and Pantheism in its train,"-which are new exciting a flutter of holy fervour among the Lawn-sleeves, and causing every hair on venerable episcopal wigs to become instinct with pious imlignation, and stand on end-"like quills upon the fretful percupine," But the days of orthodox Protestantism are now numbered. The human mind has not been standing still for the last 300 years. Men are beginning to perceive that this systom entisfies neither the heart nor the head; neither the imagination nor the intellect. For it swept away all the poetry of the Christian Mythos, and ave a death blow to the art of the Middle A es. It left us nothing but a set of abstract creeds and dogmas, professedly based upon another set of questionable sagas and hearsays. Nothing save a museum of old dried up scholastic formulas; which, however they might express the convictions, or reflect back the consciousness of man in the sixteenth century, have been outgrown by him in the nineteenth, and are now so many impediments to his spiritual development. Yet, as every historical appearance, every manifestation of a thought, is (in its place) both useful and inevitable, -or, in other words, as every fact has a meaning, you will naturally ask, what is the meaning of Protes. tantism? It is a state of transition. It is the accessary stepping-stone for the human mind in its progress from deism to pantheism, -that is, from a belief in the holiness of some things, in the divinity of one being or of one man, to a belief in the divinity of All beings, of All men,—in the holiness of All things. The reformation of the sixteenth century having remained stationary between spiritual despotes and spiritual freedom, found its bedtting complement, its secular mode of expression, in the form of government ealled constitutional. The inward or spiritual compromise between these principles of the past and the future, resulted in the outward or temporal compromise between the same. A stanted, crippled idea could produce nothing better than a miserable ghastly ahortion of "balance of powers, king, hords, and commons, constitutional fictions, whigh bears witness to the truth of an old saying, ... as a man is, so are his gods;" or conversely, that the actions of man-thollaws, forms of government, art, literature, manners, and customs, in a word, the phases of civilization, prevalent amongst any people, aredirectly derived from its theology. If we know the fundamental principle of any given theo-

logy, we can at once predict the amount of secular freedom, or the degree of political and could development, - which is compatible with a belief in that theology. Thus, we find feudal despotism the provailing form of government in Catholic countries. It is the securar expression for that principle of absolute spiritual authority of which Catholicism is the only logical, consequent, and satisfactory development. In the regions of spiritual compromise, of doubt and fluctuation, of unrest, of weariness and vexation of soul, -in the regions of Protestantism. (protesting against error, yet stopping short of truth) we find in secular things, a like system of unsatisfactory compromise, of incossant fluctuation. There is no fundamental principle, upon which a reasonable ereature could find a firm footing,—concerning which he could say, "I see what this is, I accept or reject it with all its consequences." I find, not only in the Anglican Clurch, but as the fatal absurdity which pervades the whole Protestantsystem, -I find that an infallible Book is assumed as the basis of religious faith, yet without having any professedly infallible interpreter. Covertly every sect 28sumes its own articles, confession, or creed, to he the infallible Interpreter; and if any one dare to read the "Blble, which is the religion of Protes. tants "otherwise than through a pair of sectorian spectacles, he is immediately denormed as "an infidel scoffer," and held up to public execration. Is not this incredible logic? I infinitely prefer the logic of the Romish Cardinal, who says, 'Do not read this infallible book, for the Church is the only authorised interpreter. If a religion, based upon historic evidences, - upon matters of. eritical research and antiquarian learning, thingsthat is-beyond the reach of any but the most highly educated portion of society—if an Instorical religion is to be religion for the masses, a universal religion, then it must have a perpetually inspired (or infallible) witness for its trath. That witness is the Church!" Is not a man who puts a book into the hands of Tom, Dick, and Harry, telling them to road it diligently,-and then denouaces them for having different opinious about it from those he himself entortains, is he not a donkey of the first magnitude? Why does Lawn-sleeves give us the book at all? His opinions are the only "evangelical and saving" ones, when all is done. In Constitutional Governments, (the secular side of the intellectual fiction called Protestantism,) there is a similar fatal absurdity. Constitutional liberty for some but not for all. The power, wealth, and cultivation of civilized society are concentrated within the narrow limits of certain classess. The Suffrage, for example, is capriciously distributed according to notions of whig expediency, finality, Reform Bills, and the like. But the new religion, that of unlimited spiritual freedom—whoso dawn is now visible, whose banner bears the sacred inscription, Equality, Liberty, Fraternity, - will also find a belitting secular mode of expression. It will bring in its train corresponding institutions and social forms. It will assume the outward form of a republic such as the world has never yet seen. "A republic without helots;" without poor; without classes; without hereditary hewers of wood and drawers of water; without slaves, whether chattel or wages slaves. "For if I treat all men as divine, how can there be for me such a thing as a slave ?" A society, such indeed as the world has never yet seen,—not only of free men, but of free women; a society of equally holy, equally hiessed gods.

HOWARD MORTON.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.—A correspondent suggests that on the occasion of the forthcoming Exhibition, as some of the principal enemies and persecutors of our Continental brethren will honour (?) England with their presence, the London Democracy should hold a great demonstration in honour of the heroes of Hungary, Italy, Poland, &c.: a protest against the crimes and cruelties of the Continental tyrants, and their tools, that could not be misunderstood.

WHAT HAVE THE "LIBERALS" DONE FOR THE PEOPLE.

Ron years had the European "liheral" or "moderate" party been agitating, by means of the press, and the platform, for sundry puerile measures of reform, which they dignified with the pompous titles of "Constitutional Freedom," "Civil and Religious Liberty," &c., when the "Catastrophe" of February, 1848, hurled from his throne that hoary tyrant, Louis Philippe, and the Republic was enthroned on the rains of an infamous monarchy.

In their day of power, the French people, who had been deceived by the liberty-loving protesta-tions of their "ilberal" friends, turned their grateful eyes towards those whom they looked upon as benefactors: to them they entrusted their newly acquired power; but their trust was betrayed. The "liberals" spoke in raptures of the sovereight of the People, whilst they sought to perpetuate the People's slavery; they expatiated on the beauties of equality, but they wished not for its real existence; and spoke enthusiastically of fraternity, whilst they plotted how they might best continue their hrethren's tyrants. The mask was gradually drawn aside, until the People, convinced that their rulers were traitors, sought to recover forcibly that power which they had unwittingly allowed their enemies to recover. Then then 'Friends of Constitutional Freedom' threw aside disguise, and openly leagued with the bload-thirsty slaves of Kingcraft to wage a war of extermination against the People, whom then they had sworn to serve and defend.

Everywhere the "moderates" acted the sema part. Their cowardice; and treason rendered null all the victories of the Peoples,—victorics of ten purchased with the blood of the bravest and the best.

When the harricades of Paris had made a fireach in European despotism, the ever advancing waters of democracy burst over Europe oarrying tarror into the halls of kings! Everywhere the Peoples rose as if impelled by irresistable power to make war on the enemies of liberty, and progress; and everywhere the Peoples were victorious. Then would the "moderates" appear on the scene, chilling with their soulless policy, the warm enthusiasm of the victors; exerting a poisonous influence on the minds of the People; and with eloquent, but unmeaning orations lulling them into slumber—a slumber from which they awoko only to find them selves, more firmly than ever, bound in the chains of the tyrants.

Whilst such has been the conduct of the continental "liberals," we find that the course pursued by the same party in our own country, has been no less culpable. They have ever been indefatigable in their efforts to promote agitation for mere surface reforms, in order to distract the People's attention from the real causes of their misery, and degradation; well knowing that "union is power," they have dastardly attempted to sow dissention in the ranks of the democrats; while their organs amongst the newspaper press have laboured to orush every popular movement not conducted under their auspices, and according to their narrow and selfish views. The "liberal portion of the press" exceed even the avowed advocates of absolutism in their base misrepresentations of facts; and in their violent denunciations of European democracy. Notwithstanding all this, they have the effrontery to epme hefore us, and unblushingly as sert themselves to be the People's Friends! Frem auch friends, good Lord deliver us!

And who are those "liberal" friends of the people? They are the capitalists, usurers, and profit-mongers; with all that numerous class of harpies, who in various ways contrive to the mixury at the expense of the producers. All that efforts are employed to keep the world as It as progress is hateful to them, for to their class progress is death. Therefore, do they, by making trifling concessions, labour to avert the communica-

ment of the People's march on the glorious path of the future, but "it moves too sure for them to put the clock of Freedom back."

The term "liberal" is, in itself, an insult to the justice of their cause, as it implies that even the offered concessions are regarded as privileges not

Brethren, Democrats! I will not warn you against putting "your faith in princes," as I cannot believe that any man of ordinary intelligence, with the experience of the past before his eyes, will do so; but if you desire the victory of the holy principles of democracy; would you see your country free and happy, and have your names descend to future ages as the world's deliverers, do not allow yourselves to be caught in the meshes of the "liberals." Elso will your la-bours have been vain, and you will find that you have but re-forged your own chains. Distrust the "liberals." History hath proven them to be the deadly enemies of the people.

ALEXANDER BELL.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Who Rolled the Powder in?"—This piece of poetry in No. 2 was taken from Blackwood's Magazine; the acknowledgment was omitted by an error of the printer.

Fraternal Festival.—The Red Republicans and all other true Democrats residing in the metropolis, will be glad to learn that the Fraternal Democrats intend to hold their annual festival on New Year's Eve, Tuesday, December 31st in the Literary and Sajortifa Lucitation. their annual festival on New Year's Eve, Tuesday, December 31st, in the Literary and Scientific Institution, John Street, Tottenham Court Road. We are informed that several distinguished Continental Democrats—French, German, Italian, &c., will attend the festival, which will include, tea, concert, ball, and the delivery of addresses by leading British Democrats. Tickets and further particulars may be had of the Editor of this publication; Mr. Truelove, at the Institution; Mr. Watson, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, &c., &c.

"The Freetininker's Magazine."—We see by advertisements, &c., in other publications, that an enlarged

Mr. Truelove, at the Institution; Mr. Watson, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, &c., &c.

"The Freetminker's Magazine."—We see by advertisements, &c., in other publications, that an enlarged series of this able and unflinching champion of freedom of thought and opinion will commence on the 1st of January next. The price will be increased to 6d. The new series has our best wishes for its success. For the information of country readers, we may add that the Preethinker's Magazine is published by Mr. Watson.

"The English Repualic."—We understand that our friend, W. J. Linton, whose valuable letters ou "Republican Principles" appeared in the first series of this publication, will commence a new monthly journal on the 1st of January next. The price will be 6d. The title will be the "The English Republic: an endeavour to explain Republican principles, to record Republican progress, and to establish a Republican party in England." The contents of the first number, which will be published by Mr. Watson, will include a 'History of the Past Year,' 'Mazzini's Address to the Peoples,' and other articles.

Cantebrusy versus Rome.—In response to the expressed wish of my audience at the Mechanics' Institution, and in answer to letters received from many parts of the country, I beg to say I will most gladly publish my two lectures on the above subject; but as I cannot afford to incur a loss by so doing, I must postpone their publication until I have ascertained that I shall have a sufficient number of readers to cover the expense. To be assured of this, I would request those localities or individuals desirous of having the lectures, to write to me to that effect, addressed to Hardwicke Lodge, Moscow Road, Bayswater, London, stating the number of copies required, and, also, how they are to be forwarded.

Ernest Jones.

Address of The Metropolitan Traddes' Com-

ERNEST JONES.

and, also, how they are to be forwarded.

Ennest Jones.

ADDRESS OF THE METROPOLITAN TRADES' COMMITTEE TO THEIR BROTHER UNIONISTS ON BEHALF OF THE POLISH REFUGEES.

THERE is not a record in the history of nations, when the grand subject of social and political rights so much required your sympathy and support as on the present occasion; when so many brave and noble men, who have been exiled from their country, family, and connexions, through the combined influence of despotism, tyranny, and treachery, to seek shelter amongst us, and shall we not, as men meeting for a philanthropic purpose, hold forth to them the hand of brotherhood and fraternity? Certainly we should; and it is through that claim that we now call upon you to assist this Committee in carrying out this object, viz., the support of the Polish Refugees now in this country. Any further comments on the merits of their cause would, we think, be superfluous; suffice it to say, that all our exertions have only enabled us to supply these unfortunate men with the scanty pittance of fourpence, and sometimes threepence per day. Now, fellow workmen, we appeal to you as men, as fathers, and as brothers in fraternity, to give your hearty response to this appeal. All communications, or money, to be sent (post free) to Mr. Scotter, Rising Sun, Callender Yard, Long Alley, Moorfields, London. We are, brothers in union, yours fraternally, the Trades Committee:—John Ladd, George Ferris, Timothy Mahony, Henry Waters, Thomas Antill, Luke King, Walter Daddo, W. H. Burr, secretary; W. Palmer, chairman; John Scotter, treasurer.

A Young Irish Red .- We have received the 1s. for the former series of this publication; 1s. for the Refugees; 3d. for the Typefounders; and 3d. for the Engine-drivers. We admire your zeal, and gratefully accept your good

wishes.

T must again request that subscriptions for the Polish Refugees be forwarded direct to the Committees. For the reasons stated in No. I. of the Friend of the People, I must decline to receive subscriptions. Both sections of the Refugees, and both Committees, will be welcome to the columns of this journal, for the publication of their addresses, announcements, money-lists, &c. &c.

de., de.
Walter Cooper.—Our readers in the North will be Walter Cooper.—Our readers in the North will be right glad to learn that this popular advocate of Labour's Rights is about to take a tour in the North of England and Scotland. We are informed that our friend will lecture in the Social Hall, Garratt Road, Manchester, on Sunday, December the 29th. Mr. Cooper will attend the festival of the Bury Labour Redemption Society, on New Year's Day, in company with the author of Alton Locke, Messrs. Ludlow, Hughes, and other friends of co-operation, including Professor Maurice, who will take the chair. After visiting other places in Lancashire and Yorkshire, Mr. Cooper will proceed to the Potteries, South Shields, Sunderland, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, &c., &c.

NOTICE.

WE have received a number of letters from friends in various parts of the country expressing their good wishes, and their desire to assist in promoting the circulation of the Friend of the People. We beg to apprise our friends of one mode of helping this journal. We have had printed a considerable number of "double-crown" placards, containing a bold and striking announcement of the title and principles of this publication; these placards we wish to have exhibited in the principal towns, either by being posted on the walls, or by being carried about on boards, or perambulating advertising vans. Some of our correspondents have offered, in the name of themselves and friends, to defray the expense of exhibiting placards if supplied with them. If half-a-dozen friends in every town of importance will follow this example, the Friend of the People may be extensively advertised. The placards could be forwarded through the local bookscller's London parcels. Friends applying for placards must state through whose parcel they are to be sent, taking care to give the name of the local bookseller and London publisher. Copies of a smaller bill (crown octavo) intended for news-agent's shops, and which friends will oblige by distributing, will be forwarded with the placards. Address to G. J. Harney, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury,

"PRIESTS, WOMEN, AND FAMILIES." Much indig, nation has been excited by the late judicial exposure of the complication of crimes at Angoulemewhere the Abbe Gothland was arraigned for the murder of his housekeeper, who was in possession of evidence regarding his profligacy. Upon the revolting details of this horrible case, we cannot dwell; it is another awful chapter in the history of priests, women, and families. We introduce it. because it seems more apropos to the present crisis here than most are aware. We regard, if not the actual murder, at any rate the crimes that led to it, as the inevitable result of a forced celibacy; and we consider this lamentable instance of that fact as a very opportune warning to us against, in any way, encouraging among us a class of men who must naturally possess the same influence in families as the Abbe Gothland possessed, and who are under the same vow of celibacy. In all countries where there has been a large class of celibatures, similar results have taken place: and we believe them to be the necessary consequences of imposing an unnatural law on large sections of humanity. The case of the Abbe Gothland is, therefore, not lightly to be passed by .- Leigh Hunt's Journal.

NOTICE.

Just as this number was ready for the press, we received word from our publisher that No. 2 was "sold out." A Second Edition will be printed immediately.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1850.

FACTION UNVEILED.

THE Chartists by an immense majority have repudiated the scheme of holding a Conference at Manchester in January next. In spite of a "forty-parson power" of blarney and humbug, the great mass of the party saw from the beginning that the proposed conference was designed not to promote, but to prevent, union. The Manchester Chartist Council had not the shadow of a right to convene any such assembly. If a conference was necessary, it was the place of the Executive to convene one. But it was urged that the Executive had been elected by only a section of the Chartists, and had not, therefore, the confidence of the party. The Executive resigned; at the same time ordering a new election, in which all Chartists without distinction were invited to participate. This should have satisfied the Manchester Council: but, no, the gentlemen composing that body refused to take part in the election. They have convened a conference to meet in Manchester on the last Monday in January, although they well know that they have no rightful authority to do so, and that the "Conference" that may assemble will be anything but a full and fair representation of the Chartist party. At the same time they have declared that they will not take part in any conference that may be legally convened to assemble in the metropolis. They accuse ERNEST JONES of aspiring to "the dictatorship;" and vent their virtuous indignation against what they term "the mad and criminal folly which the people have allowed mere demagogues to pursue." This is the stereotyped cant and rant always used by those who have gone, or who intend to go over to the camp of the enemy: These gentlemen pro-fess to desire union! With, or without the "demagogues," which? If without, then will come the enquiry who are the demagogues? And the answer to that question will perhaps be not very agreeable to some of the friends of the Manchester Council.

The conveners of the Manchester Conference were mighty wrath at the bare possibility of Socialists and Chartists uniting to seek "the Charter and something more." Any one who proposed to connect the advocacy of social rights, or social reforms, with the Charter, was to be denounced as an' enemy. Nothing would please them but the Charter "pure and simple." They would have the "animal," and nothing but the "animal." But lo, "a change has come over the spirit of their dream;" or, rather, they now venture to avow what at the outset it was their policy to conceal. It seems that they are for the Charter "pure and simple," and for co-operation besides!! The dodge is clear enough. The Land Company is down, and gentlemen who want a job would be very happy to render their services-for a consideration, as directors, managers, clerks, storekeepers, secretaries, &c., &c., in connexion with some gigantic scheme to be denominated, say, "The National Chartist Cooperative Association." What a pity to

spoil the sport of these patriots!

We do not agree with our friend ERNEST Jones' estimate of the movement in favour of co-operation. We are disposed to aid, not to obstruct, the experiments in course of progress. We should have no objection to see the Manehester Council take to shopkeeping instead of legislating for the Chartist party; they might do good for themselves and harm nobody by dealing in herrings and oatmeal, instead of resolutions and addresses. But we shall do our best, and use all the influence we may possess, to prevent anyleviathan profit-mongering scheme-under the guise of co-operation—being bound up with the agitation for the Charter. We will unite hand in hand with co-operators, and every other description of social reformers, for the political end we have in view-the Charter; but we will resist, and we trust that the great body of the Chartists will resist, any attempt to revive that huxtering system, which, during several years, drained the blood and sapped the life of Chartism, and was the principal means of bringing the democratic movement to its present state of impotency.

Another object proposed to be gained by the Manchester Conference has been revealed. One of the prime supporters of the seheme has raised the Order-inongers' howl against the Red Republicans. "The stigma of Redism must be obliterated." So say Changar-NIER, LOUIS NAPOLEON, THIERS, CARLIER, the king of Prussia. Marshal Haynau, Nicholas, the POPE, the King of NAPLES, the Jesuits, the military assassins, spies, and ruffians, who compose the holy army of "Order" "Moderation" Red Republicans! Chartists and something more! true and ardent democrats! young men, enthusiastie spirits! who look to the Charter as but a means to an end -that end to be the Republic, Democratic and Social! you see what these sham Chartists have in store for you. Even now they speak of "Redism" as a "stigma;" let them and their masters acquire power, and they will persecute you as everywhere the heart-less, villanous "moderates" have persecuted the veritable democrats and true friends of the people. Well may ERNEST JONES say, "If COBDEN, BRIGHT, and WALMESLEY were behind the scenes, moving their puppets, they could not be served more effectually. Working men! be on your guard!"

THE CHARTIST EXECUTIVE.

THE following persons have been elected to serve on the Chartist Executive; we give the names as they stand recorded in the voting list: -G. W. M. REYNOLDS, G. JULIAN HARNEY, ERNEST JONES, JOHN ARNOTT, FEARGUS O'CONNOR, G. J. HOLYOAKE, W. DAVIS, JAMES GRASSBY, and JOHN MILNE. The election of ERNEST JONES will be hailed with joy by thousands who admire him for his eloquence, love him for his earnestness and sufferings in the good cause, and who will eling the more closely to him because of the enmity and vituperation with which he is pursued by rotten-hearted pretenders to patriotism. Mr. O'CONNOR'S election might be the pledge of union, but is not likely to be, should he persist in stimulating the factionists to the election of another executive. No doubt Mr. O'CONNOR will ers of her child.

attend the first meeting of the newly-elected body, and explain. The election of Mr. Ho-LYOAKE is not the least important, as his good sense and calm judgment may be of good service, at times when more fiery, though not more honest, exponents of democracy might be tempted to overstep the bounds of a wise discretion. Altogether, the new Executive appears to us to be well calculated to lead the Chartist movement with honour and advantago to the democratic cause.

IRISH LANDLORDISM.

A WRITER in the *Times*, who has dono much towards unveiling the wrongs and sifferings of the unhappy peasantry of Ireland, supplies the following particulars in relation to recent "evictions" of the poor tenantry:—

From lists which have been earefully prepared for myself, of the evictions in the Kilrush Union, lists giving me in detail the names of the owners, the agents, the ploughlands, by whom and where they have occurred, I find that between September 1, 1850, and December 1, 192 houses have been levelled, and 239 families, comprising 1,182 souls, have been unhoused. In one ease a man of the name of Fawley had his house levelled; he built a "sealp" on the side of the road, in the dike, where he remained for a fortnight. On the 22nd of October last he had occasion to leave his home; he left his wife and child in this hut or "sealp; his wife also, after breakfast the same day, went to a neighbour's, about 100 yards distant, leaving her child in the "scalp." Some little time afterwards a girl ealled out to her that her hut was on fire; she rushed towards it, but fell down on the way; when she did reach it, it was in her own words "to see my child taken out of the 'scalp' on a shovel, all burnt to death, by a man named Michael Griffin. I am sure the scalp was set on fire by some person or persons, for it could not otherwise take fire."

I have also now before me the notes of an inquest in the neighbouring union of Kildysart, held on the body of one Martin Collins; the verdiet is—"That Martin Collins, aged 50 years, came by his death at Bohyodane, on Saturday, November 23rd, 1850, from starvation and exposure to cold." The evidence is according to the usual routine in such matters; the poor fellow is found dying by the road-side, where he had been deliberately left to die, having been turned out of a house; with some difficulty he is carried into a certain widow Ryan's, who sent for the priest, who gave her a penny to get some milk for him; this, and a little meal, he managed to cat as he lay on the floor on some straw. After a short time—he died.

These frightful stories might be paralleled by thousands of such eases; for thousands have perished, and are continually perishing, after the manner of poor Collins. Clearance by fire is so common in the eviction of tenants from their holdings, that we are less surprised than horrified at the statement of the unhappy woman FAWLEY. What excites our astonishment is, that year after year the people of Ireland submit to a system productive of such frightful results as those detailed above. Could any one be surprised if they were to hurl every landlord to perdition, and uproot landlordism by fire and sword? The world's wonder must be that, instead of following the eounsel and example of glorious John Mir-CHEL, they allowed him to be torn from them, without an effort to save him, -to save themselves from the fate of Collins, and the horrible wrongs which cause at this moment the groans of the unhappy woman, FAWLEY, to ascend to heaven, demanding vengeance on the destroyers of her home, and the murder-

THE CENTRAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE OF EUROPE.

TO THE ITALIAN, POLISH, OERMAN, AUSTRIAN, AND DUTCH COMMITTEES.*

Brothers!

EVENTS have verified our mutual anticipations; the despots have come to an understanding. They have learned from the spirit animating their armies, the wavering in their ranks, the already manifold desertions, that at the first encounter the ground would tremble under their feet, and liberty start forth from the convulsion.

But, as you know, brothers! fearful of a force that might at any moment explode in their hands, they have renounced violence, to seek by fraud the objects of their freedom—murdering alli-

anee.

Under these altered circumstances, democracy must be more cautious than over, in order to seize the first propitious opportunity.

We must meet the tyrants in their attempts against the middle-class—and everywhere is this

attempt already being made.

To mention only Prussia, every one knows that, if the Berlin Assembly has not yet been finally dissolved, it is only from fear of public opinion. Prorogued to day—it will be annihilated to morrow. Thus, throughout Germany, the political charters will be successively destroyed. An universal silence, the silence of death, will rest on that vast land of thought; for it is not merely beyond 1848 the tyrants wish to retrograde: they wish to go backward past 1830 aud 1815, those epochs of charters and compromise; they want to drive back the nations to the very heart of the middle ages, under the drivelling rule of priests and kings.

Brothers! as you also feel—the insanity of their intentions, the atrocity of their endeavours, is the pledge of our victory; for democracy,—which means all that tends to equality, and strives towards a happier future—democracy will no

longer stand alone in the struggle.

Have not the tyrants in their madness tried to trample on the middle-classitself—on that middle-class which has striven to shelter its selfishness and its power behind the fragile barriers of a spurious liberalism? They have brought them to our side by the imminence of one common danger; they have strengthened our cause, by oppressing us both at the same time. Thence at the present day there are but two parties—here, men, all brothers struggling for liberty; there, tyrants resolved ou their destruction.

Yes, brothers! as you happily experience, every where truth spreads and greatens. Let us rejoice at the glorious result—but let us not be dazzled by it—for it is replete with danger. Seeing progression advancing with the rapidity of light, too many men, sure of its triumph, sink into a weak and guilty quiescenee, leaving all to futurity, as though anything was done, as long as anything remained to do, as though the success of our holy cause depended on our enemies, and not on ourselves. Ah! it is not knowledge that is wanting now—but energy. That is wanting, which urged our ancestors to action—the manly courage that greatens in proportion to the obstacle the boldness, the perseverauce of our fathers. Our fathers were better soldiers than orators-they talked worse but they fought better. They knew that the neck will often bear patiently the yoke a single effort might have riven.

Brothers! forget not that the hand which threatens the middle-class,—that hand which opens the door of revolutions—begins already to bear heavily upon them.

One more act of oppression—and the propitious hour has come—the herald of deliverance; perhaps by to-morrow we may be called to action.

In 1847 the signal of revolution came from an obscure corner of the Mediterraneau—in a time of general calmness and tranquility; but to day Translated from La Voix du Proscrit, expressly for this publication, by ERNEST JONES.

every spot is effervescing with the spirit of revolution. Who ean say which people shall be the clect, and see it first burst forth into the light of heaven!

Happy before all, that land which the spirit of

liberty shall baptisc first !

Is it north or south that shall first receive the glory? Futurity knows alone; but brothers! every nation can render itself worthy of the immortal honour, by struggling ceaselessly for the deliverance of all.

LEDRU ROLLIN, ALBERT DARAZ,

JOSEPH MAZZINI, ARNOLD RUGE,

Teaves frum our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY OEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 2.)

THE very day after her discovery of the faithless. ness of her lover, Consuelo, in spite of her mental agony, is forced to attend the theatre. Anzoleto, feigning sickness, is not present. "For the first time she felt an abhorrence of this artist life, chained to the wants of the public, and obliged to repress one's own sentiments and emotions to obey those of others." Next day there was an opera buffa:

"Consuelo must now make those laugh whom she had formerly made weep. She was brilliant, charming, pleasing to the last degree, though plunged at the same time in despair. Twice or thrice sobs that would force their way found vent in a constrained gaiety, which would have appeared frightful to those who understood it. On retiring to her box, she fell down insensible. The public would have her return to receive their applanse. She did not appear; a dreadful uproar took place, betiches were broken, and people tried to gain the stage. She allowed herself to be supported back upon the stage, where she was received with a shower of bouquets, and forced to stop to pick up a laurel crown. 'Ah, the pitiless monsters!' she murmured as she retired behind the scenes."

At the close of the performance, Consueld is earried to her gondola. Count Zustiniani enters with her. Cherishing a guilty passion for the young singer, he seizes the opportunity to renew his protestations of love. She repels his advances, and on quitting the gondola, commands him not to

follow her.

" Shame and anger restored her strength, but it was a nervous, feverish strength, which found vent in hysteric laughter as she ascended the stairs.

"'You are very happy, Consuelo,' said a voice in the darkness, which almost stunned her; I con-

gratulate you on your gaiety.'

"'Oh, yes,' she replied, while she seized Anzoleto's arm violently, and rapidly ascended with him to her chamber. 'I thank you, Anzoleto. You were right to congratulate me. I am truly happy -óh, so happy!

"Anzoleto, who had been waiting for her, had already lighted the lamp, and when the bluish light fell upon their agitated features, they both started

back in affright.

"We are very happy, are we not, Anzoleto?" said she with choking voice, while her features were distorted with a smile that covered her cheeks with tears. 'What think you of our happiness?'

"'I think, Consuelo,' replied he, with a calm and bitter smile, 'that we have found it troublesome; but we shall get on better by-and-by.

"'You seemed to me to be much at home in Corilla's boudoir.'

"' And you, I find, very much at your ease in

the gondola of the count.'

You knew then, Anzoleto. 'The count! that the count wishes to supplant you in my af-

"'And in order not to annoy you, my dear, I prudently kept in the background.'

"'Ah, you knew it; and this is the time you have taken to abandon me.'

"'Have I not done well?—are you not content

with your lot? The count is a generous lover, and the poor condemned singer, would have no business, I fancy, to contend with him.'

"'Porpora was right; you are an infamous man Leave my sight! You do not deserve that I should justify myself. It would be a stain were I to regret you. Leave me, I tell you; but first know, that you can come out at Venice and reenter San Samuel with Corilla. Never shall my mother's daughter set foot upon the vile boards of a theatre again.'

"'The daughter of your mother the zingara will play the great lady in the villa of Zustiniani, on the shores of the Brenta. It will be a fair career,

and I shall be glad of it.'

"'Oh, my mother!' exclaimed Consuelo, turning towards the bed and falling on her knees, as she buried her face in the counterpane which had

served as a shroud for the zingara.

"Anzoleto was terrified and afflicted by this en ergetic movement, and the convulsive sobs which barst from the breast of Consuelo. Remorse seized on his heart, and he approached his betrothed to raise her in his arms; but she rose of herself, and pushing him from her with wild strengtli, thurst him towards the door, exclaiming, as she did so, 'Away—away! from my heart, from my memory! -farewell for ever!'

"He wandered long on the stair and on the quay, expecting her to recall him. He even ventured to knock and implore pardon through the door; but a deep silence reigned in the chamber, whose threshold he was never to cross with Consuelo

again."

Consuelo suddenly leaves Venice, Corilla exults, but Anzoleto is stricken with remorse and despair. After an interval of three days, the two last-named re-appear on the stage of San Samuel, and are outrageously hissed and hooted. After a few nights they are better received, and they continue together for some time. Their unholy passion soon gives place to mutual disgust and hatred. Finally, Anzoleto encountering Corilla in the company of Count Zustiniani, in a fit of rage, upsets the Count's gondola, and abandoning his victims to their fate, gains the shore by swimming, and immediately leaves Venice in a shallop bound for

The scene changes to the borders of Bohemia and Bavaria:-

"In the western range of the Carpathian mountains, which separate Bohemia from Bavaria, and which receives in these countries the name of the Boehmar Wald, there was still standing, about a eentury ago, an old country seat of immense cxtent, called, in consequence of some forgotten tradition, the Castle of the Giants. Though presenting at a distance somewhat the appearance of an ancient fortress, it was no more than a private residence, furnished in the taste, then somewhat antiquated but always rich and sumptuous, of Louis XIV. The feudal style of architecture had also undergone various tasteful modifications in the parts of the edifice occupied by the Lords of Rudolstadt, masters of this rich domain.

"The family was of Bohemian origin, but had become naturalised in Germany on its members ehanging their name, and abjuring the principles of the Reformation, at the most trying period of the Thirty Years' War. A noble and valiant ancestor, of inflexible Protestant principles, had been murdered on the mountain in the neighbourhood of his castle, by the fanatic soldiery. His widow, who was a Saxon family, saved the fortune and the life of her young children by declaring herself a Catholic, and entrusting to the Jesuite the education of the heirs of Rudolstadt. After two generations had passed away, Bohemia being silent and oppressed, the Austrian power permanently established, and the glory and misfortunes of the Reformation at last apparently forgotten, the Lords of Rudolstadt peacefully practised the Christian virtues, professed the Romish faith, and dwelt on their estates in unostentations state, like good

They had formerly displayed their bravery, in the service of their emperor Charles the Sixth; but it was strange that young Albert, the last of this illustrious and powerful race, and the only son of Count Christian Rudolstadt, had never borne arms in the War of Succession, which had just terminated; and that he had reached his thirtieth year without having sought any other distinction than what he inherited from his birth and fortune. This unusualeourse had inspired his sovereign with suspicion of collusion with her enemies; but Count Christian, having had the honour to receive the empress in his castle, had given such reasons for the conduct of his son as seemed to satisfy her. Nothing however, had transpired of the conversation between Maria Theresa and Count Rudolstadt. A strange mystery reigned in the bosom of this devout and beneficent family, which for ten years a neighbour had seldom visited; which no business, no pleasure, no political agitation, induced to leave their domains; which paid largely and without a murmur all the subsides required for the war, displaying no uneasiness in the midst of public danger and misfortune; which in fine seemed not to live after the same fashion as the other nobles, who viewed them with distrust, although knowing nothing of them but their praiseworthy deeds and. noble conduct. At a loss to what to attribute this unsocial and retired mode of life, they accused the. Rudolstadts sometimes of avarice, sometimes of misanthropy; but as their actions uniformly contradicted these imputations, their maligners were at length obliged to confine their reproaches to their apathy and indifference. They asserted that Count Christian did not wish to expose the life of his son—the last of his race—in these disastrous wars, and that the empress, had in exchange for his services, accepted a sum of money sufficient to equip a regiment of hussars. The ladies of rank who had marriageable daughters admitted that Count Christian had done well; but when they learned the determination that he seemed to entertain of providing a wife for his son in his own family, in the daughter of the Baron Frederick his brotherwhen they understood that the young Baroness Amelia had just quitted the convent at Prague' where she had been educated, to reside hencefor-: ward with her cousin in the Castle of the Giantsthose noble dames unanimously proncunced the family of Rudolstadt to be a den of wolves, each of whom was more unsocial and savago than the others. A few devoted servants and faithful friends alone knew the secret of the family, and kept it strictly. "This noble family was assembled one evening

round a table profusely loaded with game, and those substantial dishes with which our ancestors in Slavonic states still continued to regale themselves at this period, notwithstanding the refinements which the courts of Louis XV had introduced into the aristocratic customs of a great part; of Europe. An immense hearth on which burned, huge billets of oak, diffused heat throughout the large and gloomy hall. Count Christian in a loud. voice had just said grace, to which the other members of the family listened standing. Numerous. aged and grave domestics, in the costume of the country-viz. large mamcluke tronsers, and long mustachios-moved slowly to and fro in attendance on their honoured masters. The chaplain of the castle was seated on the right of the count, the young Baroness Amelia on his left-"next his heart," as he was wont to say with austere and. paternal gallantry. The Baron Frederick, hisunior brother, whom he always called his 'young, brother,' from his not being more than sixty years old, was seated opposite. The Canoness Wenceslawa of Rudolstadt, his eldest sister, a venerable lady of seventy, afflicted with an enormous liump, and a frightful leanness, took her place at the upper end of the table; while Count Albert, the son of Count Christian, the betrothed of Amelia, and the last of the Rudolstadts, came fortheir estates in unostentations state, like good artistocrats and faithful servants of Maria Theresa. other end opposite his noble auat.

"On this evening the solemn silence which weighed down the family, pasticularly during the first course (for the two old gentlemen, the canopess, and the chaplain, were possessed of a solid regularity of appetite which never failed), was interrupted by Count Albert.

""What frightful weather ! said he, with a pro-

found sigh.

"Every one looked at him with surprise; for if the weather had become gloomy and threatening during the hour they had been shut up in the interior of the castle, nobody could have perceived it, since the thick shutters were closed. Everything was calm without and within, and nothing an-Everything nounced an approaching tempest.

""Do you hear the wind roaring amid the pines of the Boehmer Wald, and the voice of the torrent sounding in your ears?' continued Albert in a louder voice, and with a fixed gaze at his father.

"Count Christian was silent. The baron, in his quiet way, replied, without removing his eyes from his venison, which he hewed with athletic hand as if it had been a lump of granite; 'yes, we had wind and rain together at sunset, and I should not be surprised were the weather to change to-morrow.

"Albert smiled in his strange manner, and everything again became still; but five minutes had hardly elapsed when a furious blast shook the lofty casements, howled wildly around the old walls, lashing the waters of the most as with a whip, and died away on the mountain teps with a sound so plaintive, that every face, with the cxception of Count Albert's, who again smiled with

the same indefinable expression, grew pale.

At this very instant, said he, the storm drives a stranger towards our eastle. You would do well, Sir Chaplain, to pray for those who travel beneath the tempest amid these rude mountains.'

"'I hourly pray from my very soul,' replied the trembling chaplain, 'for those who are cast on the rude paths of life amid the tempest of human

passions,'

"A furious tempest raged during the supper. The unusual agitation of Count Albert communicated itself to the rest of the family, and the baron, disturbed in the usual current of his reflections, might have evinced some dissatisfaction, had it been possible for his imperturbable placidity to be for a moment ruftled. He contented himself with sighing deeply, when a frightful peal of thunder, occurring with the second remove, caused the carver to miss the choice morsel of a boar's ham which he was just then engaged in detaching.
"'It cannot be helped," said the baron, direct-

ing a compassionate smile towards the poor carver,

who was quite downcast with his mishap.

"'Yes, uncle, you are right,' exclaimed Count Albert in a loud voice and raising to his feet; 'it cannot be helped. The Hussite is down; the lightning consumes it; Spring will revisit its foilage no more,'

in a melancholy tone. 'Do you speak of the hugo

oak of the Schreckenstein?

"'Yes, father; I speak of the great oak to whose branches we hung up some twenty monks

the other day.' " 'He mistakes centuries for weeks just now,' said the canoness in a low voice, while she made the sign of the cross.'

The oak of " No, I speak in all seriousness. the Stone of Terror is overthrown, cleft in pieces. You may send the wood-cutters to-morrow to remove it. I shall plant a cypress in its place, which I shall name, not the Hussite, but the Penitent, and the Stone of Terror shall he called the Stone of

Expiation.'
Expiation.'
Enough, enough, my son!' exclaimed the
Banish these melancholy
Comized old man. 'Banish these melancholy images, and leave it to God to judge the actions of

"'They have disappeared, father-annihilated, the implements of torture which the breath of the storm and the fire of Heaven has scattered in the dust. In place of pendent skeletons, fruits

and flowers rock themselves amid the sephyrs on the new branches; and in place of the man in black, who nightly lit up the flames beside the stake, I see a pure celestial soul which hovers over my head and yours. The storm is gone, the danger over; those who travelled are it shelter; my soul is in peace, the period of expiation draws nigh, and I am about to be born again.

"'May what you say, O well-beloved child, prove true!' said Christian, with extreme tenderness; 'and may you be freed from the pliantoms which trouble your repose! Heaven grant me this blessing, and restore peace, and hope, and light

"Before the old man had finished speaking, Albert leaned forward, and appeared to fall into a tranquil slumber.

"The castle bell, which only rang on extraordinary occasions, was now heard, and old Hans, the head domestic, entered shortly afterwards with a letter which he presented to Count Christian without saying a word."

The letter is from Porpora, and the bearer Consuelo.

CHRISTMAS.

DECEMBER.

Hall! to the monarch without a stain, Who reigneth a short but a jovial neign! Bring us a crown for his hoary head, Form'd of the holly so bright and red; Homage pay to his thirsty soul In a draught from the mantling wassail bawl, Hail! to the monarch! shout and sing-Joy to the jolly Christmas King! For now he is king on his frost-built throne, We are the subjects he loves to own; But difference none will be endure, For he loveth alike the rich and poor; And though perchange but once a year Many partake of his lusty cheer,
Let's scatter our bounty, that all may sing Hail! to the generous Christmas King! Oh! long may the Christmas rites remain, To gladden each English home again; To grante each length nome again;
May many a blushing majden now
Yield to the mistletoe's pearly brow;
May the Yule-log crackle and blaze once more,
And the carol sung as in days of yore;
May happiness reign, that all may sing
ail .o the jovial Christmas King!

THE CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL .- Alterations in the calendar have not only changed the time of holding annual festivals, but have also in several instances had the effect of blending the popular abservances of one festival with those of another. Changes, too, in religious opinions, proceeding from one race of people to another, have also produced changes in the ostensible object of many ancient anniversaries. Thus, the ancient festival of Yule, which appears to have been originally relebrated at the winter solstice by the Gothic nations of Europe, became blended with that of Christmas on their conversion to Christianity. The Yule Log still burns all night on Christmas-evo on many a hearth in the north of England as well as in Scotland, though the origin of the custom, as an emblem of the sun bring about to return to the southward, be, no longer heeded, or even remembored. In London and the southern parts of England, the Christmas caudles given to children are at once a glimmering reminiscence of the blaze of the yule log, and an indication of one of the means by which the church endeavoured to merge the older pagan rite in the more recent Christian solemnity. What is now Christmas-eve with us, was in fact the last day of the old year with our Gothic ancestors; and it may here be remarked that, about the time of the birth of Christ, the winter solstice, which they celebrated, would be on the 24th or 25th of December, and not on the 21st. Venerable Bede informs us that the Saxons, previous to their conversion to Christianity, commenced their year on the 8th of the Calends of January, that is, at the midnight between the 24th and 25th of December; and that this night was called by them the Madrenacht, that is, the mother of all the other nights of the year-the people of Gothic race being accustomed to reckon their time by nights rather

than days, just as we say at present se'nnightseven-night—fer this day week. Since the Reformation, Christmas has been much less strictly observed by Protestants than by Catholics, even where the former have preserved in their ritual a commemoration of the day. In Scotland, indeed, where the kirk has discarded all holy-days except the Sabbath, Christmas has become obsolete as a religious festival; while several of the customs originating in the ancient Gothic mode of celebrating the New-Year are still observed. There are no mince pies at Edinburgh on Christmas day; but the coming of New Year is welcomed by what are called "First foot" visits on New Year's morning,

A FRENCH PLUM-PUDDING, like a French bifteck, is a very different affair from the original. Even with the assistance of the most accurate receipt, they cannot get up the same consistency or the same flavour. And even when they have done their very hest to master the ingredients, they are apt to spoil the results by a blander of some kind. It is recorded of St. Louis, or Henry Quatre, or some other Gallican Monarch, that being anxious to pay a compliment to the English Ambassador of Christmas Day he ordered a grand plum-pudding to be got ready for dinner. The utmost attention was bestowed upon its preparation and nothing was omitted to render it complete except the cloth in which it ought to have been boiled. The consequence was that instead of presenting the compactness and solidity essential to its character, it was served up like soup in inmense tureens, and bore a close resemblance to stewed peas. The Ambasandor could hardly repress his astonishment, but with the good breeding of a courtier declared tha it was excellent.

THE MISTLETOE .- "When the end of the year approached, the old Druids marched with great solemnity to gather the mistletoe of the oak, in order to present it to Jupiter, inviting all the world to assist at the ceremony, with these words "The new year is at hand, gather the mistletoe."

CHRISTMAS IN THE FROZEN REGIONS, -Think of Christmas in the tremendous wastes of ice and now, that lie in the remotest regions of the earthd Christmas, in the interminable white desert of the Polar sea! Yet it has been kept in those awful solitudes, cheerfully, by Englishmen. Where crashing mountains of ice, heaped up together have made a chaos round their ships, which in a moment might have ground them to dust; where hair has frozen on the face; where blankets have stiffened upon the bodies of men lying asleep, closely housed by huge fires, and plaisters have turned to ice upon the wounds of others accidentally hurt; where the ships have been undistinguishable from the environing ice, and have resembled themselves far less than the surrounding masses bave resembled monstrous piles of architecture which could not possibly be there, or anywhere; where the winter animals and birds are white, as if they too were born of the desolate snow and frost; there Englishmen have read the prayers of Christmas Day, and have drunk to friends at home, and sung home songs. In 1819, Captain Parry and his brave companions did so; and the officers having dined off a piece of fresh beef, nine months old. preserved by the intense climate, joined the men in acting plays, with the thermometer below zero, on the stage. In 1825, Captain Franklin's party kept Christmas Day in their hut with snap dragon and a dance, among a merry party of Englishmen, Highlanders, Canadians, Esquimaux, Chipewyans, Dog-Ribs, Hare Indians, and Cree women and children. In 1841, I, who am now at home to write this, kept Christmas Day with the South Polar expedition, consisting of the "Erebus" and "Terror," and their crews. In 1850, same commemoration of Christmas may perhaps take place in the Frozen Regions.—Heaven grant it! It is not beyond hope !- and be held by the latter crews of these same ships: for they are the very same that have so long been missing, and that are pain fully connected in the public mind with FRANKLIN's name -Household Words.

Labour Record Co-operative Chronicle.

TRADES' UNIONS.

The General Labour Redemption Society.—This Society "established by the Central Committee of the Iron Trades of Bury, on Saturday, September, 16th, 1850, for the purpose of enabling the Working Classes to work out their Redeuption by Union amongst themselves," proposes to carry out and extend the principle of associative labour. Ist. By forming associations of men and women, who shall enjoy among themselves the whole produce of their labour, after the repayment of borrowed capital, (if any,) with a fair interest thereon. 2d. By organizing, both among such associations and any others of combined workmen and capitalists who may be admitted into the union, the interchange and distribution of commodities. 3rd. By reducing the hours of labour in all trades or amongst the workers of any branch of industry, being members of the Society. 4th. To purchase and cultivate land upon the co-operative principle; to make provision for the education of children, and also to provide for the widows and orphaus of deceased members of the society. The education imparted to be of such a character as to render its possessor a good and valuable member of society,—understanding his rights and ready to discharge his duties. The right to live, and the duty to labour, being considered fundamental. The following are the principal rules of the society. Any person who is desirous of becoming a member of the society may do so by the payment of one penny for a subscription card. The subscription for the society to be one penny per week per member. Members may pay a quarter or half-year's subscription in advance if they prefer doing so; all subscriptions to be entered on their subscription card. The subscription card. The money subscribed by the members of the society shall be expended in the following manner:—To carry out and extend the principle and practice of Associative Labour by forming Associations of Working Men, who shall enjoy among themselves and their families the whole produce of their labour; and by the full development of every m THE GENERAL LABOUR REDEMPTION SOCIETY.—This Society that the bighed by the Grand Control of they shall be considered as legally elected.—And to insure a fair representation to individuals having no Trades' Society, in such cases representatives shall be chosen from the meeting by the members then present to represent such persons. That a general committee of management, or uninistry of labour, shall be elected from the trades of of London joining this society; they shall watch over the interests of the society, shall decide all appeals from the various branches of the society, inspect the monthly correspondence, authorize the secretary's report, see that such report is promptly issued according to the specified time, see that the accounts are properly kept, and manage the general business of the society. They shall, as often as necessary, communicate with the district members, and in cases of an important nature the secretary shall summon the whole of the members comprising the committee to decide thereon. They shall also take the opinion of the whole of the branches when a majority of the whole committee deem it necessary. All officers shall be elected every six months by a majority of the members present at a general meeting. The remainder of the rules will be found in No. 7 of "The Christain Socialist." From an address prefixed we give the following extracts:—We are told that the labour question has been settled—settled by Adam Snith and the Political Economists. We hope they will soon be undeceived, by the working-classes, showing them that they are determined now to have their say—to have the question re-opened and fully and fairly discussed, and by their union to place themselves in such a position that labour, which is the real private property of the workers, shall be protected, and acknowledged as property, by the laws of our country. The capitalists fear lest their capital shoul, which is the real private property of the workers, shall be protected, and acknowledged as property, by the laws of our country. The capitalists fear lest their capital have work to do, and food to eat? Why do they

this would bring him in thirty shillings per week, so that the two brothers would have the same income—the one for the loan of his money, the other for the use of his labour. Now the one with the £1,600 in money is protected by law, and has liberty to reduce his brother's wages from thirty shillings a-week to as little as he likes to give him, and to add what he takes from his brother's to his own stock, while the working brother would be held amenable to the law, werehe to destroy one particle of his brother's capital or property. And so it ever will be, until the working-classes unite in one General Labour Redemption Society, and, by union and co-operation among themselves, work out their own redemption. own redemptiou.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

Mr. Lloyd Jones writing to our contemporary "The Christian Socialist" gives a highly favourable account of the progress of co-operative associations in Lancashire. It seems that there are two co-operative stores already in Manchester, and a third is about being opened. In Oldham there is one store established, and two more about to open. In Ashton, premises have been taken preparatory to opening a store. At Heywood, there is a store with four hundred subscribers, doing a large and successful trade. Similar establishments exist at Milnrow, Littleborough, Bacup; and at Bury and Bolton co-operative societies are in course of formation.

The Rochdale Equitable Pioneers.—We abridge from

Similar establishments exist at Miniaw, Interolouding, Bacup; and at Bury and Bolton co-operative societies are in course of formation.

The Rochoale Equitable Pioneers.—We abridge from the above-named publication Mr. Lloyd Jones's account of this society:—The Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers commenced its operations in December, 1844. A strike of the hand-loom fiannel weavers had just taken place in that town, and the loss and inconvenience suffered by those engaged in it, determined them upon trying some more practical method of dealing with the difficulties of their situation. After some deliberation, they decided upon clubbing their means, and as far as they could, purchasing wholesale such articles as they were daily in the habit of consuming. Thirty only joined at first in this experiment, and the money raised by them only amounted to £36. With this sum in hand they took the bottom room of an old warehouse for three years at an annual reutal of £10. Repairs and necessary fixtures absorbed nearly the whole of their capital, leaving them a mere trifle to hand; with this they purchased some outment, flour, and a small supply of other kinds of provisions. The capital was collected in small payments of three-pence per week, and when collected and invested, it was decided that as the subscribers had thenselves found the capital, the profits of right belonged to them, not in proportion to the capital advanced but in proportion to the amount of the business done by each individually with the store. Thus, if twenty subscribers advance £5 cach, they receive for its use, according to the laws of the society, five per cent, per annum; but it in the business carried on with this money, ten of the twenty do £20 in the year and the other ten do £40, then the latter ten receive, after deducting interest and cost of management, twice as much as the ten who only spent £20 each—for this very good reason, that they in their dealings gave twice as ried on with this money, ten of the twenty do £20 in the year and the other ten do £40, then the latter ten receive, after deducting interest and cost of management, twice as much as the ten who only spent £20 each—for this very good reason, that they in their dealings gave twice as much profit to the establishment. The advantages thus resulting from this mode of doing business soon became understood by the people in the neighbourhood, and as a consequence subscribers came so fast that the premises became too small for their accommodation. Recently they have enlarged their premises, and in connexion with their store they have several looms at work for the manufacture of fiannel, as well as a large mill, so that they may supply themselves with good and cheap flour. This experiment has answered well; through its instrumentality the subscribers receive all articles entirely free from adulteration; no chicory in their coffee, no potato flour in their sugar, no sloe leaves in their tea. They receive on their money, adding interest on capital to profit on business, at least twenty-eight per cent. They have now seven hundred subscribers, and do a business of above four hundred pounds per week. The have recently added butchering, and find it to answer very well, so well indeed, that they regret it was not commeuced before.

Cooperative Factories.—We understand that at Bacup there is a factory, worked on the co-operative principle, containing one hundred and forty pair of looms. The hands of Sir Elkauah Armitage on strike (in the neighbourhood of Manchester) have taken a mill in which to manufacture on their own account. On this the Atherneum observes: "Three hundred men on strike have taken a mill! We believe these few words will startle some ears like a report of barricades. Such a circumstance may or may not help to revolutionize industry; but it speaks of sobriety, union, character, and forecasting habits in the men. A factory is a costly affair. A vast change must have come over the factory population ere a man pos

tion as to the origin and progress of these important ex-

tion as to the origin and progress of these important experiments.

French Associations.—La Republique states that the number of working associations in the French capital is between five and six hundred, and is increasing so rapidly that before two months it is expected to rise to one thousand. Between April the 15th and October 19th the Co-operative Bakery at Nantes did business to the extent of £2,200, and the quantity of bread baked amounted to upwards of four hundred and seventy thousand pounds; the net profit of which was rather over £114.

Co-operation in Beloud.—A Belgian paper mentions the extension of the slaughtering of cattle by association as a means of breaking through the coalition of the butchers to keep up prices. An economy of upwards of cent. per cent, is realised by this means.

Poetry for the People.

RHYMES FOR THE LANDLORDED.

III .- TENANT FARMING,

Rackrent field and rent the moor: Rackrent field and rent the moor:
Such is Landlord's law, man!
"He lends God who gives the Poor,"—
Seems an idle saw, man!
Rob the labourer of the sod;
Say your warrant comes from God:
Dare them find a flaw, man!

Eat the harvest he has sown: Eat the harvest he has sown:
All in right of law, man!
Steal his bread, nor give him stone:
Improving on the saw, man!
Curse him! when potatoes fail,
Press him for a double gale:
There's in his lease a flaw, man!

Hunt him from his naked home Hunt him from his naked home
With cunning dogs of law, man!
Bid him to the poor-house conie,
If winter winds are raw, man!
Raze his cottage: should it stand
For an eyesore on your land?
Yours! Who finds a flaw, man?

If he houses in your ditch, If he houses in your dich,
'Tis against the law, man!
Drive him to your neighbours: which—
Matters not a straw, man!
Let his wife and children there
Starve and rot: What need you care,
For slaves you never saw, man?

Feed your beasts where peasants fed:
Such is Pamine's law, man!
Which would fetch you most a head?
Truth cuts like a saw, man!
Alone, upon the bloody sod,
Thou read'st thy warrant—is't from God?
Canst thou find a flaw? man!

SPARTACUS.

TYRANNICIDE.

BY C. TENNYSON.

[We dedicate this reprint to his Grace-of-God Kingship o Prussia.—Ed. F. of the P.]

The council of the brave are met Soon will their swords with blood be wet, The blood of tyranny and pride, On—on—this is not regicide!

He thinks his sand is not outrun. But he shall start to find it done; He mocketh at our bold emprize, The' Freedom looks him in the eyes.

What claim have they on further breath, For momentary league with death, Who dare to make the human heart Throb with the fears themselves impart?

And he hath done this shameless deed, Thus answered in a nation's need; He link'd our fetters to his crown So tight, they burst, and flung him down.

When kings demand with haughtiest aims beyond the weight of kingly claims, With worthy scorn and anger stirr'd, We fill the balance with the sword!*

We seek a soil for hope to thrive-But where is hope, if tyrants live? We burn to draw a bolder breath By quenching his in forceful death!

Slaves, each and all, our necks have borne His yoke with grief that swallow'd scorn, Till, galling deeper, it began To make all men, and each a man!

* Every one must remember the sublime action o

EVERGREEN DECORATIONS .- "Trimmyng of the Temples" says Polydore Vergil, "with hangynges, floures, boughes, and girlondes, was taken of the heathen people, whiche decked their idols and houses with suche array." Dr. Chandler tells us, in his Travels in Greece, that it is related where Druidism prevailed, the houses were decked with evergreens in December, that the sylvan spirits might repair to them, and remain unnipped with frost and cold winds, until a milder season had renewed the foliage of their darling abodes.

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RRRND PROPIE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

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No. 4.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1851.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.

Ernest Jone The last sta	ge of B	ety		••	
England's I	rogres	8	••	•••	• • •
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THE NEW YEAR-THE CHARTIST EXECUTIVE.

THE year 1850 is "numbered with the things that were." Whatever of misfortune and grief the departed year brought to nations or to individuals, words thereon would be wasted. "Let the dead bury their dead." Let the sufferings and sorrows of the past be remembered only to inspire to renewed action.

Hail to 1851! Hail to the year that opens to us the second half of the nineteenth century.

Let us hope the half-century now commencing will witness the salvation of enslaved nations and oppressed classes. To hope merely will not, however, avail much; the enslaved and the oppressed must work

out their own redemption.

The monstrous evils of our social system, the tyranny, selfishness, slavery, and misery consequent upon the division of society into schemers and workers, masters and slaves, can be removed only by the long-suffering millions obtaining that political power which will enable them to command the institu-tions and resources of the country. Co-oporative experiments cannot fail to teach useful lessons to the people, and prepare them for the exercise of self-government. It is probable, too, that a minority of the suffering classes may be enabled by labour associations to ameliorate their condition. co-operation, on a national scale,—that is to say, the abolition of the Proletariat, the annihilation of class distinctions, the possession of the land, and the general union of capital with labour—cannot possibly come to pass without the previous establishment of the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE, expressed through Universal Suffrage, and guaranteed by the several "points" of THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER!

To win the Charter, then, is the first grand object for which the unrepresented millions should struggle.

We claim the careful attention of our readers to the subjoined Address from the newly-elected Executive Committee of the of Yorkshire do their duty.

National Charter Association. has at length come when Chartism may be made to have, and to exercise, an influence it has never yet known; but that will depend upon the extent of support rendered to the Executive Committee.

Faction may rear its head, Intrigue may work its tortuous course of conspiracy, Calumny may hiss its serpent-like slanders, Hatred may pour forth its rancorous abuse; these the Executive may despise or defy. But the apathy of friends, the indifference of those who profess the same faith, a shameful disregard of duty on the part of those who call themselves Chartists, will be fatal to the good cause, and must render nugatory all the efforts of the Executive to create a powerful movement and a successful agitation.

The issue is with the People!

It will be in vain that men devote themselves to the public service, unless they are strengthened by public support. We entreat our friends to perform their part in rallying the democrats of the country around the new

If strengthened by the support of the people, the Executive Committee will be able to make the year 1851 memorable in the annals of the democratic party, not on account of any great triumph, for that under present circumstances cannot be anticipated; but because they will be enabled to lay the foundations, deep and broad, of an organisation fitted to provide the unrepresented classes with the means of achieving their political emancipation.

The Delegates of the West Liding of Yorkshire, will assemble to-morrow, (Sunday, January 5th,) "to consider the present differences which exist in our ranks and the best means of removing them." There is but one means of effecting so desirable a result, and that is to declare for, and to rally the people to the support of the Executive—the duly appointed, and only legitimate, head of the Chartist movement. Let the men of the West Riding at the same time repudiate the treason and dictation of the Manchester faction. There must be no halfmeasures. Chartism will be saved it the men THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION TO THE PEOPLE.

Counties Engine - drivers; Lancashire Factory -

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, -- Your suffrages have elected us to the important trust of Executive Committee of the National Charter Association. We accept the duties that election has imposed upon us.

Of those duties we feel alike the importance and

.. 28

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the responsibility.
You have called us to the helm of British democracy at a time when the most critical circumstances exist both within the ranks of Chartism, and

throughout the political world.

A reaction has followed the feverish excitement of 1848. The public mind, wrought into enthusiasm then by external events, was suddenly checked and thrown back upon itself. The inovitable result was that disorganization, apathy, and despondency which always succeed all violent but ineffectual exertion. During two years, Chartism has been feebly recovering from the blow; but we wish you to observe the evidence of its increasing strength from the fact that, whereas it took five years to recover its vigour after the events of 1842, it has already resumed activity and power since those of 1848. The period of prostration has been shorter, the reinvigoration more complete.

The amount of members voting for the election of the present Executive is four times as large as that voting for the Executive elected in 1847, by

a general poli.

In the ranks of our enemies we find division, both religious and political. In reference to both, we intend taking no part, but strengthening ourselves to encounter the victor, whichever he may be. When our opponents fight, lit is our duty to abstain from the strife. It is nothing to us whether papist or royalist triumph in the churchwhether Whig or Tory triumph in the senato.

In the ranks of the middle-class cortain reforms are being propounded. They do not satisfy us. We intend keeping our policy distinct from theirs, and going onward without heeding them. They cannot exist without financial reform-the people without political power. We well know the day of bargaining for our support must come; our price is The Charter. We feel convinced the way of obtaining that price is not by compromise or present alliance, but by becoming strong enough to dictate the terms. There is but one means—organization.

In our own ranks a small amount of disunion exists; it is only local, and is beginning to disappear. It shall be our study to eradicate its seeds, by holding the hand of brotherhood to all who honestly advocate our principles. We recognise no private or personal hostilities; we tolerate no individual ambitions; we obey no authority but that of the democracy we have been called to represent.

In accordance with the desire so generally expressed, we have resolved on calling a Convention, to meet in London, on Monday, 3rd March, ensuing.

The Convention will consist of forty-nine delegates, and we shall submit to you, next week, a list of places required to send representatives,—based, not upon the wealth or contiguity of individual localities, but upon the numbers of the demogratic portion of the population throughout the country.

We shall shortly submit to you a programme of the business we purpose bringing before the Convention, as far as it is independent of intermediate

events.

It is proposed that two members of our Committe shall proceed on a tour through the principal towns,—and all localities prepared to make arrangements for their reception, are requested to inform us without loss of time,

Fellow countrymen! in carrying on the movement for the Charter, we intend keeping our organization inviolate and distinct. We believe that the guarantee of success lies in the simplicity of our machinery, and the oneness of our purpose. At the same time we believe that the connecting fink between the charter and the public heart has too often been untouched—that link is self-interest. Once show the people that the Charter will do them good, -once show them that it is their interest to be Chartists, -and they will be Chartists to a man. We, therefore, hold that the people must be instructed in their Social Rights, and they must know that their leaders are instructed in them, too, before they will have confidence in the leadership, or take interest in the struggle. We desire to rally all Socials Reformers in one phalanx; and we desire to do so, not by breaking up, altering, or weakening our association, but by showing them that wo, too, are Social Reformers, like themselves; but that we understand the only way of obtaining social reform-political power

through Chartist organization.

We shall carefully abstain from appealing to the passions of the people;—for we fatend to keep the movement, as far as in us lies, alike distinct from

violence and vacillation.

Special attention is needed for the agricultural counties, and the West of England,—too long neglected by our advocates; and we hope, by sending our missionaries, to unite the democracy of Ireland also with our own.

Brother Chartists,—In entering on our office, we make you no promises. We mean to work—and work hard; to enable us to do so, you must support us. Our own services (excepting those of the secretary) are rendered gratuitously; but we need funds to carry on the movement. Now is the critical time; if you let it pass by unemployed for want of money, do not wonder, should you fail, and be trodden under foot in the coming shook of parties. We would suggest that all localities hold public meetings in furtherance of the funds, at which to adopt an address to the inhabitants, and to appoint collectors. Let them issue collecting books, and forward the subscriptions, weekly, to the treasurer of the Association.

We need not tell you it would be a mockery to place us here and leave us without the means of action. We have found your exchequer wholly destitute; till you replenish it we can do nothing. Recollect, we make you no promises, we do not tell you when the Charter will be carried, we do not tell you of any wonderful progress to be made this year; we certainly believe progress, and that great, may be made; but the solution depends on the support we meet from you. We will do our

duty; you do yours.

William Davis, James Grassby, G. Julian Harney, G. J. Holyoake, Ernest Jones, John Milne, F. O'Connor, G. W. M. Reynolds, John Arnott, General Secretary. The following letter ought to have appeared in the Northern Star of Dec. 28th, 1850. It was sent to that journal, but not inserted. Hence its publication in the Friend of the People:—

TO THE CHARTISTS.

BROTHER CHARTISTS,—Now that you have nobly vindicated the principles of democracy and rendered powerless the voice of faction, the time for renewed energy and progress has, I trust, arrived.

An Executive, of which I am proud to be one of the members, has been at last elected, not by the voice of a conference, but by an open and un-

biassed poll.

Perhaps the attempt may be made to do away with the great moral victory thus achieved—by invidious comparisons, relative to the numbers voting. Perhaps you may be told they are smaller than the constituency of some of our whig M. P.s—or that a meeting might be called together in some town, where more hands would be held up, than votes have been given for this election

I grant it—and what of that? the men who have voted are not the men of one locality or one neighbourhood only—but the advanced minds of most;—the men who represent the intelligence and democracy of most of the great manufacturing towns of England and Scotland. Would their party-conference have afforded as fair and general a test? Would a stormy meeting caught by the special pleading of some eloquent talker be as safe a guide? They tell us the movement has been sinking during the last few years; this election proves the very reverse: in 1847 the poll counted only a few hundred votes, now it reckons, at all events, its thousands. This does not much look like a sinking of the movement.

Do they object that there are not more votes? Let them blame themselves—the objection comes with a very bad grace from them: they ereate a difficulty, and then make it a reproach—so it is, but not to us-it is a reproach to the men who created the antagonism; it is a reproach to the men who object to an existing Executive, and then refuse to vote for a new one; to the men who call for a Conference, and then publicly say they will take no part in one, if called, -unless called by themselves for their own peculiar objects in their own peculiar way. I regret the Chartist body is not stronger—I wish it were—but such as it is, it is: we must work with the materials we have. Surely those gentlemen would not like to throw away the pound they have, because they would rather wish to see it two. The way to increase rather wish to see it two. The way to increase our power, is not by despising and neglecting to use what little strength we possess, but by doing our best, with a cheerful, a willing, and a friendly heart, to make it more.

Indeed the election could not have been conducted in a mode better calculated to satisfy and obviate every objection. Some have sneered that the Chartists are a very different thing from the public; and the late provisional Executive arranged that every democrat should be entitled to vote, whether an enrolled Chartist or not. What

becomes of the objection?

Mr. O'Connor says he will abide by the majority, not of localities, but of population. So say I—I am delighted to find we are agreed! this is just the difference between the Manohester Council and myself. This is precisely the way in which the Executive have been elected—they have been elected by the direct and individual votes of Chartists by population—not by the votes of localities represented by delegates in a local Conference. I am glad to find Mr. O'Connor has thus virtually pronounced against Conference elections. And even if in the localities, persons had voted individually, and instructed their delegate, you would merely have that done at second-hand, which is best done directly, without back-stair influence.

The editor of the Star, however, makes some

observations which call for a reply; and since he leaves the "Star Chamber" ajar for one week, I avail myself of the opportunity. He tells us a great movement never originated in London: unfortunately for his assertion the Charter itself originated there! He tells us, it ought to be rolled up to London from the country: that is just one of the reasons why I suggested the Convention should be held in May instead of January, to give us time to "rollit up." He tells us it can never originate in London, because there is a neighbourly feeling in the country, which cannot exist in London, "because of the immense distance which separates one district from another!" What an idea of neighbourhood the editor of the Star must have, when he tells us Aberdeen and Exeter are near neighbours, but Paddington and Southwark are at an "immense distance!" He tells us the history of the Chartist movement in London for the last two years is a proof of the incapacity of London to originate a movement: How so? let him shew me a town, where, even in proportion to population, there is more organized Chartism at present than in London?—where there are proportionately more localities, more members, larger meetings, or more simultaneous and regular gatherings?

But he says "the movement in country towns carries all classes with it" That is something new! I should like to see it! Where are the manufacturers, and gold-kings, the shopocracy and parsons, lawyers and physicians merely in the ranks of the Chartists? Oh! Mr. Editor! why will you let

your imagination run away with you?

"Why not," once more he asks, "throw ourselves upon the whole country?"—Why that's just what we've done-but the country's answer does not meet his views. He tells us the January Conference could have done no harm, for isolation was not likely to cure "personal alienation." personal alienation I know nothing-I neither reoognize nor feel any personal hostilities-it is a mean, little feeling, even to suppose that, because you differ from a man you must hate him, but I believe the way to create union, is to crush faction, not to bow to it. He talks of rancorous personal feeling. Where is it? Who was rancorous? What words showed it? Let him quote and name. I could. Is it calling factious conduct factious and open mutiny to the very laws the mutineers themselves proclaimed—by its true name? If that deserves obloquy, I am ready for one to meet it. But no! the Editor has hit his own friendshis quill reached 200 miles from London when he wrote that.!

The Manohester Council may well say " save us from our friends!" Who, I ask him, are the "obstructives" to whom he alludes -the men who stand by the will of the majority-the laws of an association and the principles of its cause -or the men who one day recommend a measure, and the next refuse to embrace it, because others have brought it forward-who were entitled to do so; while themselves were not! He talks of exercising "valuable influence over the present electoral body." What! when the ostensible purpose for calling the Manchester Conference put forth by the Manchester Council was, to ruin them by oooperation? He says, men ought "to be good by stealth, and blush to find it tame;" leaving the word "good" out of the question, why have the eleven gentlemen, who assume to be Manchester, and said they would throw themselves on their vast constituency, called themselves together by themselves, and passed through themselves a vote of thanks to themselves for their own conduct. Mr. Sutton, of the Council, in the chair—Mr. H. Nuttal of the Council, moving the first resolution tells us coolly they have acted quite in accordance with their own opinions. Mr. James Leach of the Council, moving, and Mr. Alcock of the Council seconding, the other resolution, that they are determined to render themselves every assistance ! Truly, Mr. Editor ! you made a very pointed obscrvation!

But, Mr. Editor, you are growing quite democratic :

"We sincerely trust, that those who may assemble in Manchester in January, -BE THEY FEW OR MANY—will inaugurate a new and superior Chartist movement.' What! skall a few men assemble, and set the will of the many asioe? What! shall they inaugruate a new movementand you, the Editor of a democratic paper, recommend it ?

Fellow Countrymen! Surely we need no more than that to warn us all of our duty and our danger ! ERNEST JONES.

Hardwick Lodge, Bayswater, 24th December, 1850.

THE LAST STAGE OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY.

By J. G. Eccarius.

THE social and political development of mankind is a series of phases and stages, an unavoidable process through which the human race had to pass, and is perpetually passing, to arrive at a certain end.

Nations have arisen as it were from obscurity, they have been mighty and flourishing, and then passed to decline and ruin. At some particular periods war and anarohy have been so universal that the very existence of the human species has appeared to be at stake. Powerful empires have been swept from the face of the earth. The barbarians who have conquered and ruined them have carried the ruins and trophies to distant places and founded new empires. But though nations have been extinguished, exterminating wars and revolutions have taken place, the human race has survived them all, and has incessantly tended towards improvement and perfection. Every state of society that has been overthrown has furnished the material for the establishment of a succeeding one of a more progressive character: and every newly established state of society has been the necessary result of the preceding one. Every one, according to the degree of civilisation on which it was founded, has had its social and political organization, its religiou and laws, its notions of justice; and every established system has at some particular period satisfied the wants of society, and corresponded with the claims that men made upon life.

Times of great commotions, anarchy, and revolutions, have always been the periods when the existing arrangements no longer answered the wants and necessities of the population. Whenever an existing state of things has ceased to satisfy the claims of society, the ruled have commenced to question the rights and authority of the rulers; men have questioned the propriety of their religion; society has begun to revolt; strifes, struggles, and battles have ensued between the oppressors and oppressed; and the ultimate result has been the dissolution of the old, and the establishment of a new, state of society.

Every new state of society has introduced its own peculiar mode of worship, one that has always been compatible with the mode of produce, with the manner in which the different tribes or nations of the different periods obtained their means of living. Thus the ancients had their gods and goddesses to whom they sacrificed a share of their acquisitions, consisting either of the fruits of the soil, or the booties of war and plunder. The feudal system (the mission of which was to compel savage and wandering tribes to settle in fixed habitations and pursne peaceable occupations in trade and agriculture, or to protect those who were already settled against the plunderings and ravages of their barbaric neighbours) had its "right divine," and its universal catholic church commanding blind and unconditional belief and obedience. Modern society, the state of free competition in art, science, trade, and industry, has its liberty of conscience, freedom of thought, and discussion, &c., in short, free competition in religious matters, and contemplations.

One of the principal features of all the changes that have yet taken place has been a change in the relations of property, from which all the social and political organizations have originated.

At all times when society has been revolutionized, the supporters of old systems, who had privileges and advantages over others, have prophesied that the world would be rained if new systems were adopted. On the other side, those who happened to be the champions of progress, have imagined that their peculiar systems were the only true ones, that their principles were the only principles worth fighting for, that they were inherent in human nature, and if really established and administered would be an eternal source of happiness, making all future changes and revolutions unnecessary.

The same thing has been and is still repeated, over and over again. The men of the middle age accused the ancients of idolatry, and blamed their system of slavery. They proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves, and made the slaves of the Roman empire serfs and bond-men; forgetting at the same time that the ancient world had laboured for centuries to prepare the ground on which the feudal system could be erected. The modern bourgeoisie, the discoverers of the natural rights of men, have raved and are incessently raving against feudalism, against serfdom, and hondage. They call it the age of anarchy and oppression; yet they have commenced business with the stock which they accumulated under the wings of feudalism; they have extended that knowledge and industry which they acquired under its protection; they have abolished serfdom and bondage for their own aggrandizement, and have created a numerous proletariat-modern slaves-who have to get a scanty subsistence by working for wages.

They have been mistaken; what they considered the natural rights of man were only the rights of men living in that particular state of society.

They have in their turn become as great tyrants as were the feudal Lords and Kings; and, like their predecessors, they have for their own security been compelled to create conditions under which not only a new progressive state of society is becoming possible, but compulsory.

Thus the bourgeoisie has fulfilled its mission in

history, and no more.

It is true the accomplishments that have been made under the bourgeois régime surpass those of all former ages; but they could not have been made without having all the previous acquirements as a foundation for them. The declarations of our bourgeois politicians and economists that the essence of the present state of society is eternal, and that a deviation from it will lead to ruin and barbarism, are the more absurd, since the revolutionary volcano is continually threatening to swamp the whole system, and whatever they undertake to put a stop to, has only the effect of pouring oil on to the fire.

The events and commotions that have lately occurred are the most unmistakeable signs that the existing state of bourgeois society is in its last stage, and is verging towards ruin and dissolution. When our statesmen say that socialism and communism will lead to ruin, they are in so far right. as socialism and communism stipulates the annihilation of bourgeois society, its relations of property, its mode of appropriation, distribution, and exploitation. But mankind will not be ruined. Production and distribution will be freed from the shackles that are imposed upon them; they will not be dependent on the avidity, for gain of some individuals, who are at present known under the denomination of "manufacturers," "mcrchants," "shopkeepers," &c. &c., for at present the lust of gain is the only stimulant to production, distribution, and exchange. farmer does not cultivate the soil because society is in want of agricultural produce, but because the market price is higher than the cost of production. If society could not afford to pay that price, the farmer would abandon his land, though the majority of the people might die for the want of food. richer, and the poor poorer. He does so by show

We read very often, indeed, complaints of low prices caused by over production or abundani harvests, while in one and the same paper we read reports of people being utterly destitute of the necessarios of life. Times of disturbance and dissolution have generally been accompanied by a comparative amount of misery and destitution, for it is misery and destitution that drive the masses to rovolt and rebellion. I say comparative, because the wants and necessaries of mankind vary with the degree of civilization. What a Russian serf would consider comfort, an English proletarian might deem misery.

There has been for some years past an amount of misery in existence which is continually increasing. The "Manchester school" politicians, and economists, have told us a great deal of late about "the comparative well-being of the working classes." By what standard do they compare this alleged well-being? Why, by the standard of 1847 -a time of universal stagnation in trade, with a famine into the bargain. A very strong argument indeed in favour of existing arrangements, that the working classes are better off in a year of unexampled prosperity than in a year of famine and commercial stagnation. Some weeks ago the Economist was highly gratified at the comparative well being of the working classes, manifested in the increase of population and marriages during the last quarter. I very much doubt whether the increase of population and marriages, is in all cases, the result of well being. Many a young couple join in holy matrimony, because their earnings do not enable them to live single. Their "issue," therefore, is not the result of well-being but of misery. With all the ostentatious, boast of inoreasing trade and prosperity, our profit-mongers, have not been able to reclaim more than 38,770 able-bodied paupers out of 166,828, from the 1st July 1848, till the same date 1850. On the 1st July last, society had still to keep 128,058 ablebodied paupers in the workhouses, in spite of "prosperity." Besides these there are hundreds of thousands who only get half a living, and prefer starving at home to going into workhouses.

The increase of friendly societies is also taken as a proof of increasing prosperity among the working-classes. Our Manchester politicians are greatly mistaken. The increase of friendly socie; ties merely proves that the spare pennies of a great many are wanted to help one in case of need; and that working men are disgusted with applying for parish relief. The New Poor Law, and the crueI treatment of "in-door Paupers," do much towards increasing the number of friendly societies. They may as well tell us that our workhouses, our poorlaw system, and our convict establishments, are emblems of the well-being of the working-classes. Without pauperism and orime, there would be no ocoasion for workhouses, poor-laws, and convict establishments. And without the wretchedness prevalent among the working-classes, there would be no occasion for societies for mutual relief and

support.

Mr. Porter pretends to prove the wealth of the working-classes by the increase of the deposits in the Savings' Banks. He states that the amount of deposits in 1846 was in England, Wales, and Ireland, £29,669,384,—being equal to 24s. per head,-while in 1821 the amount only averaged 12s. 8d. per head. I will not inquire how far these deposits belong to the working-classes, (the picture of pauperism just exhibited corresponds very badly), but whatever the amount belonging to working-men may be, it only shews that their carnings are not sufficient to invest them otherwise, and that their circumstances are so precarious that they are afraid to spend on luxuries and comfort that little of their income which is over and above their bare subsistence. Besides, the Savings' Banks are principally an accommodation for governments and the bourgeoisie.

Mr. Porter also attempts to disprove the position often assumed, that the rich are becoming ing that the revenue liable to the income tax, has since 1812 increased nearly three-fold greater than the population during the same period. But Mr. Porter says nothing about the poor, whether their income has increased at the same ratio. According to his statement, the income of the bourgeoisie has increased something like five-fold. Allowing the population to be nearly double now what it was in 1812, if the income of the proletariat had increased in the some proportion, every working-man who had one pound a week, in 1812, ought to have two pounds ten shillings now. I beg Mr. Porter's pardon for maintaining that the income of the proletarian has rather shewn a tendency to decrease below the pound; and therefore Mr. Porter's figures prove nothing else but that the rich are becoming richer, and the poor poorer. The breach is becoming wider and wider; and the building must soon fall to the ground. (To be continued.)

NOTICE.

WE have received a number of letters from friends in various parts of the country expressing their good wishes, and their desire to assist in promoting the circulation of the *Friend of the People*. We beg to apprise our friends of one mode of helping this journal. We have had printed a considerable number of "double-crown" placards, containing a bold and striking announcement of the title and principles of this publication; these placards we wish to have exhibited in the principal towns, either by being posted on the walls, or by being carried about on boards, or perambulating advertising vans. Some of our correspondents have offered, in the name of themselves and friends, to defray the expense of exhibiting placards if supplied with them. If half-a-dozen friends in every town of importance will follow this example, the Friend of the People may be extensively advertised. The placards could be forwarded through the local bookseller's London parcels. Friends applying for placards must state through whose parcel they are to be sent, taking care to give the name of the local bookseller and London publisher. Copies of a smaller bill (crown octavo) intended for news-agent's shops, and which friends will oblige by distributing, will be forwarded with the placards. Address to G. J. Harney, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, London.

ENGLAND'S PROGRESS .- While wealth has increased among us with a rapidity unexampled in the history of the world, and the struggling energies of all men have been strained to the uttermost in the race of industry-while, under the sway of commercial ministers, legislation has been specially, almost exclusively, directed to stimulating manufactures in every way, and removing every obstacle that could be supposed, however indirectly, to hinder their extension-can we venture to assert that the condition of the great mass of the people has improved in proportion to our riches? Are the relations of the employers with the employed on so satisfactory a footing as to give no grounds for anxiety? Has the labourer, by whose toil all those vast accumulations of capital are created, enjoyed an equitable share of them? Have his means of domestic comfort increased in the same ratio as the wealth of his master? Is not the rate of his remuneration diminishing at every step of our progress? • * Who can look on these, and a hundred similar indications, that readily suggest themselves, and say that all is well; and as far as the experience of Britain goes, the road to national wealth has also conducted us to greater happiness and moral well-being?—Blackwood's Magazine.

NOTICE TO NEWS-AGENTS, &c. A re-issue of No. II. of The Friend of the People is now ready, and may be had of the Publisher.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Notices to Correspondents" will appear in No. V.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 4, 1851.

ERNEST JONES, THE MANCHESTER COUNCIL, AND THE NORTHERN

During some weeks past a discussion has been going on in the columns of the Northern Star between ERNEST JONES on the one side, and the Manchester Chartist Council on the other. The subject of dispute being the projected Conference at Manchester. Northern Star of December 21st, contained a letter from ERNEST JONES, and accompanyit appeared an intimation from Mr. O'CONNOR in the following words:--" I think that every man has a right to propound his own principles and express his own sentiments without being reviled for doing so; and, I have now come to the conclusion that, after next week, no such antagonism shall be published in the Northern Star. If anything appears this week which requires a reply, that reply shall be published: but there the matter shall end, as your enemies will base their power upon your disunion,' Of course every one acquainted with Mr.

O'CONNOR'S tactics, very well understood the meaning of the above intimation. The same thing has occurred times without number. Eight months ago, using almost the same words as those quoted above, Mr. O CONNER closed the Star against the writer of these remarks. He would allow "no more antagonism "&c., &c. Notwithstanding this announcement there was published in the very next number of the Star a letter from the opposite party—Mr. O'C's bosom friend—that letter being one of the most foul, filthy, scurrilous, and lying epistles ever penned. Ernest Jones has now been treated after the same manner. Mr. O'CONNOR, who thinks that "every man has a right to propound his own principles and express his own sentiments without being reviled for doing so," has published in the columns of his paper of December 28th, a letter from the Manchester Council which, from the begining to the end, is a grossly insulting libel on Ernest Jones. The libellers have spewed their venom, and Mr. Jones may seek justice where he pleases, he will not find it in the columns of the Northern Star. Mr. O'CONNOR will have no more "antagonism." That is to say no rejoinder from Er-NEST JONES. To anything from Mr. Jones's pen, unless he will consent to sacrifice his independence, the Star is henceforth closed. There are more than mere words to prove The letter in the second page of the present number of this publication has been excluded from "the people's paper."(!)

We leave to ERNEST JONES to answer his libellers, as he well can do if he pleases; and may do through the columns of this journal if e can find no better medium through which

to address the public. On the letter under notice we will merely observe, that whereas those who call it theirs take credit to themselves for having "braved the dungeon," it is our firm conviction that the real authors of the Manchester Council's epistle are very innocent of ever having braved anything in the shape of persecution. We fancy we could find the concocters of the said epistle without seeking them in Manchester. The anti-democratic conspiracy includes with the puppets those who pull the strings.

We happen to know that ERNEST JONES so far from having merited the abuse poured out upon him by the Manchester Council, in consequence of any hostile feeling on his part towards that body, has, up to this time, been anxious to conciliate his traducers, with the view of preventing any "division." He must now see the folly of hoping to conciliate such rancorous and unscrupulous enemies. "Division," for sooth; is that to be dreaded? Is it an evil that the true and the false, the generous and the envious, the earnest and the shams, the democratic and the factious, should part company? By all means let the intriguers set up on their own account, let the separation be complete and at once. Away with the craven fear that injury can result to the cause in consequence of any such division. The cause has been injured, ruined, brought to shame and degradation because that division did not take place long since. The intriguers have taken the initiative, they have set up the standard of division, and they have done well; the only good thing they have done for a long time past.

Let the men of Yorkshire reflect on the

insults inflicted upon them under cover of insulting their friend ERNEST JONES. Let the admirers of that talented, eloquent, and honest patriot in all parts of the country, say whether he is to be victimised by the gang of conspirators who hope to drive him

from the movement.

The personal question is however of little importance compared with the question of principle. Is Democracy again to be made subservient to egotism, selfishness, and factious ambition; or shall it be the glorious representation of popular intelligence wielded for the political and social advancement of the millions? Let every true man speak out. He who is not with us is against us. He who is with us must attest his co-operation by word and deed. When intriguers conspire, true men must unite. Let every man do his duty.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE IN LONDON .- The great Scottish patriot, Sir William Wallace, was lodged as a prisoner, on his first arrival in London, in the house of William de Seyrex, a citizen in the parish of All Saint's, Fenchurch-street, i. e., All-hallows Staining, at the end of Fenchurch-street.

THE BANKRUPT KING .- In the churchyard of St. Anne's, Soho, is a tablet to the memory of Theodore, King of Corsica, who died in this parish, (1756), soon after his liberation by the Act of Insolvency from the King's Bench Prison. He was buried at the expense of an oilman in Comp ton-strect, of the name of Wright, but Horace Walpole paid for the table and wrote the inscription ;-

"The grave, great teacher, to a level brings Heroes and beggars, galley-slaves and kings; But Theodore this moral learn'd ere dead, Fate pour'd its lessons on his living head, Bestowed a kingdom, and denied him bread."

Cunningham's Hand Book of London.

POLAND.

[The following article from Fraser's Magazine will perhaps clicit the comments of some one of our Polish friends. It is scarcely necessary for us to observe that our own hopes of Poland's future are altogether at variance with that execrable theory of Panslavism, which supposes the union of all the Slavonic nations under the sceptre of the Tsar, for the conquest of Central and Western Europe,—a theory held in hearty detestation by the democratic emigration of Poland.]

POLAND AS IT IS.

THERE is no nation of great historical fame so completely shorn of its beams as Poland. Spain still retains an independent existence, and Italy is still the seat of that tremendous spiritual power which would fain arrogate to itself supremacy and sovereignty over the souls and consciences of all mankind. But the wall of Europe against the Tartars, the rescuer of Vienna from the Turks, is fallen as it were for ever, and her children are known in the rest of Europe but as the conspirators against peace and quietness, the enemics of all rule, the leaders and soldiers of every revolution. Yet the Poles themselves do not all despair of the future of their nation; there are too many still undeveloped elements existing within it to justify or excuse them in doing so; nor do they all look to disquiet and revolution, and the misfortunes of others, as the means of reinstating and re-establishing themselves. They begin to see that the fall of Poland was a necessary consequence of her narrow institutions, and exclusive system of privileged classes, and that any eventual greatness which she may hereafter attain to must arise from the development and elevation of those sturdy peasants, who, to adopt the language of one of her living poets,-"Bears her future on their shoulders."

Well might the szlachtic or noble, in the palmy days of Poland, have been proud of his brotherhood and equal privileges with his three hundred thousand fellows, when the poorest gentleman was addressed by the wealthicst and most powerful magnate as Panie Bracie-"Sir brother," and each and all looked upon themselves as the guardians and protectors of the peasant and the artizan; but as other nations advanced in political knowledge and institutions, it was but a selfish patriotism that prompted him to refuse even a small share of civic rights to those, by the sweat of whose brows he obtained his subsistence. An elective monarch is rarely in a position to struggle successfully against a proud and powerful avistocracy without the aid of a numerous and influential middle class, and in Poland the erown was gradually deprived of its prerogatives, and the peasantry of its protection; so that at last, when the grand attack was made from without, it was made upon a king without power, a people without rights, and a nobility divided against itself. The magnates moved about with large armies under their command, and even carried on foreign wars on their own account, while the ojrzyzna or fatherland, was all but bankrupt and defenceless, and the peasan.ry exposed to every oppressor.

Well and nobly did a portion of the Polish no-

bility exert themselves for the general good after the first partition of their country (1772), investing with civic rights the burghers of the towns, who, being to a great extent of foreign, and chiefly of German origin, had hitherto possessed considerable privileges within, but little influence beyond, their own walls, and preparing the way for the emancipation of the peasantry; but it was too late; the overwhelming power of Russia, and the proverbial faithlessness of Prussia, rendered all their efforts nugatory, and all their plans abortive. One opportunity was still given, but it was unfortunately not taken advantage of. The first glorious victories gained by Kosciusko (1794), were won at the head of the peasants of the district of Krakow; and had he proclaimed freedom to the peasantry, it is thought by many that his army would never have dwindled as it did, and that he would never have been exposed to defeat and ruin by inferior forces at Maciejowice. It is not true that Sarınatia

fell 'without a crime;' but her crimes were confined to her own home, and she unnerved and unweaponed herself while her neighbours were extending and consolidating their power in every possible manner. Poland is now prostrate, but she has still her own glorious history to fall back upon; and in the event of a general European war, the indirect effect she will exert by strengthening or paralyzing Russia will probably be of the greatest importance.

There is no necessary and deeply-scated hatred subsisting between the Polak and Moskal, between Warszawa Moskwa, any more than between the Englishman and Scotchman, between London and Edinburgh, or between the Dorians and Ionians among the ancient Greeks. feelings of the Poles towards the Russians are simply political, and probably by no means more intense than those subsisting between the English and Scotch in the time of James I. of England. The Poles certainly do not love the Russians, but they hate the Germans, and especially the Prussians, with an intensity that can hardly be paralleled. They look upon the Russians as their conquerers, and feel towards them as such; but the Prussians have added treachery of the darkest dye to hostillity and conquest. Their feeling towards the Prussians is one of inextinguishable enmity-that of the Greek towards the barbarian; and the conduct of the German colonists in different parts of Poland, as in all Slavonic countries, is but little calculated to allay the hostile feelings of the natives. A little timely conciliation towards the Poles, in the event of a general war, would render them the most loyal subjects and faithful soldiers of the Tzar; and, perhaps, the time will come when the Germans will rue the day they forced them to throw themselves back upon their relationship with their oppressive yet kindred conquerers.

Some of the leading Polish magnates are eagerly turning their attention to the arts of peace, and to the development of the agricultural and other resources of their country. One of the best instances of this is, perhaps, Count Andrew Zamoyski, a gentleman of whose education Edinburgh may well be proud. We should mention, that it is a favourite practice for Polish magnates of the highest rank to be educated at the University of Edinburgh, which appears to be as liberal in this part of its system as the English universities are exclusive.

Through the well-directed wealth and judicious enterprise of this nobleman, a little fleet of iron steamers is already navigating the Vistula between Dantzie and Warsaw, and he contemplates extending the voyages of those of a lighter construction and shallower draught of water as far as Krakow

There appears little or no doubt of eventual success in these undertakings; and, should other wealthy nobles follow the example, the result must unquestionably be a great increase in the material prosperity, and a considerable development of the internal resources, of the country.

The Slavonic question must, ere long, become the grand question that is to decide the fate of Europe. You can rule and govern children by mere authority, but as they grow up they begin to insist upon thinking and acting for themselves, and so it is with nationalities.

Should the Governments of Prussia and Austria persist in their present system of Germanization, they will, in all probability, impel the different Slavonic races into the arms of Russia. A grand mistake was made by the great powers of Europe in permitting or partaking in the dismemberment, instead of insisting upon the reconstruction of the Kingdom of Poland. This error is now too late to repair; the material resources of Poland are now for ever in the hands of Russia, who will know how to conciliate its people when the favourable opportunity arrives for striking a blow for universal empire.

These are no pleasing reflections for an Englishman, but at a time when the fate of Germany is decided by conferences held at Warsaw instead of Paris or London, we feel it to be a matter of duty to place these questions before the English public in the light in which they are regarded by a large proportion of those whom they more immediately concern, and whose actions must prove their even-

tual solution.

Leaves from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 3.)

The young Baroness Amelia, niece of the Lord of Rudolstadt, and the betrothed of the heir of the house, the young Count Albert, had taken it into her head to have a governess, or rather a companion, less to instruct her than to solace her weariness in the gloony "Castle of the Giants." Her uncle, the baron, had written to Porpora to find a person fitted to meet the wishes of the young lady. Embracing the opportunity, Porpora proposed to Consuclo to become the companion of the baroness. The poor singer, glad to quit Venice and the stage, accedes to the worthy professor's proposal. Hence her arrival at the mansion of the Rudolstadts.

Ill in mind, and fatigued with her journey, Consuelo had given way to the most gloomy impressions, which were heightened by the terrors of the tempest she had passed through during the last stage of her journey. She had been particularly terrified by the fall of a huge tree, uprooted by the tempest. The eatastrophe caused the horses to rear upright while the postillions in terror exclaimed—"It is the Tree of Misfortune!—it is the Hussite which has fallen!" The reader will observe that this explains the strange exclamation of Count Albert at supper. Arrived within the walls of the eastle, Consuelo is still further terrified by the strange appearance of most of its inmates. The last of them who presents himself to Consuelo is the young Count Albert:

"A youth of lofty stature and admirable proportions, but with a countenance of corpse-like paleness. He was attired in black from head to foot, while a velvet coat trimmed with sable and held by tassels and clasps of gold, hung from his shoulders. Hair of chon blackness fell in disorder over his pale cheeks, which were further concealed by the enris of his glossy beard. He motioned away the servants who advanced to meet him, with an imperative gesture, before which they recoiled as if his gaze has fascinated them. Then he turned towards Count Christian who followed him.

him.

"'I assure you, father, said he, in a sweet voice and winning accents, 'that I have never felt so calm. Something great is accomplished in my destiny, and the peace of Heaven has descended on our house.'

"'May God grant it, my child!' exclaimed the old man, extending his hand to bless him.

"The youth bent his head reverently under the hand of his father; then raising it with a mild and sweet expression, he advanced to the centre of the hall, smiled faintly, while he slightly touched the hand which Amelia held out to him,

and looked earnestly at Consuelo for some seconds. Struck with involuntary respect, Consuelo saluted him with downcast eyes; but he did not return the salutation, and still continued to gazo on her.

""This is the young person,' said the canoness in German, 'whom -- But the young man interrupted her with a gesture which seemed to say, 'Do not speak to me, do not disturb my thoughts.' Then slowly turning away, without testifying either surprise or interest, he deliberately retired by the great door."

The hour for rest arrives, and the young baroness accompanies Consuelo to her chamber, and offers to explain "the eccentricities" of the family. Consuelo eagerly assents, and the young lady proceeds to narrate the strange story of the family's history, and the still stranger and mysterious life

of the young Count Albert.

"'Know then, my dear,' said Amelia, - 'but, now that I think of it, I do not know your name, she added, smiling. 'It is time, however, to banish all ceremony between us; you will call me Amclia, while I shall call you-

"'I have a singular name, somewhat difficult to pronounce, replied Consuelo. The excellent Porpora, when he sent me hither, requested me to assume his name, according to the custom which prevails among masters towards their favourite pupils. I share this privelege, therefore, with the great Huber, surnamed Porporino; but, iu place of Porporino, please to call me simply Nina.

"'Of course, my dear Nina,' said the young baroness, you know something of the history of Bohemia.

" 'Alas !' replied Consuelo, 'as my master must have informed you, I am very deficiont in information. I know somewhat of the history of music, indeed; but as to that of Bohemia or any

other country, I know nothing.'

"In that ease,' replied Amelia, 'I must tell you cnough of it to render my story intelligible. Some three hundred years ago, the people among whom you now find yourself, were great, heroic, and unconquerable. They had, indeed, strange masters, and a religion which they did not very well understand, but which their rulers wished to impose by force. They were oppressed by hordes of monks, while a cruel and abandoned king insulted their dignity, and crushed their sympathies. But a secret fury and deep-seated hatred fermented below; the storm broke out; the strangers were expelled; religion was reformed; convents were pillaged and rased to the ground, while the drunken Wenceslas was cast into prison, and deprived of his crown. The signal of the revolt had been the execution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, two wise and courageous Bohemians, who wished to examine and throw light upon the mysteries of Catholicism, and whom a council cited, condemned, and burned, after having promised them safe conduct and freedom of discussion. This infamous treason was so grating to national honour, that a bloody war ravaged Bohemia, and a large portion of Germany, for many years. exterminating war was called the war of the Hussites. Innumerable and dreadful orimes were committed on both sides. The manners of the times were fierce and cruel over the whole earth. Party spirit and religious fanaticism rendered them still more dreadful; and Bohemia was the terror of Europe. I shall not shock your imagination, already unfavourably impressed by the appearance of this savage country, by reciting the horri ble scenes which then took place. On the one side, it was nothing but murders, burnings, destructions; churches profaned, and monks and nuns mutilated, hung, and thrown into boiling pitch. On the other side, villages were destroyed, whole districts desolated, treasons, falsehoods, crueltics, abounded on every side. Hussites were cast by thousands into tho mines, filling abysses with their dead bodies, and strewing the earth with their own bones and those of their enemics. These terrible Hussites were for a long time invincible; even yet their name is not mentioned without terror: and yet their patriotism, their intrepid constancy, and incredible exploits, have bequeathed to us a secret feeling of pride and admiration, which young minds, such as mine, find it somewhat difficult to conceal.'

"'And why conceal it?' asked Consuelo,

"It is because Bohemia has fallen back, after many struggles, under the yoke of slavery. Bohemia is no more, my poor Niua. Our masters were well aware that the religious liberty of our country was also its political freedom; therefore they have stifled both.'

"'See,' replied Consuelo, 'how ignorant I am! I uever heard of these things before, and I did not dream that men could be so unhappy and so

"'A hundred years after John Huss, another wise man, a new sectarian, a poor monk called Martin Luther, sprang up to awaken the national spirit, and to inspire Bohemia, and all the independent provinces of Germany, with hatred of a foreign yoke and revolt against popedom. The most powerful kings remained catholics, not so much for love of religion, as for love of absolute power. Austria united with them in order to over whelm us, and a new war, called the Thirty-Years' War, came to shake and destroy our national independence. From the commencement of this war, Bohemia was the prey of the strongest; Austria treated us as couquered; took from us our faith, our liberty. our language, and even our Our fathers resisted courageously, but the name. imperial yoke has weighed more and more heavily upon us. For the last hundred and twenty years, our nobility, ruined and decimated by exactions, wars, and torments, have been forced to expatriate themselves, or turn renegades by abjuring their origin, germauising their names (pay attention to this), and reuouncing the liberty of professing their religious opinions. They have burned our books, destroyed our schools—in a word, made us Austrians. We are but a province of the empire, and you hear German spoken in a Slavouic state; that is saying enough.'

"'And you now suffer and blush for this slavery? I understand you, and I already hate

Austria with all my heart.

"' Oh! speak low,' exclaimed the young baroness. 'No one can, without danger, speak thus under the black sky of Bohemia; and in this castle there is but one person, my dear Nina, who would have the boldness or the folly to say what you have just said: that is my cousin Albert.

" 'We are a strictly Catholic family, faithful to church and state. We bear a Saxon name, and our ancestors, on the Saxon side, were always

rigidly orthodox.

"' As to myself, dear Nina, I am a better compound—neither Protestant uor Catholic. I was educated by nuns, whose prayers and paternosters wearied me. The same weariness pursues me here, and my aunt Wenceslawa, in her own person, represents the podantry and superstitiou of a whole community. But I am too much imbued with the spirit of the age, to throw myself, through contradiction, into the not less presumptuous coutroversics of the Lutherans: as for the Hussites, their history is so ancient that I have no more relish for it than for the glory of the Greeks and Romans. The French way of thinking is to my mind; and I do not believe there can be any other reason, philosophy, or civilization, than that which is practised in charming and delightful France, the writings of which I sometimes have a peep at in secret, and whose liberty, happiness, and pleasures, I behold from a distance, as in a dream, through the bars of my prison.

"' Count Christian, my uncle, was childless by his first wife. Married again at the age of forty, he had five girls, who as well as their mother all died young, stricken with the same malady-a continual pain, and a species of slow brain fever. This second wife was of pure Bohemian blood, and had besides great beauty and intelligence. I

did not know her. You will see her portrait in the grand saloon, where she appears dressed in a bodice of precious stones and scarlet mantle. Albert resembles her wonderfully. He is the sixth and last of her children, the only one who has attained the age of thirty; and this not with out difficulty: for without apparently being ill, he has experienced rude shocks and strange symptoms of disease of the brain, which still cause fear and dread as regards his life. Between ourselves, I do not think that he will long outlive this fatal period which his mother could not escape. Although born of a father already advanced in yoars, Albert is gifted with a strong constitution, but, as he himself says, the malady is in his soul, and has ever been increasing. From his earliest infancy, his mind was filled with strange and superstitious notions. When he was four years old, he frequently fanoied he saw his mother beside his cradle, although she was dead, and he had seen her buried. In the night he used to awake and converse with her, which terrified my aunt Wenceslawa so much that she always made several women sleep in his chamber near the child, whilst the chaplain used I do not know how much holy water, and said masses by the dozen, to oblige the spectre to keep quiet. But it was of no avail, for the child, although he had not spoken of his apparitions for a long time, declared one day in confidence to his nurse, that he still saw his own dear mother; but he would not tell, because Mr. Chaplain had said wicked words in the chamber to prevent her coming back. "He was a silent and serious child. They tried

to amuse him; they overwhelmed him with toys and playthings, but these only served for a long time to make him more sad. At last they resolved not to oppose the taste which he displayed for study, and in effect this passion being satisfied, imparted more animation to him, but only served to change his calm and languishing melancholy into a strange excitement, mingled with paroxysms of grief, the cause of which it was impossible to foresee or avert. For example, when he saw the poor, he melted into tears, stripped himself of his little wealth, even reproaching himself that he had not more to bestow. If he saw a child beaten, or a peasant ill-used, he became so indignant that he would swoon away, or fall into convulsions for hours together. All this displayed a uoble disposition and a generous heart; but the best qualities, pushed to extremes, become defective or absurd. Reason was not developed in young Albert in proportion to feeling and imagiuation. The study of history excited without enlightening him. When he learned the crimes and injustice of men, he felt an emotion like that of the barbarian monarch, who, listening to the history of Christ's passion and death, exclaimed while he brandished his weapon, 'Ah! had I been there, I should have cut the wicked Jews into a thousand pieces!

"'Albert could not deal with men as they have been and are. He thought heaven unjust in not having created them all kind and compassionate like himself. He chose his society from among the most humble, and those most in disfavour with fortune, and even nature. In the plays of his childhood he only amused himself with the children of the poor, and especially with those whose stupidity or infirmities had inspired all others with disgust or weariness. This strange inclination, as you will soon perceive, has not

abandoned him.

"'My uncle and aunt are without doubt the best Christians and the most charitable souls in the world. They liberally dispense alms to allaround them, and it would be impossible to display less pomp or pride in the use of riches than do these worthy relatives of mine. Well, my cousin made the discovery that their manner of living was altogether opposed to the spirit of the Gospel. He wished that, after the example of the early Christians, they should sell all they had and becomo beggars, after having distributed the pro

ceeds among the poor. If, restrained by the respect and love which he boro them, he did not exactly use words to this effect, he showed plainly what he thought, in bitterly deploring the lot of the poor, who are only born to toil and suffer, whilst the rich live in luxury and idloness. When he had given away in charity all his pocket-money, it was in his estimation but as a drop of water in the sea, and he domanded yet larger sums, which they dured not refuse him, and which flowed through his hands as water. He has given so much, that you will no longer see a poor person in all the country which surrounds us, and I must add that we find our position nothing the better for it; inasmuch as the wants and demands of the lower orders increase in proportion to the concessions made to them, and our good peasants, formerly so mild and humble, begin to give themselves airs, thanks to the prodigality and fine speeches of their young master.

"'When Count Christian attempted to remon-

strate with young Albert, telling him that to give all in one day was to deprive us of the means of giving anything the next, 'Why, my beloved father, he replied, 'have we not a roof to shelter us which will last longer than oursolves, whilst thousands of unfortunates have only the cold and inclement sky above their heads? Have we not each more clothes than would suffice for one of these ragged and shivering families? Do I not see daily upon our table more meats and Hungarian wines than would suffice to refresh and comfort those poor beggars, exhausted with fatigue and hunger? Have we a right to refuse when we have so much more than we require? Are we even permitted to use what is necessary whilst others are in want! Has the law of Christ changed!'

"It was another affair as regarded political matters. In Albert's eyes, the social arrangements which permitted sovereigns, in conformity with their pride and vain glory, to destroy millions of men and ruin entire countries, were nothing less than monstrous. This intolerance in these respects might have entailed dangerous consequences, so that his relatives no longer ventured to bring him to Vienna, Prague, or any other city where his virtuous fanaticism might have proved fatal to him. They were not even certain as to his religious views: but they knew that there was quite enough in his exalted notions to bring a heretic to the stake. He hated popes, inasmuch as these apostles of Jesus Christ leagued themselves with king against the peace and majesty of the people. He blamed the luxury, worldly spirit, and ambition of bishops, abbés, and churchmen generally. He repeated sermons of Luther and John Huss to the poor chaplain, and in the mean time passed hours together pros-trate on the chapel floor, plunged in ecstasics worthy of a saint.

(To be continued.)

THE MONSTER EXHIBITION.

Punch's Almanac for 1851 narrates the adventures of one Mr. Haycock and family, on the occasion of visiting the forthcoming Exhibition. The head of the family is an old Tory squire. He cherishes a constitutional and hereditary aversion for all novelties and innovations, and glories in a hearty hatred of "foreigners." Persuaded, against his own inclination, to visit the metropolis for the purpose of seeing the wonders of the "Crystal Palace," he starts from the family mansion with the intention of "putting up" at the house of a friend, one Mr. Heyday, Baker Street, Portman Square. The following extracts from the family diaries will givo our readers an idea of the Haycocks' adventures :

FROM MR. HAYCOCK'S DIARY - APRIL 20.-Arrived at the Eastern Counties Station-after a miserable journey—no porters of course—and had to stand sentry over luggage for an hour before cabs enough could be procured. Got 'em at last, and drove to HEYDAY's in Baker Street.

Could'nt get up to the door for cabs, setting down, loaded with all sorts of foreigners in all sorts of ridiculous travelling caps and cloaks. The lobby full of foreign luggage, and the house full of foreign men and women. Mr. HEYDAY, in a great state of indignation, and no wonder. That confounded son of his had asked every-body who had been civil to him, in his travels (Old HEYDAY had been ass enough to encourage the boy in running abroad on all occasions) to come to his father's whenever they visited London. They have all visited London for this Cock and Bull Exhibition, and they've all come to his father's, of course. Old Hernar doesn't talk any foreign lingo, and of course could'nt explain matters; so the foreigners had got themselves settled, and the house is full of them from area to attio. I shan't stay here, among 'em, and so I've told Mrs. II——. Frien is to look us out a lodging to-

'Faom Miss Haycock's Diary - April 29. Luckily FREN hasn't been able to find a lodging yet, so we are still here in Mr. HBYDAY's charming house, with a set of such interesting people. There's the Count de Carambole, who was so kind to Tom HEYDAY, in his affair at Baden, and who has met FRED in Paris. He is delightful, knows everything and everybody, and sings his own romances in the most pathetic style. He is liabitually melancholy, but becomes more cheerful as you get into earnest conversation with him, Papa calls him a swindler-of course, as he is a

foreigner.

FROM FRED'S DIARY-MAY 2.-Got a lodging at last-two rooms-at £10 a week; thanks to the fight I made. The Governor and I sleep in the sitting-room, which smokes. He has the sofa, and I have a shake down on the table. mother and Mary have the bed-room—which is rather high up. The house is rather full. There is a Chinese family down-stairs, with four daughters in one room. They are perpetually making tea, and live upon ducks and rice. I see the funniest little trotter-cases outside of their door of a morning—I suppose belonging to the Celestial young ladies. I am told they inquired a good deal, at first, after bird's-nests (of which they make soup at home), and had a great many brought them by the little boys of the neighbourhood. It appears they were not of the right sort for eating. Governor made a dreadful row this morning about the three Germans in the attic. They smoke pretty constantly, and were singing about "Vaterland" till three o'clock this morning. They have received notice to quit; and declare they are willing to go, but that they wo'nt pay the rent. The landlady tells me they have been lodging on the same principle ever since they came here, and that they boast to her they have never paid any rent yet. The man who sleeps on the landing came in fresh this morning, and insisted on going into our bed-room. I had to go out and punch his head. The Persian Prince on the first-floor is going. He had one of his attendants courbashed or flogged yesterday, and the man has got a warrant against him for an assault. The North American Indians, in the kitchen had their dog-feast yesterday, and got jolly on the "fire-water," as they call gin. I don't believe they really intended to scalp the knife-boy; it was only their fun: but he has gone this morning, in an awful funk. However it is very pleasant if we could only get anything to cat.

FROM MR. HAYCOCK'S DIARY.—I will go home next week if I go alone. I can't stand any more of the Exposition. After three hours of it, I lost Mrs. H. and Mary, got into a snug corner, upon a pile of hearth rugs, and fell fast asleep. I suppose nobody saw me; for when I woke, the place was dark and shut up. I nearly broke my neck among the absurd cranks and things, before I could find a door, and then it was an hour before I could make a policeman outside hear, and then it was another hour before they could find

went to the cab stand ontside the Park entrance, to hail a cab, There wasn't a driver on his box, and when I went up to the first on the rank and rapped at the window, supposing the fellow had got inside for a snooze, a respectable-looking elderly gentleman popped out his head, in his night-cap, and blew me up for disturbing his night's rest, and said he "wondered what the Police were about, not allowing people to sleep quiet in their own apartments?" I passed on to the next, and hang me if there wasn't another man, in his night-cap and dressing-gown, putting his boots out of the window, and begging the driver to "rap at the door at eight, and bring him his hot water." FRED tells me they are regularly let out for the night or week, and declares that he saw placards with "Lodgings for a Single Man," on a pole stuck out of the top of a Hausom, and "One Bed to Let" hung from the window of a mangy-looking night Clarence! I suppose people who have no objection to a double-bedded room, are accommodated in the omnibuses!

"Boxing Night.-In a large Hospital like Bartholomew's, it is always a question who is to be house surgeon on duty on Boxing Night; for so sure as the night shall come, it shall be no night of rest for him. Double the number of casualties are brought in as compared with the average of any other night in the year. Broken heads, "got in a scrimmage, your hanner, with Paddy Phelan;" broken legs, and sometimes thighs, from slipping down stairs after the feastings and drinkings; stabs given by folks who met and quarrelled "just in a friendly way;" insensible bundles of clothes and humanity, who had taken poison with their drink for jealousy sake; and cabs with men in a state which defies policemen and good-natured pedestrians to decide whether they be dead with drink or dying of an apoplectic fit. A dreary side of the Christmas picture is this, but a true one nevertheless; the shadow of the subject; the gloom that must exist, to contrast with brightness in all things human. The poor house surgeon, possibly, ought to think so, but as splints, and bandages, and plaisters, and sleepylooking nurses, and lancets, and drugs, and stomach-pumps, throng round about him in the disturbed quiet of his Hospital night, no one can blame him much if he lectures the hero of the "scrimmage" and broken heads, or mildly supplies advice, as well as bandages, to the tipsy proprietor of the broken leg, upon the old and good adage that "Enough's as good as a Feast," even at Christmas Tide .- Household Words.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM PROTESTANT.—The dispute which had existed between the Emperor Charles and Pope Clement VII. having subsided, the latter obtained the promise of imperial help against the floods of heresy which were breaking in upon the Church from all quarters. A second diet was convoked at Spires, in which the interest of the Empsror succeeded so far as to revoke, by a majority of votes, the unanimous decision of the former diet; and he forbade any departure from the Catholic faith and discipline till a general council should be assembled. The decree of the second diet was passed about three years after the former, and was very ill received by the Elector of Saxony and other Lutheran Princes. They conceived that a resolution passed unanimously was of much greater force than one passed only by a majority. Accordingly they entered their protest against the decree of the Emperor and his majority, and resolved to maintain the ecclesiastical code they had established. From the circumstances of this protest the Reformers and their civil supporters were afterwards denominated Protestants.

NOTE ON CHRISTMAS GAMES .- Many a young lady who objects to being kissed under the mistletoe, has no objection to be kissed under the

Scientific Exhibitor.—An ingenious chemist sends a bottle of fog to the Exhibition of 1851, a key to let me out. I was tired to death, and as a specimen of the raw material.

Labour Record

Co-operative Chronicle

TRADES' UNIONS.

THE SHIPWRIGHTE OF THE TYNE .- Like all other opera-THE Shipwhiohte of the Tyne have found it necessary to establish an association for the protection of their interests as workmen. The society is strictly legal, and in every respect a highly commendable organization. Such however is not the opinion of a certain local luminary rejoicing in the title of The North and South Shields Gazette. however is not the opinion of a certain local luminary rejoicing in the title of The North and South Shields Gazette. Five or six weeks ago the editor of the Gzzette thought proper to publish certain anonymous lettere, attacking and denouncing the Shipwrights' Union. It was asserted that it was owing to the selfish and foolish combination of the shipwrights that so little shipbuilding was carried on in the river. It was pretended that the unionists intended to etrike against their employers; and the shop-keepers and Poor Law Guardians were urged to refuee all assistance to the men in the event of a strike. The shipwrights defended themselves, or, rather would have done so through the columns of the Gazette, but their defence was burked. Our readers will hardly be surprised to learn that the Gazette is a liberal and "free trade" paper. Ite Tostility to the Shipwrights Union is easily to be accounted for. In the first place Trades' Unions, and all kinds of Labour Combinations are "the abomination of desolation" to liberals of the "Manchester School," hostile as such combinations are to the favourite theories of that class of politicians. In the second place the Gazette's detestation of the union derived additional strength from the fact of the mauager, &c., of that paper being at war with the compositors employed thereon, in consequence of an attempt to force the men to abandon their (the compositors') association. Lastly, the hope of winning "accles on pinione" amongst the capitalist abandon their (the compositors') association. Lastly, the hope of winning "golden opinione" amongst the capitalist class, by traducing the efforts of the workers to protect their wages was, no doubt, the principal "circumstance" by which the editor of the Gazette was inspired. Indignant by which the editor of the Gazette was inspired. Indignant at being accused and ahused, and not permitted to defend themselves through the same medium, the shipwrights took another mode of appealing to public opinion. They convened a public meeting in the Town-hall of South Shields. The hall was densely crowded, and hundreds were unable to obtain admission. The report of the meeting published in the Newcastle Guardian contains a number of facts of public importance, and well worthy of heing restated in this publication. One of the speakers said—"They were accused of wanting two days' wages for four houre' work—the writer alluded to tides' work. They obtained a day's pay for working at a chip a tide, and this tained a day's pay for working at a chip a tide, and this was the rule of all others who work about the waters' edge; tained a day's pay for working at a chip a tide, and this was the rule of all others who work about the waters' edge; but this writer would have them, after they had worked knee deep in mud for a tide, go back to the chip-yard and stay till six o'clock, charging only a day'e work (cries of shame!)" The beneficial results of the Shipwrights Union were satisfactorily shown. One speaker said "He might refer them to times, before their union, when their wages were 15s. per week, and they were treated worse than dogs—required to calk 70 feet of new work, and after that to scrape it (cries of "shame"), and then to hlack it. Was it not time then, that they should lift up their heads erect, and combine, not to do any act of insistice to others, but to protect themelves (cheers). "The chairman said the "Gazette had stated that Sunderland ships were built in such a manner that they would hardly ewim. This was once the case; nobody would doubt it; it was when ships were built by the piece or joh, and 'slimmed' off for ready-money customers, no matter how. This had been altered—and who had altered it? Not the masters—they would do the eame now, but the men (cheers). The men had entered into a combination not to put euch work off their hands, and not to eacrifice human life to satisfy the cupldity of a few. This their benevolent society had done, and he vindicated their character for benevolence, especially for having provided trystworthy ships for those who had to do business on the eas. Sunderland was now turning out firet-class chips, under combination, whilst before inferior veesels wore racter for benevolence, especially for having provided trystworthy ships for those who had to do business on the eea. Sunderland was now turning out firet-class chips, under combination, whilst before inferior veesels wore built." The real character of the Gazette was laid bare by several speakers, particularly by one of the compocitore lately employed on that paper, who catated that "come time back a person in the shape of a man was brought to manage the Shields Gazette office. This person said to them, 'Will you leave the society—will you violate your principles as sooiety men?' As a hody they eaid to him they could not. He replied 'you must do so.' They cuccessfully resisted hie arguments, but he repeatedly stated that his object was to crush such cocieties, and that he would do so at any hazard or risk. His language was 'I hate those unions, you must leave the union.' He admitted they did their duty as men. And that the concern was paying—then how could the union be inimical to the interests of their employer. They applied to the executive in Sheffield for advice, and were advised to resist every attempt to crush them (cheers), and they determined to come out rather than submit to such tyranny." The speakers, one and all, declared that as the Gazette tried to put down all combinations of the working men, the workers must put it down. A resolution denouncing the Gazette as a partial paper and unworthy of the support of the working elasses, and another expressing the determination of the meeting not to support any establishment where the Gazette may be taken in, were carried unanimously. These resolutions were adopted at a subsequent meeting

of the working men of North Shields. The shipwrights have nobly performed their duty, and we earnestly hope that their resolutions will be supported by their brother operatives of every calling. A journal devoted to the upholding of injustice by means of lying and elandering, has no right to exist. May the shipwrights of the Tyne flourish, and may their enemies and calumniators perish by the sentence of Public Opinion.

STRIKES.

LEEDS IRON-WORKERS.—The whole of the workmen-nearly 1,100 in number—in the employment of Messrs. E. B. Wilson and Co., of the Leeds Railway Foundry, are out on strike. It is stated that the strike originated in the discharge of the smiths' foreman, and from a general feeling of dissatisfaction at the conduct of the manager. We should be glad to be furnished with further position. We should be glad to be furnished with further parti-

culars.

The London Type-founders.—The strike of the Chiswellstreet Type-foundere has not yet terminated. Caslon,
Fagg, and Co. yet hold out against the just demands of
the workmen, and the latter continue firmly resolved to
continue the struggle until they have achieved the object
of their etrike. In consequence of the holiday season, a
few of the men who recently obtained work have been again
thrown out of employment: still about half the number
who struck against Fagg and Co. are in work. The remaining half remain on the strike fund. We hope that
the trades and the public will continue to stand by men
who have so gallantly stood by the cause of labour, and
proved themselves well worthy of public support. Subscriptions and communications to be addressed to Mr.
Robert Yuill, the George Inn, Forster'e Buildings, Whitecross-street, St. Luke's, London.

The Eastern Counties Engine-drivers and Firemen.—
The frightful collisions on the Eastern Counties' line,
which have carried pain and grief into so many families,
will surely produces some effect favourable to the cause of the
turn outs. It is true that the accidents alluded to occurred
during a deuse for, and might have happened had there THE LONDON TYPE-FOUNDERS .- The strike of the Chiswell-

during a dense fog, and *might* have happened had there been no strike. The public, however, and particularly the sufferers, will be inclined to the opposite opinion, because no such accidents cecurred on other lines; although the sufferers, will be inclined to the opposite opinion, because no such accidents eccurred on other lines, although the fog was not confined to the Eastern Counties; and because the driver of the Enfield express train, which ran into the Hertford train, has been in the employ of the company only since the strike. This man either through ignorance or careleseness, was driving the train, according to his own account, at the rate of ten miles an hour, hut according to the guard of the Hertford train, twenty miles an hour, in violation of the regulations which provide that during a state of fog the train shall proceed at not more than three miles an hour. This comes of the public tamely eubmitting to the tyranny of Gooch, and the avaricious heartlessness of the directors. Surely the spectacle of nearly thirty men, women and children writhing in agony amidst the wreck of engines and carriages, smashed to atoms will break the sleep of popular apathy. Surely the knowledge that so large a number of sufferers have been, during the Christmas festival, groaning under the torture of fractured limbs, and lacerated flesh,—to say nothing of the grief of their friends and relatives—will cause the public voice to demand a change of system in the working of the Eastern Counties Line. Another grievance, although of less importance, must be noticed. The Times of December 24th, speaking of the Christmas markets, "the low pricee of butchers' meat, and other Christmas edibles, remarked on the waethenefit conferred on the working classes by "free trade:" The Times quoted the prices of butchers' meat at "from 5d. to 7d. per lb. for prime parts." The very day this statement appeared in the Times the hutchers in Newgate market were demanding from 8d. to 9d. for best parts, and the shopkeeping butchers demanded from 9d. to 10d. When people complained of these plundering prices, the gate market were demanding from 8d. to 9d. for best parts, and the shopkeeping butchers demanded from 9d. to 10d. When people complained of these plundering prices, the answer invariably given was that there had been collisions on the Eastern Counties Railway, and the destruction of vast quantities of meat in course of being conveyed to the metropolis, and that hence the supply falling ehort, prices had risen. We recently stated that the smash-up of goods trains laden with meat and fish, was a matter of almost daily occurrence on this disgracefully mismanaged line of railway. This is a grievance which affects, more line of railway. This is a grievance which affects, more or less, the entire public, but especially the poor. The London markets now mainly depend upon railway conveyance for their supplies, and were other railways worked after the manner of the Eastern Counties by Gooch and his elaves, meat, fish, vegetables, dc., would speedily rise to famine pricee. The *Times* and the rest of the *respectable* journals are well aware of this grievance, nevertheless they are silent—because their Editors are the bought and bound creatures and slaves of the kings of gold.

CO-OPERATION.

CO-OPERATION.

The Factory Workers of Lancasher.—An address has been published to the Factory Operatives of Stalybridge, Ashton, Oldham, Royton, &c., &c., on the eubject of Co-operation,—from which we give the following extracts:—"We wish to ask you a few plain questions: 1st,—Do you receive a sufficient remuneration for your labour to supply you with all the comforts and necessaries of life? 2nd,—If a life of industry and hard labour is not enough to secure all that is necessary for the happiness and welfare of yourselves and families, how is it that those who never toil, but live and roll in luxury, and dine at Nature's richest board, are always the first partakers of the fruits of your industry? The first of these questions is easily answered: a glance at your pale and care-worn hrows, and a peep into your cottages is enough to convince all that your labour is too much and your wages too small. The second is one of more importance, and on its right solution hang the fate of millions yet unborn. You have solution hang the fate of millions yet unborn. You have

thought too much of others and too little of yourselves. Your blood and labour has been coined into millione of wealth, but those you have appointed to distribute it have borne it all away and left you nothing but the dross. But this struggle for life has not been in vain. A grand discovery has been made—a remedy for all your wrongs may be found—in producing and distributing for yourselves. Do this, and those who have grown rich from your labour will soon find your real value and importance. Only let the Operatives of every town raise amongst themselves a few thousand pounds, and employ it in the production and distribution of wealth, and you will soon find that the secret of your emancipation may be found in Co-operation. Manufacturing has been a very profitable business; while and distribution of wealth, and you will soon find that the secret of your emancipation may be found in Co-operation. Manufacturing has been a very profitable business; while in the height and glory of its prosperity, thousands were raised from obscurity to wealth and influence; but, like all artificial labour, it could not last for ever, and the reason why there is so much idle machinery is, because it is no longer profitable to pay you to keep it in motion. Those who own it have made fortunes; they hold fast the wealth which you have produced, and see you go to the bastile in hundreds, or walking the streets in a state of starvation. You may remedy these evils; if you cannot be employed profitably in manufacturing, you can break up your old looms and spinning jennies, mould them into spades, ploughs, and other agricultural implements, and take to the LAND—man's only natural labour.

Belgian Co operative Associations. — The "United Brothers," of Gheat, composed exclusively of workingmen, profess to supply to members all articles of goods at market price, with the addition of one-twentieth, or £5 per cent. for expenses of management. At Liege, an association has been formed for the purchase of cattle, and sale of meat, at reduced prices. At Peruwels, a brewery is being set up on a capital divided into £2 shares, payable by ten monthly instalments, so as to enable the workment to become members.

nien to become memhers.

Poetry for the People.

"RINGING THE OLD YEAR OUT AND THE NEW YEAR IN."

BY ALFRED TENNYSON.

Ring out, wild bells, to the wild sky,
The flying cloud, the frosty light:
The year is dying in the night:
Ring out, wild bells, and let him die.

Ring out, wild bells, and let him de.
Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring, happy bells, across the snow:
The year is going, let him go;
Ring out the false, ring in the true.
Ring out the griefthat saps the mind,
For those that here we see no more;
Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
Ring in redress to all mankind.
Ping out a slowly dying cruse.

Ring out a slowly dying cause, And ancient forms of party strife; Ring in the nobler modes of life. With sweeter manners, purer laws.

The faithless coldness of the times;
Ring out, ring out my mournful rhymes,
But ring the fuller minstrel in.

Ring out false pride, in place and blood,
The civic slander and the spite;
Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good.
Ring out old shapes of foul disease,
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;
Ring out the thousand wars of old,

Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Ring in the valiant man and free, The larger heart, the kindlier hand; Ring out the darkness of the land, Ring in the Christ that is to be.

RHYMES FOR THE LANDLORDED.

-THE CONSECRATED LAND. The consecrated land!—
Our fathers' and, alas! our children's grave:
Growing from out their hearts the wild flowere wave
O'er that dear earth, and on it yet doth stand
The poor man's shrine.
What prince dare lay his hand
On this, and say—"Tis mine?"

Is not our martyrs' earth
Held sacred too? not merely the low ditch,
Where kings can fling them, but the wide land which
Should be more than the grave stone of their worth.
Where Hampden and Fitzgerald trod,—
What "peer" can own that earth?

Novempone but Cod.

None-none but God.

The "consecrated" soil! The "consecrated" soil!

Is not the round earth God'e,—his sacred field,
Where man may learn celestial arms to wield,
And grow divine through sanctity of toil?—
What landlord dare

To dispossess God's seed? what power shall spoil
Those whom God planted there?

SPARTACUS.

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KRIND THE PROPER.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

FDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 5.]

The War of Classes

SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1851.

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"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

THE WAR OF CLASSES.

STRANGERS to this country who know England only through the medium of her external greatness, her vast empire, her commerce, lier naval superiority, the enterprising spirit of her merchants, and the wealth of 'milords,' who are to be found travelling in pursuit of health or pleasure in nearly all parts of the world, must imagine that of all lands under the sun, this is the most fortunate and highly favoured. When they know, too, that whilst other states were shaken to their foundations by the upheavings of popular discontent, England, or rather the English government and institutions, remained firm and erect during the revolutionary earthquake, they must believe that all classes of our people are contented with the present arrangements of society; and if the general harmony is occasionally marred by Chartist ebullitions, those Chartists must really be, as represented by our truth-loving press, a small and insignificant section of the community! When, lastly, those strangers find themselves invited to come from even "the uttermost corners of the earth" to participate in the great festival of the "Crystal Palace," the Grand Industrial Fete of 1851, designed to exhibit the magnificent results of the fraternal combination of capitalists and workers, those strangers—provided they have not seen the revelations of "Lubour and the Poor" in the "Morning Chronicle" must expect to find England the home of a happy brotherhood, living all for each, and each for all!

But we venture to predict that if our visitors will only open their eyes and cars, and make use of their natural common sense, they will come to a very different conclusion after a few weeks sojourn in this country.

It is true that no Jacquerie desolates our fields; that no death-struggle between lord and serf gives, in turn, the castle and the cottage to the flames. It is true that the capital is not menaced by infuriated masses, driven to despair, and thirsting for vengeance; that neither a TYLER nor a CADE exist at this reduce wages; some strike on the part of the vassal's daughter, while husband and father

moment to dispute the sovereignty of the State with the appointed chief of the privileged classes. It is true that neither barricades nor bombardments brought the horrors of civil strife into our streets in 1848-9. It is nevertheless true that a War of Classes is going on in this country, a war which is daily extending, and which threatens to, ere long,

produce the most important results. I speak not of the agricultural labourers. Long centuries of oppression, more particularly the oppression they have suffered since the commencement of this era of "inclosure acts," and "large farms," has reduced them to a state of bondage and degradation below that of the Irish peasantry. I say below that of the most wretched class of the most wretched country in the world, because in Ireland, although the mass may resign themselves to misery, may be content to die and make no sign of resistance to their destroyers, it is otherwise with a minority who appeal from the injustice of institutions to "the wild justice of revenge." Better that outraged Human Nature and Human Right should be vindicated by the Avenger, than that an entire race should succumb to oppression, sink into apathy, feel no aspiration for knowledge or freedom, and be content to lead the life of swine, and die the death of dogs. In England's agricultural districts the War of Classes is not. For the oppressed are passive and offer no resistance to their oppressors. Still this fallen class might be raised to the dignity of men were the proper means taken to enlighten their minds. Although sunk in ignorance and apathy, they might be aroused to a sense of their wrongs, and a knowledge of their rights, if the democratic party would send missionaries amongst them to preach the glad tidings of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, and THE LAND FOR ALL! Once indoctrinated with these saving truths the rural labourers would be found most important auxiliaries to the proletarians of the manufacturing and commercial towns, the men whose mission is to combat for Labour against Capital in the War of Classes.

In the "Labour Record" of this publication there is chronicled, every week, some new attempt on the part of the Capitalists to

workers to resist such reductions; some new proof of the conspiracy of the men of money against the men of toil; some new effort of the latter to extend and strengthen their Trades Unions and other labour defences; or to combat the enemy by assuming the position of self-employers, — uniting capital with labour, but attempting the divorce of the labourer from the capitalist.

26 | Labour Record and Co-operative Chronicle:—
27 | "The Manchester Hammermen;" "Progress of
28 | Association in England, Belgium and America."
28 | Poetry:—"The Murdercd;" "Admonition." . . .

Let me call the attention of the reader to one or two illustrations of the War of Classes, not hitherto noticed in the "Labour Record."

Within the past few months there have been numerous strikes of factory workers and weavers in Lancashire, either to resist reductions, or to compel under-paying employers to advance the wages paid to their "hands" to the general rate of the district. In some instances the turn-outs have succeeded, in others they have failed; and in one case they have set to work to free themselves from mastership by establishing a factory of their own. To illustrate the insolent tyranny of the capitalists in that part of the country, it is only necessary to name the case of the weavers in the employ of the Messrs. Ogden, of Set, near Oldham. During some years past the OGDENS have been paying a list of prices very considerably below the list paid by other firms. The weavers requested that this injustice should be remedied. Their delegates, on waiting upon Mr. THOMAS OGDEN, were told that as it was not his department, he would not interfere, but would send for his brother EDWARD. He added that his brother was a "damned fool" if he did not kick them out. EDWARD came. and in a most insulting manner asked their business; but before they had time to explain, he ordered them to leave the premises, or he would kick them out as he had kicked out the spinners! These OGDENS boast of having beaten the spinners after a twenty weeks' turn-out, and that they could beat any combination of weavers. The insolence of these plundering oppressors is most galling. Nor is this all. If the reports that have reached me are true, one of the worst abominations of the factory system is to be found under the tyrannical rule of these Ogdens, or Ogres. When feudalism was rampant, the baron might seizo his serf's bride, and his

permitted the shame and crime, or if they dared to mutter a word of complaint, were murdered by the hand of the privileged ravisher. The factory lord may not use force and murder as the means of obtaining victims to gratify his lust; he however obtains the samo end by means of the paltriest corruption, or by threatening deprivation of employment; and when ho fails to overcome the virtuous, may take his revenge by punishing those he cannot corrupt or intimidate, either by reducing them to half-starvation through the system of "fines" and "abatements," to complete misery by expelling them from his employ. What wonder at the bitter hatred with which the factory slaves regard their tyrants? Base creatures would they be if they failed to feel as men must feel,. when human devils, calling themselves men, thus lord it over their fellow-creatures.

The case of the Hammermen late in the employ of Messrs. SHARP, BROTHERS, and Co., Manchester, should command the attention and sympathy of the Trades generally. Any reasonable person would think that 17s. and 19s. are anything but high wages for a week's excessive toil. Had the workers struck for higher wages, not just man could havefelt surpriso. But the men were content. Not so the "masters;" they decreed that: the men who received nineteen shillings were henceforth to receive only seventeen, and those who received seventeen shillings were henceforth to receive only sixteen. The Hammermen appointed a deputation to waitupon the employers, and present "a most respectfully worded memorial," in which they begged that the notice of reduction might be withdrawn. But in vain; and the men having only the alternative of submission to the loss of a considerable portion of their small income, or to strike work, took the latter course. Can any one blame them? Or rather, are they not worthy of praise? Have they not entitled themselves to the support of their order of all trades and callings? May they find that support, and may they succeed in protecting the rights of their class, the wages of their labour, -the bread of their children.

Behold another instance of the War of Classes:—Messrs Knowles and Sons, of Pendlebury, near Manchester, have discharged upwards of 300 of their colliers, simply because they had formed a society for the protection of their labour!

If the daily papers may be believed, the engine-drivers on the North West'ern Railway have succumbed to the conspiracy of those who are bent upon reducing that class of workmen to the general level of their enslaved order. Hitherto the engine-drivers have been able to maintain a rate of wages which, though vory inferior to the income of the old stage-coach drivers, is yet very superior to the average wages of their fellowworking men. They have hitherto been enabled to hold their own, partly in consequence of the absence of that competition which abounds in other callings, and partly because of their superior means of acting in concert, and with an effect not possible in any other department of Labour. Avowedly for the purpose of taking from the men the power of proteeting their interests by an effeetive turn out, the directors resolved to require of those employed on the northern division of the line a three months' natice before

quitting the company's service. Of course, with a three months' notice, the directors would have ample time to provide new hands, and so render a strike worse than useless. The men declared their determination not to submit to any such agreement, and the drivers on the Southern division of the line manifested a willingness to make common cause with their brethren. The directors thereupon took "energetic measures" to coerce the men; The drivers on both divisions of the line were suddenly required, without any previous notice, to signify their instant decision as to whether they would pledge themsolves to abstain from a strike. Some of the most active in the society-meetings were served with a notice of expulsion from their employment; and at the same time a number of new "hands" were engaged to be in readiness to take the places of the men who had notice of dismissal, and of others who might refuse to submit to the dictation of the directors. .. Under these circumstances 'the men, divided amongst themselves, with the. entire men daily press, andevery other force at the command of wealth, against them, appear to have given way. The men on the Northern division of the line have agreed to the three months' notice, and the mon on the Southern division have succumbed to the conditions required of them. I fear that this issue prognosticates dark days for the enginedrivers and their assistants. It is true that at present nothing is said of a reduction of wages, the very idea is disavowed. who is there that puts faith in that disavowal? The three months' notice' will be gradually extended over all the railways in the kingdom, and the drivers will, we fear, be entirely at the mercy of their unscrupulous masters.

As in the case of the Eastern Counties strike, the part taken by the Press has been most infamous. I speak of the daily press; there have been some few exceptions amongst the weekly journals. But the "respectable" and "influential" papers, that is to say, all those that exist by middle-class patronage, have joined in one chorus of denunciation against the North Western engine-drivers for only taking into consideration whether they ought to defend a right as legal as it is just,—the right to cease from working when their employers cease to do them justice. Before the working men can hope to obtain justice, they must be adequately represented in the Press; until then, and until they are represented in the legislature, they will have but small chance of victory in the War oft Classes.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE LAST STAGE OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY.

BY J. G. ECCARIUS. (Continued from No. 4.)

Every state of society, admits of certain improve ments called reforms. These reforms are either required by the interest of the whole ruling class, or they are only for the benefit of a particular fraction. In the fermer case they are carried without much agitation; in the latter, that fraction for whose blenefit they are to be carried, call themselves reformers; these form a distinct party, and appeal to the oppressed (they call it to the nation) to aid them in their ondeavours.

If the object to be achieved is a political eno, 'like the Reform Bill, the franchise and other good

things are promised, and the poor are drawn into the agitation. When the object is gained, the alliance is abandoned, generally from above, and the concessions made to the allies below, are so curtailed, as to amount to something like nothing. at all. If the reform is merely of an economical character, other baits are held cut to the oppressed, such as "a big loaf;" but at the time of the anticorn-law loague, the fish, though hungry, wouldn't bite!

Such reforms, however, are generally carried when the whole government machinery appears to be at a stand-still, and when the oppressed are

threatening to attack the state.

The reformers, at such times, point at the imminent danger that would arise from further resistance; thus they frighten the conscrvative frac-tion to surrender. If the oppressod have a demand for their own particular class-interest, and are sufficiently organized to agitate for it, these bit by bit reforms become really conservative measures, since the execution of them deprives the extreme party of the chance to animate that part of the body politic, who side with every thing in the shape of reform, and who are generally indifferent to political matters as long as they have got a crust to gnaw at. Whenever such a reform is carried, peaco is restored; the machinery of the state gets again in metion, and all seems well. This restoration of peace, however, is of short duration. Hostilities are not abolished, they are only suspended, and soon recommence. Tho most progressive fraction of the ruling class is again compelled to propose reforms, which are the more extensive and energetic, as the time of dissolution is drawing nearer. These refermers generally pretend that a roal radical reform, would set all' things right, and prevent further disturbances and 'agitation: Of course these reforms are all to be earried by "legal and constitutional means!" But however extensive and radical these reforms may be, they alter nothing in the fundamental system of an existing state of things. They only remove grievances, which are impediments to that very state of society, within which they are carried. out. Therefore one of the reforms must be the last enc, beyond which there is no possibility of roforming without changing the state of things entirely.

Our present state of society is one that will not admit of much further "reform." The reform seheme, which is at present occupying the public mind, and which will arouse the official John Bull at the next crisis, is the last one that can be carried out without laying the destroying axe to the root of bourgeois society. All the improvements that may be carried out within the existing state of society in England, are comprised in Parliamentary and Financial Referm; beyond this there is no alternative.

That fraction of the bourgeoisis, who have made it their special mission to earry out this scheme, have not failed to represent it as comprising the interest of the whole nation. They appeal to the nation in general, and to the proletariat in partioular, to aid thom in their struggle. The franchise. education, plenty of werk and good wages, are promised; but the eleven-foot peops through everywhere, and the proletarians are accordingly very backward with their eo-operation. . The ehester politicians are honest enough to tell us, as a matter of course, that the money price of labour will go down, when provisions become eheapor; but they add that "the real recompense will rather increase than diminish." They show how comfort able we might be, if we would but abstain from drinking spirits, and the indulgence of other "sonsual gratifications." Our present income, they say, will admit of plain and substantial living and how graceful (!!!) they allow us to spend six pence por weok, in "good, useful, and cheap litersuch as the cotton lords choose, to furnish ature. through the medium of "John Cassel's library." that wo may get a true (?) knowledge of the factory system, and the injurious consequences (?) of the

Ten Hours' Bill! Education is set forth as a prime necessary of life (and I am convinced it really ia), but as far as it is promoted by the Manchester school, with regard to the working classes, it merely means that if we received a good education in the true Manchester principles, we would come to the belief that we have no reason to grumble about our let. The same benefactors of the working class, tell us that if we only would be parsimonious, we could save many a shilling. As the best means for investing our savings, they advise us to join the freehold land societies, and purchase a vote, that we may vote for a Financial Reform candidate at the next election. Mr Cobden seems to be rather grieved that the wages slaves do not avail themselves of the opportunity of purchasing a froehold and a vote, "for (as he said at the London Tavern) half the money spent in gin would win all the counties." What a pity that working-men won't listen to advice.

Now with regard to parliamentary reform, and the pretended concessions made in the programme of the National Reform Association; before we believe that these concessions are made for us, we must investigate them, and enquire whether the parliamentary reformers are really in want of our co-operation or not. The little Charter contains no concession to the working classes. Those points which appear as such at first-sight, are so necessary, and so useful to the Manchester school, that they can scarcely do without them. The qualification of electors, set forth in the first paragraph is a tax qualification: hence money not the man would be the elector. The second point, vote by ballot, is necessary for rescuing the farmers and little tradeamen from the control of the aristocracy. The shortening of the duration of Parliament, is compatible with the interest of mill-owners. An equalisation of the electoral districts, according to the population, is the only means by which the manufacturers can send a majority of financial reformers into the House of Commons. It is the medium through which the supremacy of the industrial bourgeois is to be legally established, and the influence of the aristocracy in the legislature paralysed. The last point, "no property qualification for members of parliamont," which has been particularly proclaimed as a concession to the proletariat is without the payment of members not worth a straw to the working classes; while for the prost-mongers it is exceedingly useful. By means of this point the mill-owners could manage to have a host of their scribes, locturers, Chartist renegades, and other humble servants returned, who might be called on duty whenevor their masters required their aid in the house. Such are the concessions of the National Reform Association!

To working-men the most essential point of the programme is the qualification of electors. As it stands in the programme of the "Reformers" it cortainly seems as if it would put a vote within the reach of many a workingman; but before it can become the the law of the land it will have to go through parliament, where it will be shaped in such a manner as to deprive the working class of the chance of returning even a small number of representatives, whose principles might be antagonistic to the rule of capital, Then, the little Chartiste, will lament, on public platforms, that the five points have not been carried in their original integrity; but for the sake of legality they will advise us to put up with the new "reform," and be eatisfied that we have defeated the aristocratic foe, in some measure. A mutilation, in which those pretended Chartists will concur, can thus be attributed to aristocratic hostility and arrogance !

Our bourgeois progressists, in England, are too well versed in political economy; they understand their own dass-interest and the antagonism between labour and capital too well to entertain such foolish notions as the republican ideologists across the chairnel, who believe that universal suffrage is compatible with the rule of capital. They are fully aware that even; a strong proletarian opposition in parliament would be injurious, if not fatal, to their They declare that their deity onters this apart-

interest; hence, for the sake of their own preservation, they will be compelled to withold the franchise from workingmen as much as possible.

The end of parliamentary reform is, to make the supremacy of the manufacturing interest the law of the land. Though for the last twenty years all vital questions have been decided in favour of that interest, and the mill-owners have, in fact, ruled the destinies of the empire, yet there is no legal guarantee for their supremacy. By the existing constitution of the House of Commons, the nobles have not only the means of strongly resisting the measures of their rivals, but they have the legal power to reject them altogether. Hence, the mill-awners, who consider themselves the sole benefactors of society, have, to their great annoyance, either to beg'the nobles to consent to their measures, or to frighten them into convent by agitations. To avoid this humiliation and trouble they must establish their supremacy by law, i. e. they mustiparalyse the political power of the aristocracy, and make themselves masters of the legislature; they must computer the constitution.

In order to achieve this conquest, only one point of the programmie needs to be executed, that is, the equalisation of the electoral districts: to the present state of constituencies, 353 more or less conservative members are returned by little more than 227,000 electors, the remaining 297 by something above 823,000 electors. Again, 25 of the smallest constituencies with 9,153 electors, return 50 members, while 25 of the largest with 229,365 electors, return also 50 members. equalisation of the electoral districts would produce the following results:-The 297,000 electors, who at present return 23 members more than a clear majority, would return something like 141 members; and the 823,000 electors would return 509 members. The 25 smallest constituencies would return 5 members, while the 25 largest would return 142. Thus we see that an equalisation in the electoral districts would completely swamp the protectionist, and other more or less conservative constituencies, without a single elector being added to the present register; and the aristocracy would lose all power and influence in the House of Commons. Now with regard to an extension of the suffrage, vote by ballot, and no property qualification for members; these are mere measures of convenience, which, of course, will add to the success of the scheme. But even if the number of electors should be increased 50 per cent., which would be an additional number of about 525,000, very few of the working men would get a vote, except such as are "good boys" and haven opolitical opinion of their own.
(To be continued.)

THE PRIESTS OF ASSYRIA, PERSIA, AND CARTHAGE.

BAAL, Bel, or Belus, was the principal god of the Assyrians. Throughout Asia the first of these names was applied to the Sun, everywhere worshipped amongst the ancient nations. The priests of Assyria deified the founder of the royal house, Belus, the Nimrod of the Hebrew scriptures, and identified him with Baal. The most horrible human sacrifices were offered to this pretended god. The temple of Belus (or Tower of Babel) contained immense fiches in the shape of statues, censers, tups, and other sacred vessels, all of massive gold. Adopting the calculation of Diodorus, the wealth contained in this palace of priestoraft must have been equal to at least twenty-one millions of pounds sterling.

One example of the villary and lewdness of the Assyrian priests will suffice—take the following statement of Herodotus: "At the top of the tower of Belus, in a chapel, is placed a couch, magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold-but there is no statue in this place: no one is suffered to sleep here, but a female occupies the apartment, whom the Chaldean priests affirm their deity selects from tho whole nation as the object of his pleasures. ment by night, and reposes upon this couch. A similar assertion is made by the Egyptians of

Thebes; for in the interior of the temple of the Thebean Jupiter a woman in like mauner sleeps. It is easy to understand the meaning of this disgusting fraud. The priests selected the most beautiful woman in the mation to gratify their own Tewdness, and made their god the scape-goat of their infamous sensuality. No wonder that with such a religion licentinusness abounded; and wo can hardly be surprised that the Assyrians were so debased as to worship the noterious Semiramis under the form of a dove' She who, like Outherine of Russin, was in her day

The greatest of all sovereights, and all walls. Hérodotus (his statement is confirmed by other authorities,) states that every woman, whether high or low, was bound by the national practice to present herself at the temple of Mylitta, the Babylonian Venus, once in her life, and there submit to prostitute herself with whoever first chose her. The price of her shame was paid into the treasury to swell the revenues of the priests.

The Persians adored the Sun, and by a natural consequence paid a particular veneration to Tre. The Magi (priests) protended that the sacred fire entrusted to their keeping came down from heaven. These Magi were all of one tribe, and as hone but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they kept their learning and mystery-mongering amongst themselves and families. Like the Egyptish priests, the Persian Magi ruled the kings. The worship of live was Magi ruled the kings. The worship of fire was most probably the origin of those dreadful sactifices of children which prevailed amongst a mumber of nations, particularly the Syrians. Every one has heard of the sacrifices to Moloch. This horrible personification of priestly cruelty was represented in the form of a huge metallic image in a sitting posture, which, on days of sacrifice, was heated red-hot in a pit of fire. Young children were brought as victims and placed in his extended and burning arms, where they were consumed, suffering the most dreadful tortures: Their piercing cries were drowned in the joyous shoutling of the infernal priests, and the din of symbols,

drums, trumpets, &c.

The Carthaginians were in the habit of perpetrating these atrocities to an enormous extent. Their ancestors, the Tyrians, had followed the same abominable custom. According to andient writers, the Kings of Tyre, when menaced by any danger, were in the habit of sacrificing their sons to appease the wrath of the gods. Private persons followed this example, and such as had no children purchased those of the poor. The wretched viotims were enclosed in a flaming statue of Saturn (or Moloch). Mothers made it a part of their religion to view the horrid spectacle with dry eyes, and without so much as a grean, as they were made to believe that if a tear or a sigh stole from them the sacrifice would be unacceptable to the Deity. In times of pestilence the Carthaginians used to sucrifice vast numbers of children. During a battle fought in Sicily between the Carthaginians and the forces of Gelon, the tyrant of Syraouse, in which the former were defeated, Hamilton, the Carthaginian general, was perpetually offering to the gods sacrifices of living men, who were thrown in great numbers on a flaming pile. Diodorus relates that when Agathocles besieged Carthage the rahabitants, seeing the extremity to which they were reduced, imputed all their misfortunes to the anger of Saturn, because that instead of sacrificing children nobly born, they had substituted the children of slaves and foreigners. By way of atonement two hundred children of the highest families in Carthage were sacrificed to Saturn; besides which upwards of three hundred citizens voluntarily sacrificed themselves? Contemplating with hortor the history of these frightful barbar-ities, Plutarch asks: "Would it not huve been better for the Carthaginians to have had originally a Critias, or a Diagoras; who were open and dadisguised atheists, for their law-givers, than to have established so frantic and wicked a religion?" Enough, for the present, of this frightful record of THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The Polish Refuces.—To the Editor of the Friend of the People—Sir, the contributors request the acknowledgment of the undermentioned subscription in your paper, for Polish Refugees:—Friends of Democracy. Oriental Hotel, Southampton. £I. T. Ferguson, Secretary, 3, Gay's Buildings, Elizaheth-street, Hackney Road.

We have received 2s. for the Poles at the Fraternal Home, from Messrs. Miller and Maekay.

The Fraternal Democrats.—We are informed that the annual meeting of the members of this society residing in London, will be held at the John-street Institution, on Friday evening, January 17th, when a balance sheet will be laid before the members, a new council elected, &c., &c.

The Charist Executive.—A friend in Manchester writes THE POLISH REFUGEES .- To the Editor of the Friend of

THE CHARTIST EXECUTIVE. A friend in Manchester writes follows:—"I have collected the enclosed sum amongst THE CHARTIST EXECUTIVE.—A friend in Manchester writes as follows:—"I have collected the enclosed sum amongst my acquaintanees, who, with the exception of myself, are not members of the N. C. A. I will sure that much could be done by similar means—We do want The Charter and something more" to rouse the workers. John Cameron 2s., Thomas Biddolph 6d., Georgr Scholes 6d., Robert Crossley 6d., Thomas Hutchinson 6d., John Sumsion 3d., Samuel Slack 3d., John Whyatt 3d., A Chartist 6d., John Black 6d.—£0. 5s. 9d.

The East London Chartists.—Our Mile End correspondent seems to be not aware that the Chartists who

Samuel Slack 3d., John Whyatt 3d., A Chartist 6d., John Black 6d.—£0. 5s. 9d.

The East London Chartists.—Our Mile End correspondent seems to be not aware that the Chartists who heretofore met at the Whittington and Cat, Church street, now hold their meetings at the Woodman, Hare-street, Bethnal-green, every Sunday evening.

The News-agents again.—G. Fuller, Newport, Isle of Wight, complains that the Friend of the Feople cannot be obtained in that town until it is a week or a fornight old, "Mr. Frampton, the bookseller, informing us that he eannot get it sent regularly from the London publisher." Mr. F. would remedy this by obtaining his publications from Mr. Collins, the publisher of this periodical. B. Horsfall, Leeds, writes,—"I think every encouragement ought to be given by working men to your journal, which is what it really professes to be, nancly. "The Friend of the People." But I am sorry to say that there is much neglect somewhere in the vending of your paper. I get my copy from an agent in Holheck, who does not get his papers direct from London. but from Cook, of Meadow Lane. Cook has now missed getting the Friend of the People for two weeks together, and consequently I have been disappointed, as well as many others. The Friend of the People, in my opinion, has not fair play. There are thousands of working men who, for the want of a few bills announcing such a paper, do not know of its existence." We do not know from what London publisher Mr. Cook obtains his publications. We know that the Friend of the People is published every Monday morning, five days in advance of the date of each number, and any publisher in London may be supplied in the course of the Monday, if he will send his order. To our correspondent and his friends we say, insist upon having the publication; if one bookseller will not supply it, another will. As regards bills, we have placards, &c., &c., ready, but no one in Leeds has volunteered to get them exhibited. Cannot our correspondent find half-a-dozen well-wishers to the publicat

A MANCHESTER CHARTIST writes as follows: "Manchester, December 29th, 1850.-Approving as I do of the new Executive, I send my mite, twelve postage stamps, to aid the good eause. were all a little startled to see the posters last Friday, announcing that Mr. O'Connor was to visit us on Sunday night. The Star explained it. No doubt you will get an account of last night's meeting in the Institute from some abler pen; but I may say that a young man named Mantle made a powerful speech against holding the proposed conference in Manchester, and finished by proposing a resolution to that effect, which was seconded by one of the Council, a very sensible man. Leach proposed a negative, Donovan seconded, and Mr. O'Connor spoke in a very insulting and sneering manner against poor Mantle, who was denied the liberty of replying. It was most unjust and unfair. The longer a man lives he learns the more, and I have felt since last night at 10 o'clock as if the scales were a little removed from my eyes. I moved amongst the men composing the meeting, and I am quite right in saying that the real thinking Chartists, those whose chartism is part of their very existence. those who cannot renounce chartism if they would, I say those men were pained to the heart by the conduct and words of our great leader, as applied to Mantle."

JANUARY.—In the beginning of the month old Hyems will give his annual series of snow-balls. January is generally the coldest month in the year, and the hedges are covered with a eze-work of delicate texture. Booksellers

plant their annuals, and place specimens under glass frames for forcing. - Punch's Almanac.

Placards and Window Bills of the Friend of the People have been forwarded to friends in Edinburgh, Brighton, Coventry, Belper, Ipswich, Royton, Manchester, and Halifax. We shall be glad to receive a line from each on receipt of the parcels.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE

SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1851.

THE CHARTIST PARTY.

THE course of the new Executive—at least of the majority of that body-thus far, must command the approbation of all honest and earnest democrats. Having pronounced against the holding of a conference in Manchester, and having determined to call a Convention to assemble in London in the month of March next, and seeing that the factious were nevertheless determined to persevere in holding their sham conference at Manchester, it became the duty of the Executive to repudiate both them and their project. That duty the Executive have performed. With only one dissentient the Committee have resolved to "repudiate all connection with the Conference called to meet in Manchester on the 27th inst;" and all true Chartists and good Democrats are called upon "to abstain from any participation in the said Conference.'

The Committee being desirous of taking counsel with the delegates at the Yorkshire Chartists, Ernest Jones was appointed to represent the Executive at the West Riding Delegate meeting. Other important resolutions relating to ERNEST Jones and his tradueers, &c., were agreed to, and arrangements made to commence a vigorous agitation

in the metropolis.

It happens, unfortunately, that one of the members of the Executive, Mr. Davis, has, owing to circumstances connected with his employment, been obliged to resign office. A new election has been ordered, to fill up the vacancy. All nominations must be in the hands of the Secretary on or before Wednesday, January 15th, and the votes must be at the office on or before Wednesday, Jan. 29th, In the present critical state of affairs it is of great importance that the person elected should be every way qualified for the office.

Mr THORNTOE HUNT whose name was highest on the list of those not returned on the occasion of the recent election, would be a valuable addition to the committee as at present constituted. Another friend, who was not a candidate at the last election, but who, we believe, will consent to be put in nomination on the present occasion, is Mr. RUFFEY RIDLEY, an old and able advocate of Chartism. This last named candidate has the advantage of a long and intimate knowledge of the history of Chartism and Chartist leaders, and his election to the executive could not fail to be advantageous to the good men, and beneficial to the good cause.

Let us now glance at the doings of the enemies of the executive, the new "New-Movers," who have won for themselves the questionable reputation of violating the great principle of democracy, by setting the will of the majority at defiance. The men of the Manchester Council take credit to themselves for baving a most pious regard for legality,

and a most determined resolution to admit of no addition to the Charter—pure and simple. In their anxiety to keep the people out of danger, they do not scruple to indulge in the foulest falsehood. They insinuate that the leading Chartists, who are opposed to their policy, design to lead the people into a foolish course of violence. They know this to be false. But let us see what is their regard for the people's safety. It has always been understood that Conventions or Conferences were illegal if they consisted of more than forty-nine delegates, all elected at public meetings of the inhabitants of their respective districts. Fore-seeing that they will get very few delegates from Chartist Constituencies elected after the regular manner, the Man-chester Council invite "all Co-operative Societies, numbering one hundred persons, to each send one delegate;" "and all political bodies having for their object the regeneration of the masses of Society," are also 'specially invited to send their representatives." Now either the Chartists have been grossly humbugged by their legal friends in times past, or otherwise the Manchester Conference will be an illegal assembly. We do not say, that the legality-mongers intend to entrap any one, but we say there is the trap, and foolish will they be who walk into it. With such an exhibition of "folly" or treachery, whichever they please, these legality-mongers show rare consistency to mouth about the "folly" of others!

Besides, hoping to swell the number of "delegates" by these invitations, there are other objects which the conveners of the Manchester Conference design to achieve. The "political bodies" who will respond to the invitation are likely to be more select than numerous. Perhaps a certain "body" which possesses the remarkable characteristic that its members and its council are "one and iudivisible," will be represented at the Conference. The occasion will serve to allow certain persons to get "whitewashed;" and no doubt the gentlemen who have golden reasons for preferring Sir Joshua Walmsley, both "as a man and a statesman," before ERNEST JONES, will find no difficulty in travelling to Manchester, for the purpose of going through that very necessary process.

The co-operative societies will do well to be on their guard against the kind invitation of the Manchester Council. In the first place, they would be very foolish to mix themselves up with an illegal assembly; and secondly, they would do well to make strict enquiry into the motives which have led to the Manchester Council's new-born love for co-operation. Only a few weeks since these suspicious looking converts were loud in their denunciation of those whom they charged with a design to mix up Socialism, or some other "ism," with Chartism. Indeed, to rally the Chartists for "the Charter, and nothing but the Charter," was the avowed pretext for suggesting the Manchester Conference. Now what is Co-operation but Socialism? The Socialist editor of the Northern Star will not say "No,"—notwithstanding his intense love for Chartism! How comes it to pass then that the "pure and simple" Chartists have so suddenly turned "right about face?" Others will add the question are these worthy patriots either pure or simple?

Let the co-operators beware not only of the illegal Conference, but also of the design of the getters up of that Conference, more especially of those who are not members of the Manchester Council; the persons who pull the strings, and whose abode is some two hundred miles from Manchester. These men want a job, and would, notwithstanding their love of the "pure and simple," be very glad to amalgamate Co-operation with Chartism, if thereon they could found a "Grand National Chartist Co-operative Company." It would be a good "dodge" that; especially if the "pure and simple" patriots could net two guineas a week—or say three,—as directors, managers, secretaries, &c., &c. Co-operators beware! A word to the wise is sufficient!

The Manchester Councilmen are the mortalenemies of "platform violence," and they prove it after the fashion of O'CONNELL'S moral force partisans. On the occasion of Mr. O'CONNOR's late visit to Manchester, Mr. MANTLE proposed a resolution to the effect that " It was not expedient that a Conference should be held at Manchester." The motion was opposed, after which Mr. MAN-TLE claimed his right of reply; when, instead of which, the supporters of the Council attempted to do him personal violence. According to the report in the Northern Star "Mr. O'CONNOR manfully rescued Mr. MANTLE and kept him covered with his body from the attacks of others, while Mr. ROBERTS was engaged in keeping off the attacks of others." Very good of Messrs. O'Connor and Roberts. But we submit that they would have done still better had they insisted, and by their influence commanded, that Mr. Mantle should exercise his right to reply, unassailed by threats or blows. Besides, Messrs. Leach and Donovan, who have such a horror of "platform violence," should also have a horror of violence--physical, brutal, "cowardly " violence-upon the platform. Respecting the treatment of Mr. MANTLE there can be but one opinion amongst all true men. Mr. MANTLE is not an ordinary Chartist, he has suffered for Chartism. He has gone through a long and cruel imprisonment for the Charter, for the rights of his fellow working men. We tell those who howled him down, those who attempted to do him personal violence hat they ought to lang their heads for hame!

Before this number of the Friend of the People will have been published, ERNEST JONES will have visited Manchester, and presented himself in the midst of his rancorous enemies. We know that he has been menaced with the treatment, and worse than the treatment experienced by MANTLE. He has been warned that if he presented himself in the Manchester Institute he would be flung from the platform, and his life would be in danger! Our gallant friend has spurned these menaces and warnings; with what result remains to be seen. One thing is certain, that any violence done to a man so loved by the people will sink the Manchester denunciators of "platform violence" to the lovest depths of infamy.

We have more to say on the subject-matter of this article, but want of space compels the postponement thereof. We must however, notice—and only notice, a certain point in Mr. O'Connor's letter in the Star of January 4th. We allude to his imputation of "sordid" motives to certain "professing ledgers." As we purpose to ask Mr. O'Con-

NOR, face to face, to name the said "leaders," we shall say no more at present, only that we hope Mr. O'CONNOR does not judge all men by the standard of his own immediate friends. In conclusion, we have much pleasure in saying to the Chartists. in the words of Mr. O'CONNOR, "Scout from your ranks ANY MAN, or ANY BODY OF MEN who create disunion for the mere purpose of elevating themselves, and living upon your disunion and credulity."

STATE OF THE CONTINENT.

One of the very best of the monthly periodicals is The Freethinker's Magazine.* Its existence dates from the month of June last, but the number for January is the first of an enlarged series. Political as well as theological questions occupy the pages of the Freethinker's Magazine. The original articles are ably written, and the selected papers are well chosen. Included in the latter section of the work, is a re-print of those chapters of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, which have been suppressed in nearly all the modern editions of that great work. We select our extracts from one of the political articles—as being most suitable to the character of this publication:

" EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY.

" The continent is still bristling with arms, the German question being adjourned, not settled. In fact, the tragi-comedy of war has been played there at the expense of German democracy. All the bluster has died away. The loud threats of Au tria, the menacing attitude of Russia, has ended amicably. The sight of the Prussian Land-wher, the spirit of the Prussian parliament, and, as it is confidently stated, the success which attended the journey of Radowitz to England, and the decided interference of Lord Palmerston, sensibly affected the Austrian Minister. Austria thrice bankrupt can borrow no longer. To complete the farce, a meeting took place at Olmutz, between Schwartzenberg and Manteufell, 'assisted' by Meyendorff, the Russian Ambassador, where the belligerents rushed into each other's arms and were duly pacified. Hesse was to be evacuated simultaneously by the rival powers. The Elector was to return and make what terms he could with his people. Free conferences were to be held at Dresden to 'settle' Germany. All this sounds well. But it is followed by the prorogation of the Prussian parliament, because a vote adverse to the Minister was come to, and the constitution was virtually outraged by the ministerial declaration that vote as they might, so long as he had the confidence of the King he would never resign. The free conference to 'settle' Germany, and 'pacify' Schleswig-Holstein, will be eminently reactionary. The fact is, that settling Germany means settling with democracy. There is to be an alliance of kings and dukes and electors; and these in their several states are to be empowered to suppress constitutions, individual liberties, the press, and the Chambers. It is an elaborately contrived scheme for the permanent destruction of democracy! This is a presumption of royal power so great as to pass from the sublime to the ridiculous, and would be amusing were it not for the dreadful consequences it entails. German democracy is a fact. The sooner the monarchs begin to suppress it the better.

"England must be on her guard. The Austro-Russian alliance is bent against her, only her turn will come last. Nicholas of Westminster is the advanced guard of Nicholas of St. Petersburgh. The Pope strikes at England through Catholic Ireland, in obedience to the dictates of Russo-Austria. So be it. On any day in the year England has only to speak and the throne of the Pope will vanish; the Austrians will find themselves

* The Freethinker's Magazine, No. 8, January. London: Published by J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

beleagured by three nations in insurrection, and Poland may be set to strike once more at the barbarian of Moscow.

In the present Continental crisis, the attitude of France presents a most humiliating spectacle. The gaoler of Rome, she aspires to the high honour of being the Special Constable who shall be called in to 'settle' with German democracy. She declares, through her ministers, that German unity would be fatal to French interests, and that her duty is to assist the 'powers' in quelling the revolu-tionists. She declares for peace and neutrality; to prepare for this desirable state, she calls out 40,000 men of the last year's conscription, so that they may be in readiness for the eventualities of war. It seems to be recognised on all hands that future wars will be wars of principles-that kings and their armies will march against peoples and their leaders—that no more conquests are to be dreamed of-and that, in face of the 'common enemy,' namely, the peoples of Europe, they will set aside their differences to 'finish' successively with Switzerland, Piedmont, and France. In each of these countries the grand party of order would readily sell the people to the league of kings."

"THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC"

No. 1 of the new monthly periodical, bearing the above striking title, is now before the public. It is well printed, on good paper, and is, altogether, very neatly got up. The contents of the present number chiefly consist of re-prints; to-wit, the —"Manifesto to the Peoples," published in the name of "The Central European Democratic Committee;" and Mr. Linton's Letters on "Republican Principles," which originally appeared in the Red Republican. Wishing success to The English Republic, we extract the following eloquent paragraphs from the editor's opening address:—

"The English Republic! A sound that once had made great hearts throb audibly, a name at which the swords of heroes had leaped from their scabbards. But now———

"Some will grow pale with rage and ill-dissembled fear, that a countryman of them who judged a king and who condemned royalty should dare even with 'bated breath' to whisper of a Republic. Some will wonder at the folly of such a dream. Some will babble of 'felony.' The utilitarian liberal, seeing that there is put forth no feasible scheme for disposing of the Guelph family, that he is offered no prospect of a per centage on the tarnished gilding of royalty, will sneer at 'Quixotism' and 'impracticability'; and the utopian, who expects 'figs from thistles,' forgetting their very flavour, who hopes by some providential sleight of hand to find republican results under monarchial institutions,—he too will murmur in his dreams—'how immoderate! extremely impracticable!'

"I write, carcless of the hate of fanaticism, tearless of either ridicule or 'prosecution.' I will be earnest enough to command the respect of the bigot, serious enough to outface the insolence of the scoffer, and bold as faith in God may make me to meet, if need be, the last. Impracticable as it may seem, I will not even lose lope of teaching some utilitarian to believe in principle, of convincing some utopian of the idleness of his endeavours. But I do not write for these. I write because,—
notwitstanding 'free trade' non-intervention,
'constitutional' compromise ('every one for himself,' 'let alone,' 'get what you can'), -and other prevalent atheisms,-I believe that there are yet some men in England, besides Thomas Carlyle, who respect the worth of Cromwell; some men who honour the memory of Milton (I say it reverently) for something more than one of his Poems called 'Paradise Lost;' some few who hold sacred the grave of Pym and Eliot and Hampden; and who, it may be, spite of the baseness now crawling over England, can remember.

* The English Republic, Edited by W. J. Linton No. 1. Published monthly by J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, London.

that the name of Russell was once honourable, and that neither Sydney nor Russell perished 'felonionsly' to procure the advent of a Dutch king or to establish the finality of Whiggism.

"Tho purposo with which I commence this work is, by expounding republican principles (such as I have learned them, chiefly from him who is the Apostle of Republicanism), * by making my countrymen acquainted with the views of Republicans abroad, and giving them correct versions of the current events of the great European strugglo for Republicanism (of which 1848 and 1849 have been but the first campaign), and not omitting to remind them of thoir own old republican wisdom when England taught the nations how to live, to revivo among them the smouldering fire of English heroism, that faith in God and Man which led their fathers to victory. Desirous, not of renewing the form of Puritanism, but of revivifying the soul of earnestness which marked the brief day of our Commonwealth as the grandest period of English history, I shall essay to show wherein we republicans of the nineteenth century may imitate the worthiest of our race, in what we ought to advance beyond them; and so I would in some way help to establish a Republican Party, really a Young England, to be the heralds and leaders of the Republic, the beginning of the future Nation.

"For now there is no English nationality. There was a nation when an Alfred ruled the people; a nation when an Elizabeth scattered the Invincible Armada; a nation when our royalost Protector could strike down tyranny at home and throw his shield over the oppressed of distant lands. But there is no English nation now. A horde of traders, every man's hand against his neighbours, where combination is almost unknown except for purposes of plunder,—is that a nation f A nation,—and trampled on by creatures too, ashamed of their imbeeillity to confess it even to each other! A nation,-whose rulers are daily convicted of incapacity, of falsehood, of every conceivable meanness! A nation,—whose poor die by thousands I A nation, -without education! A nation, -in whose life is no harmony or order, whose heart is torn with ceaseless contention of class against class, whose 'prosperity' means ruin to the majority, whose 'peace' is successful trickcry, or infamous cowardice, whose 'honour' is a bye word to the world;'

"The nation is not. There is only a gloomy den of abominable hypocrisies, a wretched chaos, called England; and it is time for all brave true men who find themselves involved in it, and who believe that God sent them into it, not that they should join the evil-doers, nor yet that they should arnn away from the fear of evil, but that they should do manful work in endeavouring to remedy it, -it is time for all such brave true men to take connsel together and ascertain at least what is their first duty in the emergency.

"Fit for the task, or not (lot time and opportnnity oondenn me-nevertheless I will not falter), I fling aloft the Banner of the Future, and ask-Who will stand by me for the restoration of the Commonwealth, for the foundation of the English Republic? Thoro only can I see a hope for the redemption and rejuvenescence of England.'
Mazzini.

BAROLAY AND PERKINS'S BREWERY, Pank-street, Southwark, recently become so famous in con-sequence of the Lynching of Marshal Haynau, was founded by Henry Thralo, the friend of Dr. Johnson, and sold by Johnson and his brother's excoutor in behalf of Mrs. Thrale, for £135,000: Barclay was a descendant of the famous Barclay, who wrote the Apology for the Quakers, and Perkins was the chief clerk on Thrale's establishment. The brewery is now the largest in the world. Tho building extends over ten acres, and the machinery includes two steam engines. The store-cellars contain 126 vats, varying in their contents from 4,000 barrels down to 500. About 160 horses employed in conveying beer to different-parts of London.

<u> Ceaves from var Library.</u>

CONSUELO. BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 4.)

The Baroness Amelia continuing her marrative of Count Albert's life, relates how his father decided on making him travel, "hoping that by seeing men, and the laws of nations, he would become accustomed to live like them, and with them." Thoy confided him to the care of a tutor, a subtle Jesuit. The young count travelled during eight years, and visited most of the countries of Enrope. He conducted himself with remarkable propriety, and according to the reports of his tutor, had become a changed man. The reverse of this is proved vory soon after his return home. His father, wishing him to marry, had caused Amelia to be brought to the castle. How the wooing spedmust be related in her own words :-

"The first thing which struck me in Albert was his fine figure and 'noble air: I confess, 'dear Nina, that my heart beat almost audibly when he kissed my hand, and that for some days I was charmed by his look, and delighted by the most trifling word that fell from his lips. His serious, thoughtful manner was not displeasing to me. He seemed to feel no constraint in my society; on the contrary, he was unreserved as in the days of our childhood; and when, from a dread of failing in politeness, he wished to restrain his attention, our parents urged him to continue his ancient familiarity with me. My cheerfulness somotimes cansed him to smile involuntarily, and my good annt, transported with joy, attributed to me the honour of this improvement, which sho believed would be permanent. At length he came to treat me with the mildness and gentleness one displays towards a child, and I was content-satisfied that he would shortly pay more attention to my little animated countenance, and to the handsome dresses by which I studied to please him. But I had soon the mortification to discover that he cared little for the one, and that he did not even appear to sco the other. One day my good aunt wished to direct his attention to a beautiful blue dress, which suited my figure admirahly. Would yon helieve it?-he declared its colour to be a bright red! His tutor, the abbe, who had honied compliments every ready on his lips, and who wished to give his pupil a lesson in gallantry, insinnated that he could easily guess why Count Albert could not distinguish the colour of my dress. Here was a capital opportunity for Albert to address to me some flattering remarks on the roses of my cheeks or the golden hue of my hair. He contented himself, however, with drily telling the abbo that he was as capable of distinguishing oolours as he was, and with repeating his assertion that my robo was red as blood. I do not know, why this rudeness of manner and eccentricity of expression made me shudder. I looked at Albert, and his glance terrified me. From that day I began to fear him more than I loved him. In a short time I ceased to love him at all, and now I neither love nor fear him; I merely pity him. You will by degrees understand why.

"The next day we were to go to Tauss, the nearest village, to make some purchases. I had promised myself much pleasure from this excursion, as Albert was to accompany me on horseback. When ready to set out, I, of conrse, expected that he would have offered me his arm The carriages were in the court, but he did not make his appearance, although his servant said that he had knocked at his door at the usual hour. Thoy sent again to see if he were getting ready. Albert always dressed by himself, and never permitted a servant to enter his chamber until he had quitted it. They knocked in vain; there was no reply. His father, becoming unoasy at this continued silence, went himself to the room, but he could neither opon the door, which was holted inside, nor obtain a reply to his questions . .

When, at the end of two hours, I saw that he did not stir, I laid asido my rich riding dress, and commenced to my embroidery, not without spoiling a good deal of silk and missing many stitches. I was indignant at the neglect of Albert, who over his books in the evening had forgotten his promised rido with me, and who had now left me to wait, in no very pleasant humour, while ho quietly enjoyed his sleep. The day wore on, and we were obliged to give up our proposed excursion. My father, confiding in the assurance of the abhe, took his gun, and strolled out to kill a few hares. My aunt, who had less faith in the good man's opinion, went up stairs more than twenty times to listen at her nephew's door, but without being able to hear the faintest breathing. The poor woman was in an agony of distress. As for my uncle, ho took a book of dovotion, to try its effect in calming his inquietude, and began 'to read in a cornor of the saloon with a resignation so provoking that it half tempted me to leap out of the window with chagrin. At length towards evening, my aunt, overjoyed, came to inform us that she had heard Albert rise and dress himself. When he entered without apologising to any one, and without even appearing to be aware of our disappointment, I confess I was excessively piqued and gave him a vory cold reception, of which, however, absorbed as he was in thought, he took not the slightest notice.

"On the following day my nunt, who never speaks unless strongly moved, took it into her head to begin a conversation with the abbe and the chaplain, and as, with the exception of her family affections, which entirely absorb her, she is incapable of conversing on any topic but that of family honour, she was ere long deep in a dissertation on her favourite subject, genealogy; and labouring to convince the two priests that our race was the purest and most illustrious, as well as the most noble, of all the families of Germany, on the female side particularly. The abbe listened with patience, the chaplain with profound respect, when Albert, who apparently had takon no interest in the old lady's disquisition, all at oncointerrupted her-

"It would seem, my dear aunt,' said ho, "that yon are labouring under some halluoination as to the superiority of our family. It is true that their titles and nobility are of sufficient antiquity, but a family which loses its name, abjures at in some sort in order to assume that of a woman of foreign race and religion, gives up its right to be considered ancient in virtue and faithful to the glory of its country.'
"This remark somewhat disconcerted the

canoness.

You speak of matters of very remote date. Albert, said sho, with a profound sigh, and are even less happy than I in the application of the rule. Our good abbe might from your words suppose that some one of our ancestors had been capable of such meanness. And since you appear to be so well informed on subjects of which I supposed you comparatively ignorant, you should not have made a reflection of this kind, relative to political events, now, thank God, long passed away l'

"'If my observation disturb you, I shall detail the facts, in order to clear the memory of our anoestor Withold, the last Count of Rudolstadt, of every imputation injurious to it. It appears to interest my cousin, ho added, seeing that my attention had become rivetted upon him, astonished as I was to see him engage in a discussion so contrary to his philosophical ideas and silent hahits. Know, then, Amelia, that our great-great-grand-father, Wratislaw, was only four years old when his mother, Ulrica of Rudolstadt, took it into her hend to inflict upon him the insult of supplanting his true name-tho name of his fathers, which was Podiebrad by this Saxon name which you and I hoar, to-day—you without, blushing for it and I without being proud of it.

" As Albert became very animated in speaking thus, and my uncle's countenance appeared to darken, the abbe, much as his ouriosity was excited, endeavoured to give the conversation a different turn. But mine would not suffer me to remain silent when so fair an opportunity presented itself for satisfying it. 'What do you mean, Albort?' I exclaimed, approaching him.

"'I mean that which a Podiebrad should not be ignorant of,' he replied: "that the old oak of the Stone of Terror, which you see every day from your window, Amelia, and under which you should never sit down without raising your soul to God, hore, some three hundred years ago, fruit rather heavier than the dried acorns it pro-

duces to-day.'

"'It is a shocking story,' said ue chaplain, horror-struck, 'and I do not know who could have

informed the count of it.'

"' The tradition of the country, and perhaps something more certain still," replied Albert. 'You have in vain burned the archives of the family, and the records of history, Mr. Chaplain; in vain have you brought up children in ignorance of the past; in vain imposed silence on the simple by sophistry, on the weak by threats; neither the dread of despotic power, however great, nor even that of hell itself, can stifle the thousand voices of the past which awaken on every side. No, no! they spoak too loudly, these terrible voices, for that of a priest to hush thom! They speak to our souls in sleep, in the whisperings of spirits from the dead; thoy appeal to us in every sound we hear in the external world; they issuo even from the trunks of the trees, like the gods of the olden time, to tell us of the crimes, the misfortunes, and the noble deeds of our ancestors!'

" 'And why, my poor child,' said the caneness, 'why cherish in your mind such bitter thoughts-

such dreadful recollections?'

"' It is your genealogies, dear aunt-it is your recurrence to the times that are gone-which have pictured to my mind those fifteen monks hung to the branches of the oak by the hand of one of my ancestors—the greatest, the most terrible, the most persevering—he who was surnamed the Terrible—the hlind, the invincible John Ziska of the

"The exalted yet abhorred name of the ehief of the Taborites, a sect, which, during the war of the Hussites, surpassed all other religionists in their energy, their bravery, and their cruelty, fell like a thunderbolt on the ears of the abbe and tho chaplain. The latter crossed himself, and my aunt drew back her chair, which was elose to that of Albert. 'Good Heaven!' sho exclaimed, 'of what and of whom does this child speak? Do not heed him, Mr. Abbe! Never-no, neverwas our family connected by any ties, either of

kindred or friendship, with the odious reprobate whose name has just been mentioned.'

" 'Speak for yourself, aunt,' said Albert, with energy; 'you are a Rudolstadt to the heart's core, although in reality a Podiebrad. As for my-self, I have more Bohemian blood in my veins all the purer too, for its having less foreign admixture. My mother had neither Saxons, Bavarians, nor Prussians, in her genealogical treo; she was of puro Selavonic origin. And since you appear to earc little for nobility, I, who am proud of my descent, shall inform you of it, if you are ignorant, that John Ziska left a daughter, who married the lord of Prachalitz, and that my mother herself, being a Prachalitz, descends in a direct line from John Ziska, just as you yourself, my aunt, deseend from the Rudolstadts:

" 'It is a dream, a delusion, Albert!"

"'Not so, dear aunt; I appeal to the chaplain, who is a God-fearing man, and will speak tho truth. He has had in his hands the parehments which prove what I have asserted.'

"' 1?' exclaimed the chaplain, pale as death:
"' You may confess it without blushing before

the abbe,' replied Alhert, with cutting irony, 'since you only did your duty as an Austrian subject and a good Catholie in burning them the day after my mother's death'

"That deed, which my conscience approved, was witnessed by God alone, 'falteringly replied the ohaplain, terror-stricken at the disclosure of a secret of which he considered himself the sole human repository. "Who, Count Albert, could have revealed it to you?'

" 'I have already told you, Mr. Chaplaina voice which speaks louder than that of a

priest.'

"" What voice, Albert?" I exclaimed, with omotion.

"' The voice which speaks in sleep,' replied Albert.

"'But that explains nothing, my son,' said Cennt Christian, sighing:

"'It is the voice of blood, my father,' said Albert, in a tone so sepulehral that it made us shndder:

""Alas!' said my uncle; olasping his hands, these are the same reveries, the same phantoms of the imagination, which haunted his poor. mother: She must have spoken it to our child in her last illness,' ho added, turning to my aunt, and such a story was well calculated to make a lively impression on his memory.'

"Impossible, hrother!" replied the canoness.
Albert was not three years old when he lost his

mother.'

"'It is more likely,' said the chaplain, in a low voice, that there must have remained in the house one of those cursed heretical writings, filled with lies and impieties, which she had preserved from family pride, but which, nevertheless, she had the courage and virtue to surrender to me in her last moments.'

"'No, not one remained,' replied Albert, who had not lost a single word of what the ehaplain said, although he had spoken in a low voice, and although he was walking about, much agitated, at that moment at the other end of the saloon. You know very well, sir, that you destroyed them all; and, moreover, that the day after her death you searched and ransacked every corner of her chamber.'

""Who has thus aided, or rather misled your memory, Albert?' asked Count Christian, in a severe tone; 'what faithless or imprudent servant has dared to disturb your young mind hy an exag-gerated account of these domestic events?'

"'No one, my father; I swear it to you by my

religion and my conseience.'

" The enemy of the human race has had a hand

in it,' said the terrified ohaplain.

"'It would probably be nearer the truth,' observed the abbe, 'and more Christian to conclude that Count Albert is endowed with an extraordinary memory, and that occurrences, the recital of which does not usually strike a child of tender years, have remained engraved upon his mind. What I have seen of his rare intelligence, induces me readily to believe that his reason must have had a wonderfully precedious development; and as to his faculty of remembering events, I know that it is in fact prodigious.'

"'It seems prodigious to you, only because you are entirely devoid of it,' replied Albert, drily. "For example, you cannot recollect what you did in 1619, after Withold Podiebrad the Protestant, the valiant, the faithful (your grandfather, my dear aunt), and the last who bore our name, had dyed with his blood the Stone of Terror. have forgotten your conduct under those circum-

stances, I would wagor, Mr. Abbe.

"" I confess I have entirely forgotten it,' replied the abbe, with a sarcastio smile, which was not in. very good taste at a moment when it was evident to us all that Albert's mind was wandering. "'Well, I will remind you,' returned Albert,

without heing at all disconcerted. 'You immediately went and advised those soldiers of the Em-

pire who had struck the blow, to fly or hide, because the labourers of Pilsen, who had the courage to avow themselves Protestants, and who adored Withold, were hastoning to avenge their master's death, and would! assuredly have cut them in piecos. Then you came to find my ancestress, Ulrica, Withold's terrified and trembling widow, and promised to make her peace with the emperor, Ferdinand II., and preserve her estate, her title, hor liberty, and the lives of her children, if she would follow your advice, and purchase your services at the price of gold. She consented: her maternal love prompted that aet of weakness. She forgot the martyrdom of her noble husband. She was born a Catholic, and had abjured that faith only from love for him. She knew not how to endure misery, proscription, and persecution, in order to preserve to her children a faith which Withold had sealed with his blood, and a name which he had rendered more illustrious than even those of his ancestors, who had been Hussites, Calixtins, Taborites, Orphans, Brethren of the Union, (All these names are those of and Lutherans: different seets, which united the heresy of John Huss to that of Luther, and which the branch of the Podiebrads from which we descend had probably followed.) 'In fine,' continued Albert, Saxon woman was afraid, and yielded. You took possession of the chateau, you turned aside the imperial troops, you caused our lands to be respeeted, and you made an immense auto-da-fc of our titles and our archives. That is why my aunt, happily for her, has not been able to re-establish the genealogical tree of the Podiebrads, and has resorted to the less indigestible pasture of the Rudolstadts. As a reward for your services, you wore made rich, very rich. Three months afterwards, Ulriea was permitted to go and embrace the emperor's knees at Vienna, and graciously allowed by him to de-nationalize her ohildren, to have them educated by you in the Romish religion, and to enrol them afterwards under the standard against which their father and their ancestors had so valiantly fought. We were incorporated, my sons and I, in the ranks of Austrian tyranny.

"'Your sons and you!' said my aunt in despair, seeing that he wandered more and more.

"'Yes, my sons, Sigismond and Rodolph,' re-

plied Albert, very seriously.
"'Those are the names of my father and uncle! said Count Christian. 'Albert, where are your senses? Recall them my sen. Moro than a century separates us from those sad occurrences which

took place by the order of Providence.'

"Albert would not desist. He was fully persuaded, and wished to persuade us, that he was the same as Wratislaw, the son of Withold; and the first of the Podiebrads who had borne the maternal name of Rudolstadt. He gave us an account of his childhood, of the distinct recollection he had of Count Withold's execution (the odium of which ho attributed to the Jesuit Dithmar, who, according to him was no other than the abbe, his tutor,) the profound hatred which during his childhood he had felt for this Dithmar, for Austria, for the Imperialists, for the Catholics. After this his reeollections appeared confused, and he added a thousand incomprehensible things about the eternal and perpetual life, about the reappearance of men upon earth, supporting himself upon that article of the Hussite creed which declared that John Huss was to return to Bohemia one hundred years after. his death, and complete his work-a prediction which it appeared, had been accomplished, since, according to him, Luther was John Huss resuscitated. In fine, his discourse was a mixture of heresy, of superstition, of obscure metaphysics, and of poetic frenzy; we remained listening to him with open mouths, and without the power of interrupting him or contradicting him. (To be continued.)

PARADISE LOST. - In Artillery-walk, Bunhilfields, Milton finished his "Paradise Lost," and there he died in the year 1674.

Labour Record

Co-operative Chronicle.

Secretaries, or other active members of Trades Unions, Labour Associations, Co-operative Societies, &c., will oblige by forwarding intelligence of "Strikes," the formation and proceedings of their Unions &c., &c., to the Editor of "The Friend of the People."

STRIKES.

MANCHESTER HAMMERMEN.—About ten weeks ago the Hammermen (then) in the employ of Messrs. Sharp, Brothers and Co., received notice of an intended reduction of wages. Those receiving nineteen shillings per week, were to be reduced to separate and the separate produced to separate prod and Co., received notice of an intended reduction of wages. Those receiving inteteen shillings per week, were to be reduced to skreen. The workmen remonstrated, but in vain; and the men were forced, in self-defence, to futurn out. The following extracts from addresses issued by the Committee will throw further light on this struggle:—"It has become our painful duty, owing to a serious attempted reduced to such a serious attempted reduced to our wages, to solicit your assistance in resisting and past short time we have made. The following extracts and the considering the present insufficient of the committee in full confidence, renture to submit to a rational thick in their trade is not over-paid—nay, the fact is below other trades similarly employed. Does the public, or does any man, at all acquainted with the Iron Trades, think 16s, a fair-remuneration for our labour, even presuming that a free-trade policy, commands the admiration and support of the government and capitalists? We think not. Well, then, such is our position, and the cause of our present differences with our employers. It is with great satisfaction the Committee have to announce that, with one or two exceptions, no application, has been made by tramps or others for work in the place of the men on strike." The following extracts are from an "Appeal to the Trades of Great Britain:"—"For years past a crusade against the order of Labour, has been silently and steadily progressing. The reduction of the means of resistance has constantly been in process, whillst the incomplete organization amongst the trades have accelerated this levelling system. If, proof be wanted, go ask the synner of cotton, and the process of the poor tailor who pines under the accursed & Exacting System—go ask the synner of cotton, and the process of the proof tailor who pines under the accursed & Exacting System—go ask the synner of cotton, and the process of the proof tailor who pines under the accursed in the proof of the duced to seventeen, and those receiving seventeen were to be reduced to sixteen. The workmen remonstrated, but in vain; and the men were forced, in self-defence, to turn out.

** All letters and money orders to be addressed and made payable to John Smith, care of Mr. W. Gath, Navigation Inn, Great Ancoats-street, Manchester. No money to be paid to any book, except the same bear the stamp of the Hammermen's Friendly Society, No. 1 Lodge,

LEEDS IRON WORKERS.—We observe a notice in a contemporary journal to the effect that the strike of the workmen in the employ of Messrs. Wilson and Co., noticed in No. 4, has been brought to an amicable termination.

CO-OPERATION.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS. Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations.—
Central Office, 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy Square.
Sir.—I feel great pleasure in directing your attention to the following Resolution, passed by the Central Board of the above Society at their last meeting:—"That the thanks of the Central Board be presented to the Editor of The Friend of the People, for publishing the list of the Working Men's Associations."

I remain, yours respectfully,
T. Shorter, Sec.
To the Editor of the Friend of the People.
[At the earliest opportunity we will re-publish the list of the Associations.—Ed. Friend of the People.
London Association of Working Taillors.—This association is composed of working tailors, formerly belonging

ation is composed of working tailors, formerly belonging to the original association at 34, Castle-street, Oxford-street. Owing to circumstances, we must decline attempting to give an account of, a dissolution and reconstruction of the Castle-street Association took place, and the persons under notice ceased to be connected with the association. The "Loudon Association of Working Tailors" have commenced business at 422, Oxford-street. We have been requested to make this announcement, and to add that the requested to make this announcement, and to add that the fullest information respecting the laws and objects of the association, prices of work, &c., &c., may be had at the sale rooms, between the hours of eight in the miorning and eight in the evening.

Associated Factory Workers.—The factory workers lately in the employ of Sir Elkanah Armitage, and who in conveyence of a trible have turned their attention to the

consequence of a strike have turned their attention to the means of employing themselves independent of any factory means of employing themselves independent of any factory king, have (as we announced in No. 3,) hired a mill, and are at present busily engaged in making the necessary preparations for setting to work on their own account. Their new machinery, &c., will be ready for working in a few days. This important enterprise will give employment to three hundred associates. A gentleman offered them a loan of £1000 at £5 per cent., but the association preferred raising their capital by shares of £5 each, in calls at 5s. each, in which they have been perfectly successful. successful.

NEW ASSOCIATION IN BELGIUM.—A society entitled La Solidarite, is in course of formation at Brussels. The associates are working men who unite for the purchase in common of the necessaries of life, viz., bread, meat, charcoal, colonial produce, and potatoes. The shares are five francs (4s.) each. The articles purchased are to be divided at cost price amongst the shareholders, in proportion to the number of shares taken up.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATED COOPERS.-The Williamsburgh (Long Island) Times gives the following account of the progress of an association of operative coopers.—"The Journeymen Coopers' Protective Union Shop, in North Sixth-street, presents a very busy scene, and thus far proves conclusively that Labour need not be the slave of Capital. It was presents a very busy scene, and thus ar proves conclusively that Labour need not be the slave of Capital. It was predicted of this establishment that it would not exist one month, and would, as regards work, supply a small and inferior quality. The opposite of all this is before us every day in the week. Some twenty-four men are at work in this shop, who average from 8 to 11 dollars per week as earnings. Besides this, they have a per centage accruing on the capital stock, of which each workman holds from one to five shares at 10 dollars each. The profits arising are in this way shared by the workman, instead of passing into the pockets of the employer. There are thirty barrels made cach day in the shop, beside one hundred pleces of smaller size, making the weekly earnings of the establishment from 350 to 400 dollars. A large supply of barrels, casks, and work of smaller description is kept constantly on hand in the store-room of the shop. The building is 50 by 52 feet, and does not afford the space requisite for the purpose, so that the Union contemplate purchasing or leasing more ground immediately adjoining. The Journeythe purpose, so that the Union contemplate purchasing or leasing more ground immediately adjoining. The Journeymen Coopers are in a measure the pioneers in establishing the system of Associated Labour by joint capital. To them thousands of downtrodden, but talented and worthy mechanics, are looking as standard bearers of a great principle, which will eventually be the means of elevating whole classes to be their own employers, and thus ensure "to the labourer the profits of his labour."—So far this body has been eminently, successful, the prospect as Illustrated by them must be cheering.

AMERICAN HATTERS.—The Hat Finishers' Union having subscribed a very considerable capital, have taken spacions lefts for a workshop, and have secured an excellent warehouse, opposite the Astor House, New York, as a

FAILURE OF A STRIKE IN AMERICA.—The following is from the New York Tribune:—"Reduced wages—The following is the new reduced tariff of prices agreed upon by the varions factories at fall River, Mass., for making a 60x64 printing cloth, 28 inches wide: weaving, 35 yards 15 cents; dressing, 35 yards 2½ cents; warping, 25 cents per beam spooling, 5 mills per pound; drawing in, 13 cents per beam, spinning warp, 3 cents per 100 skeins; spinning filing 27-10 cents per 100 skeins (by self-acting mills). The operatives on strike have resumed work at the reduced prices."

Poetry for the People.

RHYMES FOR THE LANDLORDED.

V.-THE .. MURDERED. AN ENNISTYMON TRAGEDY.

"Goad them on—they are panper brats!" The day was raw and "hard,"
When the herd of babes was driven forth from the

when the herd of babes was driven forth from the wretched poor-house yard,

Ten weary miles, to the "parent-house," to be "check'd" by the guardians there:—

"Parent" and "guardian!" God of Heaven!—and these thy children were.

Goad them on!

Ten weary miles! They have breakfasted. The stirabout was good:
They fed them scantly; a fuller meal or a more luxurious

food Had left them not in walking trim, had made their

forced march slow—
They are babes of from five to fourteen years: your pauper ages so.

Goad them on!

Ten weary miles, from eight o' the clock, till now, at dinner hour,
They have reach'd the "parent-house;" they wait till

night begins to lower;
And the "guardians" view them, "check" them, and again they're on the road.
"No food?" They were sent to be "check'd," man! not one of them had food.

Goad them on !

Ten wearier, wearier miles, they drag, in the dark and

stormy night; They are "falling bllnd," and "falling dead," with weakness and affright; And the driver can but carry two—the rest somehow

crawl on, Ill-clad, and travel-sore, and faint, and foodless from the

dawn.

Goad them on!

So, one by one, to the poor-house they return as best they

may;
Some find their way in the stormy night, and some not till the day.

Call over their numbers! Eighty-five on that horrible

march were led;
But eighty-four are counted now:—What! only one is dead!

Goad them on!

Poor child! he had felt him failing: "Would they only beg some bread
At a road-side liouse for him?" Who dared? Still on

he staggered.

A fall! a cry! he has struck his skull, reeling against a

wall;
They are too weak to lift the Dead: kind Death! relieve them all.

Goad them on !

These are your children, Landlorded! What matters? The Landlord does not want the Poor: 'tis better they

should die.
y "Hell or Connaught" sounds like grace to "Fiell or Ireland" now; Why

And what if those who damn God's earth divide the land below ?

Goad them on! SPARTACUS.

· Seven Irish miles are equal to ten English.

ADMONITION.

Sweep away all sect and party, Priestly fears and Church's ban; Boldly face the danger coming, Like a hero in the van; For the cry of nation sinketh In the thunder shout of "man." Better not to live at all,
Than to live and die in vain; Than to five and die in vain;
Better by the sword to fall,
Than with hunger's gnawing pain;
Better like a warrior perish,
Than to swell the pauper's train. Sweep away all sect and party,
To the winds all dogmas cast;
Do well the work there is to do, Let this struggle be the last! Onward, bravely to the Future, Not forgetful of the past. Glorious gleams of light are dawning,
Even now upon my sight,
Which proclaims the coming morning
Soon shall chace away the night;
Which proclaims that wrong for ever,
Shall not trample on the right.

H. R. NICHOLLS.

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FRIEND OF THE PROPER.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 6.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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he American Tariff: of Tailors; Progress in England, France,

etter yet;"—" The

Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

POPULAR REACTION.

REACTION is a word of fatal import to our continental brethen. To them "reaction" proclaims the treachery of false friends; the success of conspirators against the welfare of Humanity; the defeat of the defenders of Justice; the overthrow of Freedom; the re-establishment of Despotism; the nullification of the People's Victories; the triumph of Might over Right, and the restoration of the accursed supremacy of King, Priest, Brigand, and Usurer. It tells of Patriets immolated on the scaffold, and dungeons choking with the victims of re-invigorated and triumphant Tyranny.

Truly our brethren have cause to shudder at the very sound of a word so associated with the ruin of their brightest hopes, heroic services, and martyr-like sacrifices for the

cause of Human Progression.

Happily in this country we know com-paratively little of the kind of "reaction" described above. It is true that agitation. when unsuccessful, is invariably followed by the persecution and punishment of the most enthusiastic advocates of the popular cause. Transportation and imprisonment are the means regularly employed by the ruling classes to punish those who make themselves, or who are forced to become, the mouthpieces of proletarian disaffection. Not unfrequently the condemned fall victims to the cruel discipline of their places of confinement, and, although not sentenced to death, pay with their lives the penalty inflicted by the tyrant riell upon the prostrated poor for the crime of loving their country, "not wisely, (it may be) but too well." This is bad enough, but falls infinitely short of the sufferings of our continental brethren. Be it however understood that our immunity from those sufferings is to be ascribed, not to the superior humanity of the privileged and wealthy classes of this country, as compared with those classes on the continent; but to the fact, that the democratic masses of England have never gone the length of attempting to

right their wrongs by Revolution. Had the loperation," some substantial and enduring English proletarians appealed to barricades in April, 1848, and been beaten, the real, the pitiless character of our lords and masters would have been speedily developed. There usurer; and our money-grubbers, and profitmongers, frightened by the tocsin of revolt would, in the event of their victory, have shown themselves the most savage of conquerors. The falsehood and ferocity of the press-gang in the pay of the Plutocracy at the period alluded to, sufficiently and strikingly indicated the ruthless ruffianism to which the working men would have been exposed had they appealed to force, and suf-

fered defeat in the struggle.

There is a kind of re-action not known to, in fact not permitted on the continent, but which is of periodical occurrence in this country. I allude to that popular reaction which invariably succeeds periods of political agitation. Low wages, want of employment, and (no matter what the price of provisions,) inability to procure the necessaries of life, suffice to engender general discontent. In their state of discontent the people set about thinking; they reflect on the enermous cost of government, the wealth and insolence of the privileged classes, the tyranny of laws framed against the interests of Labour, and the galling injustice of their exclusion from the pale of citizenship. Reflection on these subjects gives birth to political movement. Agitators, honest and dishonest, trafficking and enthusiastic, unite to give expression to the disaffection of the multitude. The storm grows The government either to a hurricane. makes a sham concession which dissolves the popular forces, or effects the same end by means of persecution and the sowing of distrust—speedily productive of division. Despair takes the place of Excitement, and continues until "the revival of trade" and renewed employment replaces despair by a feeling of indifference towards political questions. Soon, however, the more thoughtful of the working men forseeing that the newborn "prosperity" cannot exist for any lengthy period, begin to appeal to their fellowworkers to take advantage of the "good pointed, the masses gave way to a feeling of time" to obtain, by means of "union and co-indifference towards the question of Political

ameliorations of their condition. At first these appeals are not heeded. Presently attempts on the part of the employers to reduce, or refusals to advance, wages, have the effect of is no one so disposed to cruelty as an alarmed arousing a large number of the workers to a sense of the insecurity of their position. Then begins a period of Trades, or Co-operative, organisations; sometimes both. The most sanguine hope to accomplish the regeneration of their class by means of the said organisations, and without passing through a political revolution. The Reaction of social and industrial agitation, as distinguished from political agitation, has full swing. In a short time the failure of some great strike breaks up trades organisations. Co-operative associations are found to be no sufficient protection against the rising of the waters of desolation consequent upon the return of that periodical revulsion in commerce, which is the natural and ever-recurring consequence of "good trade" and "prosperity." Masses are thrown out of employment, hunger breeds discontent, and discontent creates disaffection to rulers, lawmakers, and their masters, the privileged orders. The people are again ripe for taking part in a political struggle.

Such has been the repeated cycle of events from the termination of the great European War to the present time. The distress of the people in 1816-17 caused the Radical movement. That movement was crushed by persecution, by the "Manchester Massacre, the execution of the patriot ARTHUR THIS-TLEWOOD and his companions, and the imprisonment of HENRY HUNT and most of the leading Radicals. There then followed somo, years of despair and apathy on the part of the masses. During the two or three years preceding, 1830, the followers of ROBERT OWEN and other expounders of Co-operation made considerable theoretical progress. spread distross had already created general discontent, when the second French Revolution fired the train. The boroughmongering system blewup, and the Reform Bill, extorted from the aristocracy by the working classes, established the virtual supremacy of the Bourgeoisie. First exhausted, then disappointed, the masses gave way to a feeling of

Reform. Soon, however, finding that having ! gained "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," their condition, instead of being bettered, was rather becoming worse, the working men sought to obtain higher wages and other advantages by means of a vast confederation of Trades' Unions. The hasty and ill-advised strike of the London Tailors, the condemnation of the Dorchester Labourers, the social persecution directed by the Bourgeoisie against "unionists," and the treachery of too many individuals in whom their fellow-workmen had reposed confidence, occasioned the rapid and complete break up of the vast organization which only a very short time previous had assumed an appearance of almost omnipotent force. Again there ensued a period of distress and apathy broken only by the Anti-Poor Law agitation, which, closely allied with the Ten Hours Bill agitation, was confind almost exclusively to the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire. While these agitations were still going on, the draught of the "PEOPLE'S CHARTER" had been prepared in London; and while the old radicals of the north responded to the appeal from the Metropolis in support of the 'Six Points," it was only natural that those who had been in vain seeking from the Legislature a repeal of the obnoxious Poor Law, should join the tens of thousands who raised their voices for the Charter. The Anti-Poor Law agitation was absorbed in the Chartistagitation. It is not my present task to write a history of Chartism, or to descant upon the causes of Chartist failures; enough for my argument that the agitation of '38-'39 failed of producing the desired result. A season of despair and apathy was succeeded by attempts to establish co-operative stores, particularly in Scotland. I remember that in the year 1840-41 there were some six or eight co-operative stores in each of the towns of Dundee and Forfar. In the former of those towns the working men even went the length of purchasing the copyright of a local newspaper; a serious misfortune, I believe, to all who were concerned in the speculation. In Scotland while some of the co-operative stores failed, many were successful, and have continued to flourish to the present time. In England, on the contrary, failure was all but universal. The store at Newcastle upon-Tyne was on a large scale, the failure was proportionate, and worked a terrible amount of mischief. In Yorkshire, Lancashire, and more southern counties, the popular desire for Social Reform found expression principally through the medium of Trades' Unions. The severe distress of 1841-42 helped to occasion a revival of the agitation for the Charter. Then came the great crisis when the factory districts were the theatre of one vast "turn-out;" and the desertion of mill and workshop by tens of thousands of the children of Toil made, for a moment, many hope, and many fear the advent of a Revolution-both political and social. Unfortunately the only results were the submission of. the masses to their masters, and the entanglement of the leading Chartists in a series of Government prosecutions. This second Chartist agitation—short-lived but general and menacing—was again succeeded by a term of apathy. The reaction in favour of industrial reform was then shown by the great increase and wide-spread organisation of the Owenites, and their attempt at establishing

a Model Community in Hampshire; and still more by the unprecedented success of Mr. O'CONNOR'S "Land Company." The "model community" failed, and the inevitable failure of the "Land Company" was accelerated by the third French Revolution of February, 1848, which re-directed public attention to the political question, and excited the most sanguine hopes of democratic reformers. All the particulars connected with the suppression of the agitation of 1843, and the incarceration and banishment of many active Chartists, must be fresh in the recollection of my readers. "Commercial prosperity" came to the aid of the ruling classes in assisting to smother political agitation. That "prosperity" (?) still continues. But the facts set forth in my last letter, and those publishing weekly in the "Labour Record," on the last page of this publication, testify that in spite of our much-vaunted "prosperity," and the cessation of political agitation, that peace exists not in England, that the strife between rich and poor, profit-mongers and workers, the privileged and the englaved, although not yet taking a political form, is nevertheless perpetuating and extending the War of Classes.

We are at this time passing through another period of "Reaction"—reaction in favour of social, or rather industrial, reform as distinguished from political reform. The masses aspire to progress, and accomplish the amelioration of their condition, by means of Labour Associations, Co-operative Societies, and Trades Unions.

The probable future of these popular organizations, and the present duty of those true and far-seeing reformers who aim at the regeneration of society, through the instrumentality of the popular sovereignty expressed by Universal Suffrage, must be discussed in a future letter.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE LAST STAGE OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY.

By J. G. Eccarius. (Continued from No. 5.)

In is beyond doubt that the bourgeois reformers neither want an extensive, alteration in the constitution, nor the co operation of the proletarians, as a class for the accomplishment of their "reform" Indeed, an ally like the proletariat, whose social position is so entirely antagonistic to that of the bourgeoisie, must be very dangorous. But as the little chartists are all known to be practical men, who are not likely to take much trouble about things which cannot be turned into Fard cash, they must have some reason for their big-hearted generosity in proposing to extend the franchise to workingmen, &c. The reason is obvious. They are afraid of proletarian ascendancy, and their pretended concession to the working-class is merely a lure by which they endeavour to entrap the proletarian lion, lest he might do mischief to the profit-mongers' cause. As the bourgeois is in the habit of having. all his work done, and fortunes heaped up, by the proletarian, so he expects, whenever he is at variance in politics with his aristocratic com-rogue, that the wages-slave should fight it out, and leave the spoils of victory to his master. Whether the great bulk of the working-class will answer this expectation in the coming struggle the future will tell;

The promises of pecuniary advantage, case, and comfort to the working-classes, resulting from financial reform, are equally fallacious. Why do our manufacturers agitate for financial reform and direct taxation? Because they have an interest in

having their work done at the cheapest rate, and employ as few men as possible. The government is no more than a committee, who manage the collective affairs of the bourgeoisie.

The ministers, and all the minor government officers, stand in the same relation to the bourgeoisie as the directors, and minor servants of a railroad company, stand to the shareholders. It is, thereforc, the interest of the bourgeosie to make government affairs as simple as possible, to employ as few men as possible, and pay as, little as possible. Indirect taxation is one of the complicated affairs which requires a great number of men, who consume a considerable part of the gross revenue. Besides this, many, who under a system of direct taxation would have to contribute a considerable part towards defraying the expenses of the state, are comparatively low taxed, and finally it makes the revenue of the state very uncertain, and enhances the price of food. A heavy budget makes a great part of the capital of a country unproductive. A great amount of capital remains in the hands of stock jebbers without producing anything, merely going out of one pocket into another; this makes it difficult for the manufacturer to borrow money; it also enhances the rate of interest on capital. The taxes which the working people have to pay in the price of their food must be paid The taxes which the working people by the employers in the form of wages. All this is against the interest of the manufacturers. interests of manufacturers require that the budget should be at the minimum, because there would be less chance for heavy loans, and the stock-jebers would be obliged to lend their money to manufacturers at a low rate of interest. Food should not pay taxes of any kind, then the workmen could work cheaper, and the manufacturer would be better able to compete with the foreign rival who must be undersold in his own home market.

As the improvement and increase of the productive powers, particularly of machinery, has made considerable progress in foreign countries, it has become imperative to the English manufacturers to produce and sell their goods at a much lower price. To accomplish this, all commercial impediments, financial grievances, &c., must be abolished; every shilling that can be made productive must be turned to account. Of the collective bourgeoisie there is but one fraction whose interest is at variance with the general interest of the class, the fundholders and stock-jobbers, whose speculations will be greatly diminished by financial reform. All the rest, be they farmers, merchants, or manufacturers, can no longer suffer a profligate aristocracy to enjoy pensions and sinecures for nothing. They can no longer allow an extravagant priesthood to waste twelve millions annually to no purpose. They cannot tolerate a dissipating system of government with such a complicated system of taxation like the present, where there are so many chances of finding situations and places for friends and favourites, who form a host of idle and mischievous retainers.

The growth of English industry demands that the affairs of government be made pure and simple; that royalty should be stripped of all the remnants of barbarism pressing heavily on the public purse.

The next; commercial stagnation will; no doubts, frighten whigs and tories, beef-eaters, atock-jobbers, and fund-holders to surrender, and the radical reformers will been their sway.

cal reformers will begin their sway.

But will their "radical reforms" change the fundamentals ystem of bourgeois, society? Certainly not. The fundamental system of bourgeois society is the rule of capital, and the consequent antagonism between labour and capital, between the wages-slave and the capitalist; between the working poor and the sluggish rich. Parliamentary, financial, and all the bourgeois reforms, wilk not ameliorate these hostile relations in the slightest degree; on the contrary, they will, rather aggravate thom

These reforms, however sweeping and radical, do in reality, only strip bourgeois society of the feudal and barbarous ornaments inherited from the

middle age. They are, therefore, for the advantage and preservation of the ruling class.

All the pompous speeches at ticket and public meetings are mere humbug with regard to the working classes. The interest of the capitalist, his mode of accumulating wealth, in short, the entire state of society, is at stake at every moment that industry fails to afford sufficient to the working classes to prelong their slavish existence. As the dissolution of the existing state of society is tantamount to the emancipation of the working millions, the working classes are interested in promoting it as speedily as possible. If, therefore, financial reform really will afford some ease and comfort to the working classes, they will not receive it as a favour from the hands of the bourgeois reformers, but merely as a means by which the latter will endeavour to impose quietness upon the former. But what will be the general results of financial reform and direct taxation? If a competition, more or less limited, has hitherto tended to create a revolutionary proletariat, can it be imagined that when commerce and industry shall be freed from all fetters, it will be less effective in the same direction? By no moans. Who are the chief supporters of royalty and government at present? beef-eaters, the pensioners, the sinecurists, the stockjobbers, the fund-holders, the numerous government and church officials, and placemen; above all, the standing army. These again command the support of all the little tradesmen and shopkeepers with whom they deal. Let them do away with pensioners and sinecurists, let them reduce the fund-holders and government officials, let them separate the church from the state, and all these parties, with their dependant tradesmen, have no longer an interest in supporting the government. Let them reduce or abolish the standing army, and they will abandon the weapons by means of which they impose their laws upon society. But then it will be said there will be no cause to grumble when all these grievances are removed. When once parliamentary and financial reform is carried, royalty and government will be stripped of all their aristocratic and feudal splendour and retainers; and our bourgeois grumblers will lose the chance of laying all the causes of social misery and degradation to the account of a wicked and profligate aristocracy; the curtains will be removed, behind which the tyranny of the capitalists is partly hidden. The rule of capital will appear clearly before the light of day, and its tyrannical character will be recognised by even the indifferent and the ignorant. Thus, while the interest of the bourgeoisie demands that their own government must be reduced to its simplest form, they are obliged to deprive it of the main pillar of its stability, and reduce it to that level on which it can be conquered by the proletariat.

. (To be concluded in No. 7.)

TAXATION.

Give me the liberty to correct an error tee generally believed in by the people, namely, that the reduction of taxation would be a benefit to them. So long as the present system of society shall remain, which produces a surplus population, it must be the interest of the workers that their numbers shall not exceed the demand, as excess of numbers will reduce their wages. If the taxes were reduced to the lowest minimum, a very large proportion of the taxation would be thrown on the labourmarket; this would add to the already over supply of labourers, and down wages would go in propor-tion. The working classes not paying the taxes direct would not receive any boon, their taskmasters paying direct would receive the benefit of any reduction, any saving in taxation, would give the master-class more means to compete with. Competition, commercially speaking, means reduction in the price of commodities. Wages men necessarily fall lower as competition increases.

A WAGES SLAVE.

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS.

PREVIOUS to the rise of Christianity, the greater part of Europe was subjected to the terrible rule of the Druids. The account left by Julius Casar of the state of society in Gaul, (France) applied also to the order of things in Britain. The great Roman states that "ever all Gaul there are only two orders of men in any degree of honour and esteem, for the common people are little better than slaves; attempt nothing of themselves, and have no share in the public doliberations. The two orders of men with whom all distinctions and honours reside, are the Druids and nobles. Druids preside in matters of roligion, have the care of public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the gods. They have the direction and education of the youth. In almost all controversies, whother public or private, the decision is left to them, and if any crime is committed, and murder perpetrated; if any dispute arises touching an inheritance, in all such cases they are supreme judges, they decree rewards and punishments, and if any one refuses to submit to their sentence whether magistrate or private man, they interdiot him the sacrifices. Such as are under this prohibition, are considered as impious and wicked; all men shun them, lest they should suffer from the contagion of their misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the law for justice, nor are capable of any public office. The Druids are all under one chief, upon his death a successor is elected, but sometimes they have recourse to arms before the election can be brought to issue. The Druids never go to war, are exempt from taxes and military service, and enjoy all manner of immunities.

* * * The whole nation of the The whole nation of the Gauls is extremely addicted to superstition, whence in threatening distempers and the imminent danger of war, they make no scruple to sacrifice men.

Gauls is extremely addicted to superstition, whence in threatening distempers and the imminent danger of war, they make no scruple to sacrifice men. Some prepare huge colossuses of osier twigs, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expire amongst the flames! Cæsar further relates that at the funerals of great men, it was customary to sacrifico their dependants and slaves.

Although Cæsar states that the Germans had no

Although Casar states that the Germans had no Druids, Tacitus, on the other hand, declares that they had both pricsts and bards who sat in judgment upon all offences. Tacitus further reports that the Germans pursued the horrible practice of human sacrifices.

In Scandinavia, the priests often united the spiritual and temporal sovereignty in their own persons, and when that was not the case they ruled the kings even to the extent of sacrificing them on the alters of their horrible superstition. "The on the altars of their horrible superstition. first king of Vermland was burnt in honour of Odin, to put away a great dearb. Hacon, king of Norway, offered his son in sacrifice to obtain a victory over his enemy, Harold. Aune, king of Sweden, devoted to Odin, the blood of his nine sons to prolong his life." Sacrifices of human beings took place every ninth month, the ceremony lasted nine days, and every day they offered up The most solemn sacrifices of human nine victims. beings, took place every ninth year, at Upsal in Sweden, when the king, the senate, and the princitizens were forced to attend at the horrible ceremony, and bring offerings to the priests. Men were sacrificed by being laid upon a large stone, and strangled or knocked on the head. "Sometimes the sacrifices were varied. There was a deep well in the neighbourhood of the temple, the chosen person was thrown headlong in, commonly in honour of Goya, or the earth. If the body went at once to the bottom, it had proved agreeable to the goddess, if not, she refused it, and it was hung up in a sacred forest. Near the temple of Upsat, there was a grove of this sort, every tree, and every leaf of which was regarded as most sacred. This, which was named Odin's grove, was full of the bodies of men and animals which had been sacrificed." THE BURCHERING PRINCES OF MEETOO.

A very brief notice of the ferocious superstitions of the barbarons matiens of the new world, discovered by Columbus and his strecessors, is all we can make room for. The Natchez who had advanced far beyond other tribes of American Indians in their cruel institutions, worshipped the sun. They burnt on the funeral pile of their chiefs, human victims, giving them large pieces of tebacco to stupify them. According to Robertson, the historian, the mass of the Mexican people were sunk in the lowest state of bondage to their romerscless tyrants, the nobles and priests. The Spanish writers have given most horrible accounts of the atrocities perpetrated by the priests of Mexico. According to the teachings of these monsters, of all offerings human sacrifice were deemed the most acceptable! "Every captive was taken to the temple and sacrificed with the most horrid cruelties. The head and the heart were deveted to the gods; the body was carried off by the warrior whe took the captive, to feast himself and his friends." the Spanish writers, Gormana says "there was no year in which twenty thousand victims were not immolated. The skulls of those unhappy persons were ranged in order, in a building erected for that purpose, and two of Cortes's officers who had counted them, told Gomara they amounted to a hundred and thirty-six thousand." "Herreas declares that five and twenty thousand victims have been sacrificed in one day!" Prebably these numbers exaggerate the truth, but there can be no doubt that the Mcxican temples were human shambles, and that the Mexican priests were in the habit of shedding torrents of bleod.

A JOURNEYMAN PRINTER.

THE Albany Dutchman publishes a biographical sketch of John Paterson, whose interllectual acquirements throw those of "the learned blacksmith' into the shade. Mr. Paterson is a native of New-Jersey, having been born at Morristown, on the 11th of January, 1799; he is, therefore, in his 51st year. He has lived in Canada, Buffalo, and other places, and in his early manhood had many a "sair feeht" for a living. He has resided in Albany (State of New York, U. S.), since the year 1822, with no aid but industry, and no higher salary than that which is bestowed on a Journeyman Printer, Mr. Paterson has become not only thoroughly acquainted with every department of human knowledge, but has acquired a handsome little property, and owns one of the best select libraries in the city. The latter contains some 3,000 volumes, while its estimated worth is put down at 6,000 dollars. The degree of A.M. was conferred on Mr. P. in the year 1836, by Union College. He is a scholar in every sense of the term. He is not only thoroughly versed in every branch of Mathematics, but can read and write Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arahic, with as much ease and fluency as he can English. In the different living languages he is equally well posted up, and is probably tho only man on earth who can converse in every language spoken in Europe. His great work, "The Calculus of Operations, has just issued from the press, and is, in the opinion of scientific men, one of the most profound productions that the Mathematical world bas yet given to society. Mr. P. stills works as an operative printer. He married in the year 1828, and has five children.

The Cant of the Day.—A hollow cant about the love of children and nature, and the poor and the ignorant, and the Good and the Beautiful (in capital letters), and other profound emotions, has, of late years, got into the literary; market, and is now ticketed and labelled as a regular article of consumption. There are writers amongst us who do this sort of thing to order, and carry on a flourishing trade in benevolence, philanthropy, and the social charities, of which, they would have it believed, they enjoy an absolute monopoly.—

Frastr's Magazine.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"To Mr. G. JULIAN HARNEY.—Dear Sir, I see in this week's number of the Friend of the People a complaint of some person in Holbeck, stating that the Friend of the People cannot be regularly obtained in Leeds. As far as I am concerned, I never push one work in preference to another. The Friend of the People is side by side with the most aristocratic work published, on my counter for sale; and if we have not shewn the bills of the Friend of the People, it has been because we have not had them. If I had bills sent, they should be exhibited, as my principles in politics are equally as liberal as those advocated in the columns of your publication. How it was they were not sent on the occasion complained of by your correspondent, I cannot say; but it was no fault of mine.—I remain, yours respectfully, John Cooke, Meadow-lane January 7, 1851. P.S.—My London agent is W. M Clark, Warwick-lane. I hope you will insert the above in justice to mc." [We have mucb pleasure in publishing Mr. Cooke's letter. Bills of the Friend of the People will be forwarded per Mr. Clark, publisher.]

Fraternal Democrats.—We have received and paid over to the Committee from Charles Utting, 1s.; Charles Ernest, York, 1s.

HUNDARIAN REFUGEES.—We have received from John

over to the Committee from Charles Utting, 1s.; Charles Ernest, York, 1s.

Hungarian Refugees.—We have received from John Carr, Bill-poster, 1s., for the Hungarian Refugees.

A Christian Red Republican.—Thanks for the Poetry from the Jewish Chronicle. The sentiments expressed in the lines do credit to the poet. The claims on our columns, prevent compliance with the request of our correspondent.

POETRY AND PAMPHLETS.—Poetry received will be published in due course, if fit for publication. Pamphlets received will be noticed as soon as possible.

LABOUR REDEMPTION Society, Bury.—The Secretary will oblige by forwarding his address, as we have a communication from Arbroath we desire to place in his hands.

hands.
OLD COPY OF THE "NORTHERN STAR."—A friend who will give any reasonable price for the paper wishes to obtain a copy of the number of the Northern Star, containing a report of the liberation of Lovett and Collins from Warwick Prison in (July or August) 1840, and the public entry of Collins into Birmingham. Address to the care of G. Julian Harney, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, London.

ALEXANDER BELL.—In type. Shall appear in No. 7.

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THE POLISH REFUGEES.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM, JUSTICE, AND HUMANITY.

THE undersigned have been elected by their countrymen as members of a Commission to raise the funds necessary for the support of the Polish Hungarian Emigration of 1848.

Letters have been sent by them to the continent. and they will negleet no means to accomplish their duty in this regard on the hospitable shores of Eng

The excessive want of food during the last three weeks, and the future painting itself in the darkest colours, have determined them to take this step, in which they have placed all their hope.

Any money addressed to T. Brown, 41, Turnmill-street, Clerkenwell Green, for this Commission, will be received with the greatest gratitude by the Refugees.

> Tho. Brown, Theodore Jackowski, Wladystaw Jarmolinski, Theodoro Sztezyngier, Wladystaw Szwede, Franciszck Wicicjewski, Matcusz Wyszynski Emil Rasecki, Secretary.

To THE FRIENDS AT SOUTHAMPTON .- Citizens, your hamper came safe, and was given into the hands of the Refugees, and its contents have been fairly divided by a commission of twenty Refugees, called for that purpose. The exiles tender their heartfelt thanks for your sympathy towards them in their unfortunate position.

With fraternal regards, on behalf the Refugees, I am, yours fraternally,

T. BROWN.

41, Turnmili-street, Clerkenwell.

A placard to the following effect, has been posted in Syracuse, New York: -" The man who kissed Jenny Lind is now here: he will give this eve (at a place and time mentioned), a lecture, with all the details of his adventures with the illustrious singer, &c. Tickets one dollar.

Placards and window-bills of the Friend of the People have been forwarded to friends at York, Leicester, aud Sunderland. We shall be glad to receive a line from each on receipt of the parcels.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 18, 1851.

THE WEST RIDING DELEGATE MEETING. THANKS—the thanks of all true Democrats to the Chartists of the West Riding of Yorkshire, for their steadfast and noble adherence to the principles of Democracy. Two weeks ago we observed that Chartism would be saved if the men of Yorkshire performed their duty. They have done their duty; at least so far as the most signal repudiation and condemnation of the proposed party conference is concerned; and through their delegates they have pledged themselves to sustain the Executive, and to supply that body with "the sinews of war." The following resolutions were passed unanimously. Let us add, that Mr. Ernest Jones was not admitted to the sitting of the delegates until after the vote relative to the "Manchester Conference " had been adopted :-

1st.—That we the delegates here assembled consider that the Manchester Council acted, and still persist in acting, contrary to the principles of Democracy, inasinucli as they called, and are still persisting in calling, a conference without consulting the Executive, the only legitimate head of the Chartist body, and who alone have the right to call a conference. We, therefore, recommend that no delegate be sent to the above conference from this riding.

2nd .- "That as Mr. O'Connor has stated his intention of deferring to the will of the majority, it is the opinion of this meeting, that any further opposition to the now expressed will of the majority will lay that gentleman open to the charge of aiding an anti-democratic faction."

3rd .- "That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the Executive have been elected by a fair and open vote, we therefore pledge ourselves to assist them in carrying out their views, and to tender them all the pecuniary aid in our power."

4th .- "That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the letter of David Lawson published in the Star of Nov. 16, is a tissue of gross and malicious falsehoods, and we hereby record our unmitigated abhorrence and indignation at such conduct.

5th .- "That we the members of the West Riding Delegate meeting, having read the attack of the Manchester Council upon Mr. Jones, and the men of Yorkshire, view it as a foul and unjustifiable piece of scurrility unworthy of any body of men calling themselves reformers.

While the West Riding delegato meeting was pursuing its business, another delegate meeting representing the Halifax district, that is the town of Halifax and the neighbouring localities, held its sitings. This minor delegate meeting also unanimously resolved to sustain the Executive Committee. Here is abundant proof of the unadulterated Chartism of the men of the West Riding. Too intelligent to be deluded, too powerful to be coerced, and too numerous to be treated with contempt, they constitute the most desirable friends and the most dangerous foes. Their reiterated pronunciamento in support of the Executive, and in hostility to the factious project of the Manchester Council, assures the safety of Chartism, the onward course of Democracy, and the humiliation and overthrow of the miserable instruments of Personal Ambition, Faction, and Intrigue.

It is absolutely necessary that the support pledged to the Chartist Executive should be forthcoming, as speedily as possible. In places like Halifax and the West Riding generally, where the local officers are in union with the Executive, all that is needed is the help of a few active and trustworthy men. The good work, lif set about in earnest, cannot fail to be productive of the desired fruits. In some localities the local organization, such as it is, is less favourable. Wearied out by the untiring exhibition of chicanery and humbug on the part of too many Chartist "guides" and "leaders," the great body of the Chartists have retired in disgust, and take no part in the nominal "movement" still carried on in their name. A little squad of some dozen, or half dozen, calling themselves "the local council," keep up the farce of "directing the Chartist mind;" meaning thereby the misdirecting of all the dupes they can induce to cash up for the furtherance of-anything but Chartism. Of course such "local councils," instead of setting to work to strengthen the hands of the Executive, will either openly or covertly conspire to prevent that body obtaining the necessary pecuniary support. these factious juntas exist, one of two courses should be taken by the true democrats, either they should rejoin the existing locality, cashier the existing council, and elect a new council; or they should at once set about forming a new locality. If only two or three can get together in the first place, let them not hesitate to make a begining. There are thousands of the best Chartists who will have nothing to do with the peddling local "leaders" who for a long time past have carried on their huxtering "agitation." Let, then, the good men resume their place in the movement. Let the able and the earnest men—the men who can speak, and write, and otherwise work-take the initiative, and they will soon rally the thousands to their side. There is no lack of energy on the part of the Executive. If the democrats throughout the country only exhibit a like spirit, the good cause will be trium-

In recommending that no delegate be sent from the West Riding to the proposed "Man-chester Conference," the delegates have come to a decision which we trust will be universally followed. Let none of our friends think of taking part in that "Conference" on any account whatever. To send delegates even with instructions directly hostile to the convenors of the "Conference" would be a serious error. Any such Conference has no right to assemble; the act of convening it is an act of usurpation on the part of the convenors. To abjure it, to abstain from any participation in its acts, and thereby force the factious to an exhibition of their impotency, is the policy which all true Chartists should pursue.

As in duty bound, the Executive, with one dissentient, have placed on record their appreciation of the excellent resolutions passed by the West Riding Delegates. At the meeting of the Executive, just alluded to we fulfilled the pledge given in No. 5, as the following extract from the official report will shew:-

Mr. O'Connor having stated that he had to lecture at the South London Hall, for the benefit of the Polish Refugees, was then about to retire; but Mr. Harney said that before Mr. O'Connor withdrew, he was desirous of askingsthat gentleman a question. Would Mr. O'Connor be so kind as to state who were the professed leaders of the people to whom he referred in his letter in the Star of Saturday last, addressed to the "Slaves of England," who were actuated by "sordid motives," who "are struggling for popularity and gain," who "know nothing of your principles, and eare not a straw for you, but merely think of themselves," and "who create disunion for the more purpose of elevating themselves, and living upon your disunion and credulity?"

Mr. O'Connor, in reply, said that he did not allude to any particular individual, and he could assure the Executive Committee that he did not apply such remarks to any member of that body.

There was much more said which there is no present need to publish. The above will suffice.

As announced in No. 5, our friend, ERNEST Jones, confronted his Manchester accusers. We refer our readers to the Northern Star of January 11th, wherein they will find two versions of the proceedings—the one supplied by Mr. Jones, the other by the Manchester Council. Our readers will not be in doubt as to which to believe. Even had Mr. Jones not supplied a true statement of the facts, the report supplied by the Manchester Council would have sufficed to condemn that body. Such a "report" could find a place in no paper but the Northern Star. We have information from persons totally unconnected both with Mr. Jones and the Council, that all the uffianism was on the side of the supporters of the latter. It is true they did not proceed to the length of attempting personal violence; they confined themselves to the moral force exhibition of brandished sticks, clenched fists, and the foulest insults. Lastly, when at the conclusion, the democrats gave "three cheers for Ernest Jones," the supporters of the Council took the pitiful revenge of giving three groans—not for Ernest Jones—but for Mantle! We trust our friends will not hesitate to go through the disgusting task of reading the Manchester Council's report. We trust too that the thousands of democrats who in so many parts of England and Scotland lately received ERNEST JONES in triumph, and cheered his eloquent speeches to the echo, will reflect on the treatment he has experienced at the hands of the would-be dictators of Chartism-the miserable instruments of the envy and hatred of others in the back-ground still more base and villanous.

NEW IRISH JOURNAL.-We learn with much pleasure that a number of earnest patriots are making arrangements to make good the public loss occasioned by the extinction of that admirable paper, The Irishman. It is intended to commence a new journal, early in February, to be entitled "THE PEOPLE." The principle on which the establishment of "THE PEOPLE" is proposed is that of a Joint-Stook Association. A fixed number of proprietary agents-one or more selected by the popular Party in each locality-or persons who may voluntarily present themselves-subject to the decision of the Directors-will constitute the Company. A provisional committee has been formed, treasurers and trustees appointed, and a temporary office secured at No. 26, Eden-quay, Dublin. The price of "THE PEOPLE" will be sixpence. It will be the largest size allowed by law, and as in its literary and political departments it will take a leading and prominent position, it may be necessary to state that the services of writers of ability and patriotism have been secured, and that able correspondents are being appointed in Londou, Glasgow, Paris, and New York. We understand that Mr. L. J. Clancy, 59, Chiswell-street, Finsbury, will give every information relative to "THE PEOPLE."

PROSPECTS OF PROGRESS IN SWEDEN.

(From the New York Tribune.)

WITHIN the past six months, the Kingdom of Sweden, which up to that period had remained comparatively quiet and unmoved in the midst of European revolution, appears to have felt the outer circles of those waves of political agitation which run from the fiery centers of France and Germany. The position taken by Sweden with regard to the Danish question, manifesting the subserviency of her government to the dictation of Russia, has of late attracted attention to her condition and the ground she will be likely to occupy when the two conflicting principles of European politics have closed for the final struggle. We find an interesting article on this subject in a late number of the "Ausland," a periodical published at Stuttgard by Cotta, the main points of which we translate for the readers of *The Tribune*.

On the death of Charles XIV., (Bernadotte,) who during his life cautiously opposed every plan for the revision of the Constitution, all eyes werc turned on Oscar I. The general demand for Reform was so pressing, that the King finally conceded so far as to promulgate a project which, while it abolished the old system of representation, recognizing four classes of society, established so strict a property qualification for the Right of Suffrage, that one sixteenth, only, of the poorer class, was entitled to vote. An immediate opposition to this measure arose among the friends of Reform, who three years ago began to organize societies in all parts of the country, holding Annual Conventions at (Erebro to confer together and regulate their movements. At the Convention of 1849, it was determined to draft a new plan which should modify the projected Law of Representation.

There is at present a division in the Reform party, with regard to the best means of attaining their end. One party desires the rejection of the King's project, as opposed to the natural Right and the true principles of Progress; the other is in favour of accepting it, for the reason that it abolishes the distinction of classes, thereby in all probability giving the Reformists a majority in the next Legislative Diet, and enabling them to carry a proposition for the revision of the Constitution according to their own plans. The design of the latter is favoured by the fact that six-sevenths of the population of Sweden belong to the agricultural class, which is, in general, very favourably disposed toward the Reform measures. Another reason urged, is, that the rejection of the King's project would delay the revision of the Constitution till the assembling of another Diet, whereas, upon its acceptance, the subject could be taken up without delay.

These views, made public in the journals devoted to Reform, have given considerable auxiety to the Conservative party. During the past year, a Moderate party has sprung up, which, attempting to take a middle course between black and white, has been facetiously styled, "The Greys." This grey party, which includes in its ranks many persons attached to the Government, finds itself very unexpectedly strengthened, at least as far as respects the acceptance of the King's project, by a large body of the Reformists, and because it cannot go counter to its own designs, is obliged to join issue with the latter, in spite of the certain prospect, that, after victory, its allies will push their plans much further than it desires. The opening of the Diet, according to the proclamation of the King, issued on the 10th of July last, was to take place on the 15th of November. The election of delegates was going forward with great excitement, at the last accounts, and from the returns, as far as they have been made known, the important influence of the Reform Associations throughout the country, is plainly to be seen.

In the mean time, the course of late events in Europe, especially with regard to the Danish Question, has had a powerful effect on public opinion.

The progress of Reaction in Europe has had its mouse-mills, sufficient room be and some hundreds of spectarent, there will be a balance of annum.—New York Tribune.

influence with the Swedish, Government, which eringes more than ever to the dietation of Russia. The notorious league between Denmark and Russia has opened the eyes of the honest Scandinavian enthusiasts, and that "Scandinavism" which would support Denmark's claims on German soil at any price, has lost much of its popularity since its votaries begin to suspect that Sweden and Norway are to be made a catspaw for Russia. The fact that many Swedes have enlisted in the ranks of Schleswig-Holstein, plainly shows their hostility to their common enemy. The intimate relations, therefore, which the Government of Sweden now holds with Russia, brings it into direct and unexpected conflict with the Swedish people. The Government, however, itself made the proposition for a revision of the Constitution, and cannot now openly retract it. -Should the Reformists decide on acceptance, the Government will thereby be placed in an embarrassing predicament.

With a revised Constitution, the Russian policy of Sweden would be no longer tenable. The triumph of the Reformists, therefore, is the defeat of Russia, and to this end they are exercising their utmost activity and influence. The strife between the two parties in the Swedish Diet, now probably in session, is one of great interest, since it will decide whether Russia is to be the dominant influence in Northern, as she is in Central Europe.

Since the above was put into type for the Friend of the People, intelligence has arrived from Sweden to the effect that the "Reform Bills" presented by the government to the four chambers have been rejected by the clergy and the nobles. Owing to the peculiarities of the Swedish constitution these adverse decisions will have the effect of negativing the question of "Reform" for sometime to come.

How to Manufacture a "Miracle."-A correspondent of the Times give the following hints for Romanist miracle-mongers: "Take an oil-painting of a wounded man, cover the back of the eanvass with pitch, cut out a portion of the latter immediately behind the part depicted as a wound, pierce the canvass at that part with several stabs of a cobler's awl from back to front, place in the openng made by the removed pitch a piece of sponge saturated with blood, thinned with water, cover the opening with a plug of pitch, the application of a hot iron removing the appearance of a scam round the plug. The 'miracle' may now be worked by gentle pressure either from behind or in front of the pietured wound, which squeezing the sponge, causes the bloody liquid to exude through the holes made by the eobler's awl, and trickle out in the most natural and surprising manner, to the edification of all boliolders. This 'miracle' is capable of being produced by other means, but upon the some principle. The application of a white handkerchief to the wound, and with some pressure, will assist in establishing the 'miracle!'"

PROGRESS OF MACHINERY.—THE MICE EN-SLAVED!-A gentleman in Kirkaldy, Scotland, has trained a couple of mice, and invented machinery, chabling them to spin cotton yarn .- The work is so constructed that the common house mouse is enabled to make atonement to society for past offences, by twisting twinc, and reeling from 100 to 126 threads per day. To complete this, the little pedestrian has to run 101 miles. A half-penny's worth of oatmeal, at 15d. per peck, serves one of these tread-wheel culprits for the long period of five weeks. In that time it makes 110 threads per day. At this rate a mouse earns 7s. 6d. per annum. Take off 5d. for board and 1s. for machinery, there will arise 6s. clear for every mouse annually. The mouse employer was going to make an application for the lease of an old empty house, which will hold 10,000 mouse-mills, sufficient room being left for keepers, and some hundreds of spectators. Allowing for rent, there will be a balance of 10,000 dollars per

Leanes from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 5.)

IMMEDIATELY after the extraordinary conversation detailed in No. 5 of this publication, Albert dis-

appears, and cannot be found.

"They searched for him in the garden, in the warren, in the surrounding woods, and among the mountains. No one had seen him far or near. No trace of his steps was anywhere to be found. The rest of the day and succeeding night were spent in the same manner. No one went to bed in the house: our people were on foot until dawn, and searching for him with torches.

"All the family retired to pray. The next day and the following night were passed in the same consternation. I cannot describe the terror I felt -I, who had never suffered any uneasiness, who had never experienced in my life domestic events of such importance. I seriously believed that Akbert had either killed himself or fled for ever, I was seized with convulsions, and finally with a malignant fever. I still felt for him some remains of love, in the midst of the terror with which so fatal and so strange a character inspired me. My father had strength enough to pursuo his usual sport of hunting, thinking that in his distant excursions he might possibly happen on Albert in the midst of the woods. My poor aunt, a prey to anguish, but still active and courageous, nursed me, and tried to comfort everybody. My uncle prayed night and day. . When I saw his faith and his pious submission to the will of Heaven, I regretted that I was not devout.

" 'After seven days of mortal anguish, when we began at last to despair, my annt, in passing one evening before Albert's chamber, saw the door open, and Albert seated in his arm-chair, caressing his dog, who had followed him in his mysterious journey. His garments were neither soiled nor torn; only the gold ornaments belonging to them were somewhat blackened, as if he had come from a damp place, or had passed the nights in the open air. His shoes did not appear as if he had walked much; but his beard and his hair bore evidence to a long neglect of the care of his person. Since that day he has constantly refused to shave himself, or to wear powder like other men, and that is why he had to you the appearance of a ghost.'

"'My aunt rushed towards him with a loud cry. "What is the matter, my dear aunt?" said he, kissing her hand. 'One would imagine you had

not seen me for ages.'

"'Unhappy child!' cried she, 'it is now seven days since you left us without saying a word; seven long, weary days, seven dreadful nights, during which we have searched for you, wept for

you, prayed for you.'

"'Seven days?' said Albert, looking at her with surprise. 'You must moan to say seven hours, my dear aunt, for I went out this morning to walk, and I have come back in time to sup with you. How can I have occasioned you so much anxiety by so short an absence?'

"'I must have made a slip of the tongue,' said she, fearing to aggravate his disease by mentioning it; 'I meant to say seven hours.

* Do you not feel wearied? You must, no doubt, have walked a great deal, and scaling the mountains is so fatiguing. Where have you been ?'

"'Albert put his hand to his forehead, as if to

recollect, but he could not tell.

"'I confess to you,' said he, ' that I know nothing about it. I was much pre-occupied. I must have walked without seeing, as I used to do in my childhood; you know I never could answer you, when you questioned me.'

"s And during your travels, did you pay any

more attention to what you saw ?'

"'Sometimes, but not always. I observed many things, but I have forgotten many others, thank God.

" 'And why thank God ?'

"' Because there are such horrible things to be seen on the face of the earth!' replied he, rising with a gloomy expression which my aunt had not yet observed in him. She saw that it would not do to make him talk any more, and she ran to annonnce to my uncle that his son was found. No one yet knew it in the house; no one had seen him enter. His return had left no more trace than his departure.'

"" What you have told mo seems like a dream, my dear baroness,' said Consuelo, 'and has set me thinking rather than sleeping. How could a man live seven days without being conscious of any-

thing?'
"That is nothing compared to what I have yet to relate; and until you have seen for yourself, that, far from exaggerating, I softon matters in order to abridge my tale, you will, I can conceive, have some difficulty in believing me. As for me, who am relating to you what I have seen, I still ask myself sometimes if Albert is a sercerer, or if he makes fools of us. But it is late, and I really fear that I have imposed upon your patience.

"'It is I who impose upon yours,' replied Consuelo; 'you must be tired of talking. Let us put off till to-morrow evening, if you please, the con-

tinuation of this incredible history.'

"'Till to-morrow then,' said the baroness, em-

bracing her."

"The incredible history which she had just heard, kept Consuelo, in fact, long awake. dark, rainy, and tempestuous night also contributed to fill her with superstitious fancies which she had never before experienced. 'Is there then some incomprehensible fatality,' said she to herself, which impends over certain individuals? What erime against God could that young girl have committed, who was telling me so frankly just now of her wounded self-love and the vanishing of her fairest dreams? What evil have I myself done, that the sole affection of my heart should be tern from my bleeding bosom? But, alas! what fault has this savage Albert of Rudolstadt been guilty of, that he should thus lose his consciousness and the power of governing his life? What hatred has Providence conceived for Anzoleto, thus to abandon him, as it has done, to wicked and perverse inclinations?

The next evening Amelia resumed her narrative of the strange life of her cousin, the young Count :

"'Albert's history will be concluded in a few words, my dear Porporina, because, unless I repeat what you have already heard, I have not much more to tell you. The conduct of my oousin during the eighteen months which I have passed here, has been a continual repetition of the extravagancies of which I have informed you. Only Albert's pretended recollection of what he had been, and what he had seen, in past ages, assumed an appearance of frightful reality, when he began to manifest a peculiar and truly wonderful faculty of which you may have heard, but in which I did not believe until I saw the proofs he gave of it. This faculty is called, I am told, in other countries, the second eight; and those who possess it are objects of great veneration among superstitious people. As for me, who know not what to think of it, and will not undertake to give you a reasonable explanation, it only adds an additional motive to deter me from becoming the wife of a man who could see all my actions, even if I were a hundred leagues off, and who could almost read my thoughts. Such a wife ought to be at least a saint, and how could sho be one with a man who seems to have made a compact with Satan?'

"'You have the happy privilege of being able to jest on every subject,' said Consuclo; 'I wonder at the sheerfulness with which you speak of things which make my hair stand on end. In what does this second sight consist?'

" Albert sees and hears what no one else can see and hear. When a person whom he loves is coming, although no one expects him, Albert announces his approach, and goes to meet him anhour beforehand. In the same way also he retires and shuts himself up in his chamber, when he feels that any one whom he dislikes is about to visit us.

" One day when he was walking with my father in a by-path on the mountains, he suddenly stopped and made a wide circuit through rocks and brushwood, in order not to pass near a certain place, which nevertheless presented nothing peculiar in its appearance. They returned by the same path a few moments after, and Albert again took the same precaution. My father, who observed this movement, pretended to have lost something, and endeavoured to draw him to the foot of a cedar which appeared to be the object of his rupugnance. Not only did Albert avoid approaching it, but he affected even not to walk upon the shadow which the tree cast over the path; and while my father passed and repassed under it, he manifested extraordinary uneasiness and anguish. At last, my father having stopped altogether at the foot of the tree, Albert uttered a cry and hastily called him back. But lic refused for a long time to explain himself respecting this fancy, and it was only when overcome by the prayers of the whole family, that he declared that the tree marked the place of a burial, and that a great crime had been committed on this spot. The chaplain thought that if Albert knew of any murder which had formerly been committed in that place, it was his duty to inform him of it, in order to give Ch. istian burial to the abandoned bones.

"' Take care what you do,' said Albert, with an air at the same time sad and ironical, which he often assumes. 'The man, woman, and child whom you will find there were Hussites, and it was the drunkard Wenceslas who had their throats cut by his soldiers one night when he was concealed in our woods, and was afraid of being

observed and betrayed by them.'

". Nothing more was said to my cousin resneeting this circumstance. But my uncle, who wished to know if it was an inspiration, or merely a caprice on his part, caused a search to be made during the night at the place which my father pointed out. They found the skelctons of a man, a woman, and a child. The man was covered with one of those enormous wooden shields which the Hussites carried, and which are easily recognised by the chalice engraved upon them, with this device in Latin around it; 'O Deuth, how bitter is thy coming to the wickel; but refreshing to him whose actions have been just, and directed with reference to thee!'*

"'. The bones were transferred to a more retired spot in the forest, and when, several days after, Albert passed the foot of the eedar a second time, my father romarked that he manifested no repugnanco at walking on the place, which nevertheless had been again covered with stones and sand, and in which nothing appeared changed. He did not even remember the emotion he experienced on that oceasion, and had some difficulty in recalling it to his mind on its being mentioned.

"'You must be mistaken,' said he to my father, 'and I must have been warned in some other place: I am certain there is nothing here, for I feel no cold, nor pain, nor shivering!

"'My aunt was inclined to attribute this power of divination to the special favour of Providence; but Albert is so melancholy, so tormented, so unhappy, that one can hardly think Providence would have bestowed on him so fatal a gift. If I believed in the devil, I should much sooner embrace the supposition of our chaplain, who charges all Alberts's hallucinations to his account. My uncle Christian, who is a more sensible man, and firmer in his religious belief than any of the rest of us,

* " O Mors quam est apara memoria tua hominibus injustis, vivo quito enjus omnes res funt ordinate et ad hoc." This sentence is taken from the Bible. But there the rich are named instead of the wicked, and the poor instead of the just.

explains many of these things very reasonably. He believes; that, notwithstanding the pains taken by the Jesuits during and after the thirty years' war, to burn all the heretical writings in Bohemia, and particularly those which were found at the Castle of the Giants, notwithstanding the minute searches made by the chaplain in every eorner after the death of my aunt Wanda, some historical documents of the time of the Hussites must have remained conocaled in a secret place unknown to everbody, and Albert must have found them. He thinks that the reading of those dangerous papers has vividly impressed his diseased imagination, and that he attributes to a supernatural recollection of previous existences upon earth, the impression which he then received of many details now unknown, but minutely detailed in these manuscripts. The stories he relates to us can thus be naturally explained, as well as his otherwise inexplicable disappearances for days and whole weeks; for it is as well to inform you that these have been repeated several times, and it is impossible to suppose they ean be accomplished out of the chateau. Every time he has so disappeared it has been impossible to discover him, and we are certain that no peasant has ever given him refuge or nonrishment. We know to a certainty that he has fits of lethargy which keep him confined to his chamber whole days. Whenever the door is broken open and much noise made around him, he falls into convulsions. Therefore they take good care not to do this, but leave him to his trance. At such moments extraordinary things certainly take place in his mind; but no sound, no outward agitation betrays them, and we are only informed of them afterwards by his conversations. When he recovers from this state, he appears relieved and restored to reason; but by degrees the agitation returns and goes on increasing, until it overpowers him. It would seem that he forsecs the duration of these erises; for when they are about to be long, he goes to a distance, or conceals himself in some lurking-place, which, is is supposed, must be a grotto of the mountain, or a subterranean chamber in the chatean, known to him alone. Hitherto no one has been able to discover it, and any attempt to do so is the more difficult, as we cannot watch him, and he is made dangerously ill if any one follows him, observes him, or even questions him."

One of Albert's peculiarities is his aversion for music, or rather for tho musical performances of his cousin, Amelia, ho being in the habit of taking to flight whenever she commences singing. A very different effect results from Consuelo's

"She seated herself at the spinet, and began to sing. It was the first time she had awakened the cchoes of the old chateau, and she found tho bare and lefty walls so admirably adapted for sound, that she gave herself up entirely to the pleasure which she experienced. Her voice, long mute, since the last evening when she sang at San Samuel-that evening when she fainted, broken down by fatigue and sorrow-instead of being impaired by so much suffering and agitation, was more beautiful, more marvellous, more thrilling than ever. Amelia was at the same time transported and affrighted. She was at length beginning to understand that she did not know anything, and perhaps she never could learn anything, when the pale and pensive figure of Albert suddealy appeared, in the middle of the apartment, in front of the two young girls, and remained motionless and apparently deeply moved until the end of the piece. It was only then that Consuelo perceived him, and was somewhat terrified. But Albert, falling on his knees, and raising towards her his large dark eyes, swimming in tears, excent, 'O Consuelo! Consuelo! I have at last found thee.'

"'Consuclo?' cried the astonished girl, expressing herself in the same language. "Why, senor, do you call me by that name?

"'I extly on Consolation,' replied Albert, still speaking in Spanish, 'because a consolation has been promised to my desolate life, and because you are that consolation which God at last grants to

my solitary and gloomy existence.'
"'I did not think,' said Amelia, with suppressed rage, 'that music could have produced so prodigious an effect on my dear cousin. Nina's voice is formed to accomplish wonders, I confess; but I may remark to both! of you, that it would be more polite towards me, and more according to general etiquette, to use a language which I can understand.

"Albert appeared not to have heard a word of what his betrothed had said. He remained on his knees, looking at Consnelo with indescribable surprise and transport, and repeating in a tender voice, 'Consuelo! Consuelo.'
"'But what is it he calls you?' said Amelia,

somewhat pettishly, to hor companion.

"'He is asking me for a Spanish air, which I do not know,' said Consuelo, much agitated; 'but I think we had better stop, for music seems to affect him deeply to-day.' And she rose to retire.

"'Consuelo,' repeated Albert in Spanish, 'if you leave me, my life is at an end, and I will nover return to earth again!' Saying this, he foll at her feet in a swoon, and the two young girls, terrified, called the servants to carry him to his apartment, and endeavour to restore him to consciousness:

"Count Albert was laid softly upon his bed; and while one of the two domestics who had earried him searched for the chaplain, who was a sort of family physician, and the other for Count Christian, who had given orders that he should always be called at the least indisposition of his son, tho two young girls, Amelia and Consuelo, went in quest of the canoness. But before eithor of these persons could reach the bedside of the invalid, although they made all possible haste, Albert had disappeared. They found his door open, his bed scarcely marked by the momentary repose he had taken, and his chamber in its aceustomed order. They sought him everywhere, but, as always happened in similar casos, without the slightest success; after which the family sank into the sort of gloomy resignation of which Amelia had spoken to Consuelo, and seemed to await with that silent terror which they learned to snppress, the always hoped for and always uncertain return of this singular young man."

(To be continued.)

THE BATTLE OF KAPOLNA-A HUNGA-RIAN HEROINE.

This was one of the most important battles of the whole war, whether considered in its results upon the issue of the contest, or in reference to its merely military aspect, and the distinguished generals opposed to one another on the oceasion. On our side were Dembinski, Gorgey, Poltenberg, Klapka, and Gnyon; ou that of the Austrians, Sehliek, Gotz, Lichstenstein, and several others of equal fame. Gorgey, it is probable, intended to allow Dembinski to bear the first brunt of the imperialist's attack, and then to appear suddenly and savo him from being overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the enemy; he would thus turn the fortunes of the day, and be hailed as the hero of the battle. All his subsequent movements justify this opinion, which in itself would be an exceedingly probable inference, from his insatiable craving for military renown. He was mistaken in his ealculations, however, for Dembinski's corps defended itself bravely from the repeated attacks of the enemy. It was in vain that Gorgey kept aloof from the combat until he could interfere with ¿clat; and when he did bring up his forces, it was too late to play the part of rescuer—the enemy had retired before the obstinate valour of Dembinski's troops. It was on this occasion that Dembinski is reported to have said, that "Gorgey ought to be shot." Numerous examples of personal

several regiments vied with one another in daring. The village of Verpelet was the scene of a murderous conflict. It was occupied early in the day by the Austrians, and formed a stron support to that part of the line; but a battaliog of the Italian legion, Zanini, supported by oun Tyrolese jagers, took it by storm, with dreadfur earnage. They held it for a long time, in spitol of numerous and desperate attempts to dislodge them. Their obstinacy, however, continued too long; for, though they saw an overwhelming force of the enemy brought up to attack them, they refused to relinquish the village, and were completely surrounded. The jagers eut their way through the enemy; but the unfortunate Zanini grenadiers were taken prisoners, notwithstanding repeated and sanguinary efforts on the part of our hussars to rescue them. The Austrians were specially exceperated against the Zanini regiment, for it had come over to us from the imperial service in the beginning of the war. Kossuth afterwards thanked the Tyrolese jagers personally, in the presence of the army, for their heroic efforts. There was one individual whose conduct was the theme of universal admiration, and that person, strange to say, was a young female. A certain mystery hung round her origin and family. Her name was Caroline, but she was known in the army by the name of Carl. She appeared first in the insurrection at Vienna, and fought with astonishing daring throughout the whole of that sanguinary struggle. Her sex was then unknown, as she was dressed in male attire. After the suppression of the popular party in Vienna, she was lost sight of for a few days, when she was recognised under the uniform of the German Legion, into which she had enlisted at Raab. From this corps she changed into the Tyrolese jagers, where, by her good conduct and bravery, she soon became a non-commissioned officer. She fell, desperately wounded, whilst fighting in the thick of the conflict at Verpelet, but preserved sufficient consciousness and presence of mind to erawl to the side of the wall, where she lay still, whilst the battle raged round her, and the combatants passed over her repeatedly. As soon as the battle was over, she dragged herself to a place where her wounds were attended to, and she rapidly recovered from them. Her next appearance was at Debreesin, where she applied to Kossuth for permission to serve in the hussars, It was granted; and here again her good conduct was so eonspieuous, that she advanced rapidly from one step of promotion to another, till she attained the grade of an officer. She then, to tho total abnegation of her cloth married a brother major, a major of the artillery. The happiness of her married life was not destined to a long continuance. Her husband was soon after taken prisoner by the Austrians, and the last intelligence she ever heard from him informed hor that he was about to be tried beforean Austrian court martial. His fate may be easily divined; no doubt he died, like so many other brave men, by the decree of that lawless and savage tribunal. Since that event poor Caroline herself has also been lost sight of. If she has survived the shock, it is, probably, only to spend, in some distant retirement, the remains of a broken heart in mourning, like others, over a slaughtered husband and ruined country .- From the Baroness von Beck's Personal Adventures in Hungary."

bravery marked the events of the day; and the

African Kings.—On the coast [of Africa], and up the country, we have made treaties over a bot-tle of rum, with kings whose courts boasted for its chief ornament -a cocked hat or two, and some plush breeches. At an interview in Ashantee, a high native functionary were an epaulette, and a very handsome one too; but where ?-over a gold hand bell at the bottom of the spine, 'where the tail joins on to the small of the back.'-Fraser's Magazine.

Labour Record

Cocoperative Chronicle.

TO THE WORKING-MEN OF THE WORLD.

The Industrial Congress of the city of New York, to their fellow working-men in all parts of the World, send greeting and ask of them:—

To appoint certain of their brethren in whose discretion

To appoint certain of their brethren in whose discretion and experience they have confidence, to meet such Delegates as we may appoint in the city of London, in England, in the month of May, in the year 1851, for the purpose of conferring together on the evils which affect our social condition, for exhibiting the true state of our respective trades and callings, with the advantages and disadvantages of our various countries; and for the purpose of devising some general principle which may be for the good of all, and in which all can co-operate.

And for the purpose of doing this the more efficiently, we further request that you will cause the delegates whom you may send, to be provided with such statistics of labour, wages, and the expenses and mode of living, as may enable the Conference to arrive at just conclusions, and with such schemes of amelioration and improvement as may be most approved of in the countries in which they are known, having a particular and direct reference to the removal of such evils as we may remove by our own exertions, and of universal application, and not having any direct political bearing, or reference to any particular country.

Honing that no Working man will read this with indiflar country.

Hoping that no Working man will read this with indif-

ference, or think he does his duty by his fellows unless he does something to help this great object, we remain ever the friends and advocates of the labour interests of the

world,
Signed on behalf of the seventy-eight Societies represented in the New York City Industrial Congress,
K. A. Bailey, President.

HENRY J. GRATS, Secretary.

INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATURE. - An Industrial Legislature has been convened to meet at Trenton, New Jersey, on the third Tuesday in January, 1851. The following extract from the address convening the "Legislature," indicates the views of the convenors:—The prominent fact of the downward tendency of Labour, a fact so inconsistent with

from the address convening the "Legislature," indicates the views of the convenors:—The prominent fact of the downward tendency of Iabour, a fact so inconsistent with our national theory of Government, and the now almost equally prominent fact that that downward tendency is caused by the monopoly of the soil, render it unnecessary for us to go into an argument to show the necessity of a State Organization to devise the best temporary relief and the quickest method of applying the radical remedy, the restoration of the soil to the People."

The American Tarff.—The working men of Williamsburgh are petititioning Congress against the present tariff, "which," says the New York Tribune, "amongst other discriminations against American, and in favour of foreign labour, imposes a duty of thirty per cent. on raw hemp, which is the stuple of a most extensive manufacture of cordage, dec., which competes directly with ours in our own markets, are admitted at twenty-five per cent. (It is the same with woollen blankets, and some other important manufactures.)" We extract the following from the Williamsburgh memorial:—"The undersigned, residents of Williamsburgh and its vicinity, respectfully represent, that the present tariff on imported eordage and rope manufactured of hemp is extremely unjust, and destructive to the interests of a large class of American labourers. The duty on imported hemp, under the act of 1846, is 30 per cent. ad valoren, while cordage (under which is included the half-manufactured yarn, extensively used in our factories for the manufactured yarn, extensively used in our factories for the manufactured art, extensively used in our factories for the manufactured, are imported at 25 per cent. The effect of this is od discourage at manufacture, and consequently the growth of the article at home. There are in the immediate vicinity of this village many large factories, making, in the aggregate, from 29, 900 to 39,000 tons of cordage annually. Up to 1847, the time when the present tariff began practically to i

TRADES' UNIONS.

FORMATION OF A FEDERAL UNION OF TAILORS IN SCOTLAND.

—An Operative Tailors' Conference has been sitting in Glasgow. Delegates were present from Banff, Campbeltown, Dundce, Edinburgh, Falkirk, Glasgow, Greenock, Hamilton, Johnston and Kilbarehan, Kirkintilloch, Pais-

ley, Perth, and Stirling. Other places were represented by letter. From the reports of the delegates, it appears that the "slop and sweating system" prevails to an enormous extent in Glasgow, and exists largely in Edinburgh, Dundee, Paisley, &c., &c. The trade rate of wages in Glasgow is, or should be, 21s. weekly, but there are but few men who receive that amount. In Paisley and other secondary towns, the regular rate of wages is 18s. weekly. According to the reports of the delegates, the condition of the "homograble" workers is very inferior to that which it should be, while the misery of those who work for the "slop and sweating" masters is truly horrible. The following resolutions were adopted:—"That a federal union for Scotland be formed, to consist of such local societies as may conform to the principles laid down by the Conference." "That the hours of labour be reduced to ten daily." "That, where it is found to be practicable, the hours of labour be from six to six in summer, and from seven to seven in winter [with the exception of two hours for meals!" "That the ten hour system commence on the 1st Monday in March, 1851." "That Scotland be for the present divided into the western and enstern districts, having Glasgow and Edinburgh for their centres; and the tailors of Aberdeen be corresponded with for the purpose ley, Perth, and Stirling. Other places were represented having Glasgow and Edinburgh for their centres; and the tailors of Aberdeen be corresponded with for the purpose of inducing the formation of a northern district, with Aberdeen as its centre." "That the executive council consist of fifteen members, eight for the western, and seven for the eastern districts," "That after January, 1852, no local society shall be allowed to be in connection with the Federal Union, where any of its members receive so much per week and their food and lodging." "That instead of settling disputes by strikes or intimidation, 'inediation or arbitration be recommended." In addition to the foregoing, a series of resolutions denunciatory of the sweating system, and calling upon the publle to discountenance it in every possible way, were adopted; as was also the following—"That this meeting condenn, in the strongest terms, the system of having work done in prisons and jails, at a lower rate than is generally paid, thus bringing the lahour of felons into unjust competition with the honest and industrious tradesman, thereby inflicting a double injury by reducing our wages, thereby inflicting a double injury by reducing our wages, and at the same time taxing us for the support of eriminals."

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

CO-OPERATIVE STORES AT OLDBAM.—We learn from the Christian Socialist that the Co-operative Store at Oldham is now in full operation. Its sales average £40 a week. The rules are enrolled under the Friendly Societies' Act, hy the title of "The Oldham Auxiliary Mutual Association." Another Store has just started with every prospect of success, and it is stated that a third will shortly be opened in another part of the town.

The Redemption Society at Bury has commence business with the London Central Stores. Our above named contemporary states that "They are selling goods to the amount of about Fifty Pounds Weekly."

Associations in France.—We take the following from our excellent contemporary, the Leader:—
Fratenal Association of Cooks.—This association is situated in the Rue du Fabourg St. Denis, No. 23, on the ground floor of the court. under the Tailors Association, where Proudhon had his Banque du Peuple. I have frequently seen in the morning ahout thirty poor persons outside, receiving portions of soup distributed to them hy these honest and charitable working men: during the winter, when food is scarce, they feed a hundred persons daily with soup, who would starve but for this truly noble instance of charity among the poor—and these are the people who are calumniated by the friends of 'order!"

The Cooks of the Barriere du Maine, on the south side of the river, is one of the oldest and most flourishing of these associations. They give soup daily to more than 200 persons, and one year they gave away 300 portions of soup every day. They have lost by breakage and otherwise 1000 plates and as many glasses. Each member gains from forty to two hundred franes in month; were it not for the great sacrifices they make to assist their poorer hrethren, they might be gairing more than two hundred franes a month each.

ren, they might be gaining another a month each.

THE FRATERYM. Association of Coffee-house Keepers (Association Fraternelle des Lemonadiers), in the Rue de Roule, No. 3, near the Louvre, has a branen establishment in the Fahourg St. Martin, No. 22, called La France Nouvelle. A little passage, over which was the usual triangula son's level, indicating a fraternal association, leads to the coffee-room, a spacious chamber, about thirty or In son's level, indicating a fraternal association, leads to the eoffee-room, a spacious chamber, about thirty or forty feet square, filled with orderly, respectable ouvriers and several soldiers, drinking eoffee, beer, lemonade, &c., and talking very fast. Another room, much larger, contains four billiard-tables, at which the ouvriers play. Besides these rooms there is another, and a garden outside, with seats under the trees and beds of flowers cultivated by members of the association. Here I metseveral of the Luxemhourg delegates, about whom so many absurd calumnies have been spread. I found them to be straight-forward, intelligent men; some were working men, and others employers, having establishments of their own.—J. E. S.

Associations in America.—The Tribune states that the

Associations in America.—The Tribune states that the Associations in America.—The Tribune states that the New York City Industrial Association has adopted a plan for the practical application of the co-operation of Labour and Capital presented by Mr. R. J. Pond, and have authorised a committee to make all the arrangements necessary for effectually carrying it out. Delegates from ninetecn trades in Phitadelphia are deliberating on the means of bringing the principle of Association into practical operation.

Poetry for the People.

THINGS WILL GO BETTER YET.

It's all a lie! their Right Divine, Their altar grim, their erown and throne!
For them the many shall not pine,
With souls unfledg'd, and minds ungrown.
Priesteraft may eurse, reproving;
Red-handed kinggraft threat;
But now theat Codd we're made in But now, thank God! we're moving— Things will go better yet.

Old Earth with clouds and thorns is rife! Man hath his miseries still !—yet flowers Make sunshine in the darkest life, And tint with Heaven this world of ours.
And there be hearts all loving, And love shall love heget;
For now, thank God! we're moving—
Things will go better yet.

From out the brain 'twill wrench a tear To count our martyrs by the way; But bear a hand, my brother dear, A glorious remnant lives to-day The People, leagued and loving, Shall break the Tyrants' neck; A nd now, thank God! we're moving— Things will go better yet.

GERALD MASSEY

RHYMES FOR THE LANDLORDED.

VI .- THE CONTRAST.

Fitzsteal* was his father's heir, flash'd his gold at school, Drove through College tandem, took his full degree as

fool,—
In his rich, uncultured rankness grew like foulest weed:
Labour, peasant-litter'd, had no schoolmaster but Need.

Fitzsteal hath his racing stud,—his mares are thorough-

bred;
His dogs are plump, his horses sleek, his stable-boys are ted;

Fitzsteal hath his foreign cook, his foreign whore, and wino: Labour's wife and children on the veriest refuse dine.

Fitzsteal hath an indigestion,—twice in every day Sir Henry calls to feel his pulse, chat, and take his pay: In their wretched hovel where the wind and rain slip Labour's family lie dying-if the Union doctor knew.

Fitzsteal hath his miles of eoal—you and I must pay Double for our Winter fire, to keep him "warin" at play Fitzsteal rents the very bog where Labour digs his peat: Matters little to the eripple with his frozen feet.

Fitzsteal losses hath at cards—his creditors complain; He raises reits, and sharply bids his jackall to distrain: Labour's black potatoe-erop is seized—they even sell His old flock-bed,—Fitzsteal's awake the night long at his "hell."

Fitzsteal hath his house in town, with liveried slaves to wait,— His blazon'd carriage, should it please his Lordship ride

Driven from the roadside ditch, where he had piled a shed,

Houseless Labour hath nowhere that he can lay his head.

Fitzsteal, dying in his palace, full of years and bread, In his father's tomb is haid, with brass above his head: Labour's children, fever-murdered, on a dung heap he; Labour may be comin'd in the poor-house by-and-bye.

Fitzsteal was Sir Richard's heir, has never toil'd a day; Are there improvements on his lauds!—for them the

tenauts pay: Labour never rested yet. Is all the difference this-That Labour cultivates the land, and Fitzsteal calls it his?

* Descended from the old Norman blood of Steele, Anglice Steal, who came over with the Conqueror. † A literal fact.

PORK AND PEAS-QUEEN ELIZABETH .- On her release from the Tower in 1554, dined off pork and peas, at the King's Head, in Fenchurch-street, where the metal dish and cover she is said to have used are still preserved.

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KRIRND PROPIR.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATE RNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 7.]

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—
MILTON.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORM. THAT the popular, mind is at the present time directed to the consideration of industrial and social questions, as distinguished from the question of political reform, is a fact that cannot be denied. To ardent reformers who desire, before all things, that the people should achieve their political emancipation, and therewith the mastery of the state, the existing movement in favour of co-operative and industrial organization is anything but gratifying. With the most zealous and impatient of the friend's alluded to I fully agree as to the desirability of the working classes first seeking and winning political power, persuaded as I am that the condition of the people can be generally and permanently changed from slavery and misery to freedom and happiness, only by a radical revolution of the laws and institutions which, under the existing order of things, determine the lot of the masses; and that that revolution can be effected only by Universal Suffrage, possessed and exercised by an enlightened people. But we must take men as they are, and make the best of existing circumstances. A calm review of the course of popular movements during the last thirty years (as narrated in my last letter) must satisfy every thinking man that the present phase of popular progress is the natural and inevitable consequence of the failure of the late political agitation. To find fault with, or to offer opposition to, the co-operative and industrial movement, would be as unwiso as to deplore, or to attempt to stem, the reflux of the tide.

Undoubtedly other circumstances, in addition to the natural re-action consequent upon the defeat of Chartism in 1848, have helped to incite the Trades' and Co-operative organization at present in progress. Reductions (effected and attempted) of wages; the literary and practical propaganda of the "Christian Socialists;" the success of cooperative associations, old and new; and the homes and withered hopes would be—for the the working men? Not so. Long before the

progress throughout Europe of Communist and Socialist ideas, have combined with the aforesaid "Reaction" to create the present opinion and feeling in favour of Social, as distinguished from Political Reform.

Admitting that for the time being the Trades' and Co-operative Movements will render the revival of political agitation extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, I doubt not that even the political value of the Associativo movement will be seen at no very

distant day.

It "needs no ghost come from the grave" to predict the issue of even the best possible Trades' Organization. I am aware of the value of Trades' Unions. But for those nnions, notwithstanding the failure of very many "strikes," the state of the operatives would be much worse than it is. Trades' combinations have at least checked the march, and retarded the ascendancy, of alldevouring capital. Nevertheless, in any great struggle, the workmen have iuvariably been vanquished; partly through their own want of means to continue the contest with their woalthy opponents, and partly in consequenco of the combination of all classes, above the ranks of labour, against them. Even in the event of the formation of a general union of Trades in one consolidated body, any such union would have no chance of victory in a contest with the conspiracy of the middle and upper classes, which would be organised to destroy the "dangerous combination." The middle-class generally, tho aristocracy, the government, the press-gang, the priesthood,—to say nothing of police, spies, and soldiers, -- would be arrayed in deadly hostility to the working men. break up the union, tho enemy would employ corruption, and sow dissension amongst the unionists. The Press would overflow with calumny, ond the Pulpit ring with denunciation, against the Alliance of the labourers. Provocations to premature strikes would be tried, and all these failing, the Parliament of the capitalists and landlords would step in and declare and enact the illegality of the Union. Police, soldiers, jurors and judges would do the rest. The Union would be

dissolved by fraud and force; and ruined

working men—the issue of the struggle. Trades' Unions may continue to afford some degree of protection in any ordinary contest between labourers and capitalists, but from their very nature they must be impotent to effect any general social change for the advantage of the wealth producers.

Whatever success the Working and Cooperative Associations may attain to, they must of necessity fail to accomplish those changes in society and government which are absolutely necessary to redeem the working classes from wages-slavery and political serfdom. The intelligence, enthusiasm, self-denial, and energy of a few hundreds, perhaps a few thousands, may accomplish the establishment of a number of working associations and cooperative provisions stores. But to what end? The amelioration, it may be, of the condition of those few hundreds, or thousands. But the mass of the labouring classes will remain in their present position, or possibly sink to a worse, unaffected by these experiments. Vast numbers are too poor, too ignorant and too apathetic, to be stirred to action by any means short of the omnipotent force of a revolutionary-organized and democratic government. Moreover, the greater the immediate success, the more certain would be the ultimate failure of the co-operative bodies. In the event of progressing so far as to make serious inroads upon the "master" and shopkeeping classes—a consummation not at-all likely to take place—bankrupt tradesmen and their discharged dependants would create a new army of unemployed, eager to compete with the co-operators, or who, otherwise, would fall into the rank of paupers, a dead-weight upon the industry of the workers. Again, competition of association with association could hardly fail to be a consequence of the extension of those bodies to any considerable extent. Lastly, as the complete success of "Association" means the abolition of capitalists (whether employers, speculators, or shopkeepers) as distinguished from labourers, in fact the destruction of the middle class, is it probable, is it possible to believe, that the bourgeoisie would tamely submit to class annihilation, at the same time being aware of the political impotence of

co-operators could effect their rose-water revolution (were such a revolution possible,) the bourgeoisie would employ the "arm of the law" to arrest the progress of associations "calculated to undermine Order and Property's -that is the political and social supremacy of the Profitocracy.

So far as the working and co-operative associations are calculated to school the working-men in the principles of Fraternity, Self-Government, and true Democracy,so far as they are calculated to accomplish the liberation of even a few workers from the tyranny of "master" ship, so far as they may be found useful in protecting their members from the adulterations, impositions, and extortionate charges of the shopocracy,—so far these associations must effect good. But let no man imagine that through any such means the despotism of Capital will be overthrown, or the social and political sovereignty of Labour established.

One beneficial result likely to flow from the Co-operative movement is the impetus it will give to the general question of Social Regeneration. The next great political movement will be democratique -et sociale. Universal Suffrage, or the Charter, will be the grand political object to be gained by that movement. But it will be understood and proclaimed that political rights must be used to enforce the acknowledgment of SOCIAL RIGHTS; especially the right of all to live by free labour, on a free soil. The co-operative and industrial movement will advance the discussion of social principles, and thereby prepare the way for those Social Revolutionists who seek, through Universal Suffrage, THE ABOLITION OF CLASSES AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LABOUR.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE LAST STAGE OF BOURGEOIS SOCIETY.

By J. G. ECCARIUS. (Concluded from No. 6.)

The power of merchants and manufacturers consists in the amount of capital at their disposal, and in the amount of commodities which they

can purchase or command.

Therefore, whatever increases their capital, or tends to reduce the price of commodities, must increase their power, and hasten competition. When indirect taxation comes to be abolished, the trading capital of the merehants and manufacturers will increase to the extent of the amount of commodities purchased for the same money. For instance, the same amount of money which brings one ewt. of tea or tobacco to market now, will bring four cwts, when the tax is taken off, consequently the power of those who deal in these articles, or their command over social products will increase four-fold. If the consumption of these articles does not increase proportionably, part of the capital now invested in the tea and tobacco trades must go into other channels, and increase competition and speculation. If no opportunity offers for investing the surplus capital in other speculations, the wholesale merchants will employ it in the retail trade, and become to the little teadealer what Moses and Nichol are to the honourable tailor, that is, the workers of his ruin
The power of manufacturers will increase in

proportion as labour and the raw material get cheaper. An actual reduction in the budget will increase their productive capital, and facilitate their credit. The inevitable result of all this will be over-production, mad speculations, industrial and commercial panics, which will far exceed all former convulsions of a like character.

as they have hitherto done. As the "reform" measures are not likely to be carried at any other time than in that of commercial stagnation, wages will come very near to a direct taxation level before ever these beneficial measures come into operation. The reduction of manual labour will do the rest.

But there is one particular set of operatives and tradesmen in this metropolis who will feel the blessings of "financial reform" more than any other in the United Kingdom. These are the operatives and little tradesmen of the west-end whose welfare depends on the aristoeracy, pensioners, sinecurists, and officers in the army and navy. Any one who is acquainted with business at the westend, knows that the principal customers of tradesmen and shopkeepers, are nobles, officers, and aristocratic retainers of government. These folks pay high prices, and run up large bills. They live like improvident workmen who spend their week's carnings before Saturday comes, and are always in debt. If the pensions, &c., are taken from them they will lose their eredit, and the tradesmen their customers.

If the already much encumbered aristecracy lose the chance of putting their younger sons in the army, and other lucrative situations, and pay taxes into the bargain, they will be obliged to be more parsimonious in the expenditure of their revenues, the prosperity of the west-end shopocracy will be at an end, and the loyal "special constables" of 1848 will get into a rather precarious position. Thus, what hitherto could not be accomplished, will perhaps succeed under a Manchester school administration, i. c., to make London, and particularly the west-end (the most reactionary corner in the kingdom, a centre of political agitation and revolutionary movement.

We see that parliamentary and financial reform will produce none of the beneficial effects so largely

predicted by the free traders.

It will neither change the antagonistic relations between labour and capital, nor permanently ameliorate the condition of the suffering millions. The material advantages that are promised to the working classes are illusory, for they will vanish before the labouring population can take possession of them. The real importance of the movement consists in the fraud and illusion it carries into certain democratic regions. The joy of the conquest, as far as the working classes are concerned, will last until they find that illusion and enthusiasm do not fill their stomachs, then they will get sober, and look at things as they really are. However, as I have already stated, whenever these financial grievances shall be removed, there will be no more chance of leading the oppressed astray, and concealing the real foe behind pompous speeches and false promises.

As far as the reform scheme will clear the battle field of rubbish, behind which some interest opposed to the labour-interest might be concealed, it is to our advantage to help the reformers into office. But neither as allies, nor as friends, only as focs. If we co-operate with them, we give all command of the course to be pursued, into their

hands, we submit to their dictatorship, and whenever they chose to stop short we must stop too. As friends or allies we can only form the tail of a descitful and treacherous head, and whenever this head choses to stop it must put the tail into confinsion, and when the field would be ready for us, we should find ourselves disorganised. This is precisely what the little Chartists would like to see. If, on the contrary, we help as foes, and have a good organisation for our own class-interests, we can

drive them farther than they wish to go them-selves. We have an interest to get them into office, because that is the only favourable ground on which we can conquer them. In defeating the most progressive fraction of the bourgeoisie in office,

we defeat the whole host. It is, therefore, important that the working classes should be well organised for their ewn party purposes; that they The wages of labour will follow the same course may be ready to attack their antagonists the mo-

ment their bill is earried, then we may force them to make some conecssions. Besides, a good pro-letarian agitation would induce the conservatives much sooner to surrender, since they would look upon the proposed parliamentary and financial reform as a conservative measure compared with THE CHARTER AND SOMETHING MORE, which must soon follow the triumph of bourgeois "reform."

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS!

ATROCITIES OF BRAHMANISM.

In the ancient and gorgeous empire of India, priestcraft achieved its most signal triumplis over the reason and natural rights of mankind. Two great sects once divided India, those of Buddh and Brahma. For some centuries a struggle for ascendancy was carried on between these two sects, the final result of which was the expulsion of the Buddhists from Hindostan. Buddhism was sub-sequently introduced into China, and other parts of Eastern and Central Asia. It is still the prevailing religion of Ceylon, the "Celestial Empire," &c., &c. It is to the doctrines and practices of the Brahminical sect we wish to direct the reader's attention

Emerson Tennent, speaking of the failure of the Christian Missionaries in their attempts at converting the worshippers of Brahma, gives this account of the Brahminical system:—"The difficulty of effectually assailing this system arises from the mysterious immensity, from the vastness and indistinctness of its huge proportions. It is in this that consists at once its real and its artificial strength-real in the prodigious area over which its baleful influence extends, and in the myriads who bend blindly and submissively before its despotic authority; artificial but still overpowering in the infinitude into which it has multiplied all its component parts. Its mythical cosmogony stretches away beyond the bounds of space: its historical annals extend backwards to the birth of time. Its chronology is recorded, not by centuries, but by millions of millions of ages. Its events have been chronicled in Sanskrit, a language the most expressive and harmonious, a language whose characters are declared to be a direct revelation from the Deity himself, and it sounds the accents of the celestials. It is professed that in the revolution of ages the use of this melodious tongue has been withdrawn from the lips of ordinary mortals, and its knowledge has been entrusted to the divine raco of the Brahmans alone, to whom it has been permitted to cultivate this dialect of the gods. The Vedas and the Shastras, the sacred volumes which contain all imaginable knowledge, and embody all that has been communicated by the inspiration of Omniscience, are written in this venerable language, and are believed to be as ancient as eternity, and to have issued direct from the lips of the Creator. From the Vedas proceed the Upangas and Puranas, those versified commentaries and interminable treatises which compose the wisdom of the East. All these form a body of learning so profound as to be infallible, so vast as to be inserutable, so voluminous that the mere fragments of these giants epics, which are still accessible to mankind, are computed by millions of stanzas, and the whole existence of an ordinary mortal, though prolonged to the uttermost hour, would barely suffice to initiate him into the first rudiments of the ineffable literature of Brahma. It is this imposing immensity in which consists the ascendancy and duration of the system; its vastness baffles all scrntiny and defies all human comprehension. The mind of the Hindoo is overawed by the sense of inconceivable extension; he feels it impions to explore where he despairs to comprehend; he bows in distance and in humbleness before the sublimity of mystery, and in the very prostration of his intellect-he believes."*

Christianity in Ceylon. With an Historical Sketch of the Brahmanical and Buddhist Superstitions. By Sir J. Emerson Tennent.

The worshippers of Brahma, while refusing to kill any living creature for food, and subsisting on fruit, vegetables and milk, nevertheless, practise the greatest barbarities, in accordance with the requirements of the detestable superstition imposed upon them by their priests. Of late their hideous ceremonies and brutal customs have been on the decline, owing to the restraining power exercised by the British authorities. The wholcsale destruction of female children, the burning of widows with the dead bodies of their husbands, and the self-sacrifice of multitudes of victims under the wheels of the chariot of the monster-idel Jaggernath, were, until within a few years past, the appointed and regular recurring practices of the deluded dupes of the Brahmins. The sacred books of these impostors enjoin human sacrifices; and self-inflicted bodily torture is represented to be most agreeable to the Divine Powers. "Under the name of Yogees," says Willian Howitt, "the fanatics of this religion inflict upon themselves every variety of absurd and eruel penance: some going naked all their lives, suffering their hair and board to grow till they cover their whole bodies; standing motionless in the sun in the most painful attitudes for years, till their arms grow fast above their heads and their nails pierce through their elenched hands; scorching themselves over fires; enclosing themselves in cages; and enacting other incredible horrors on themselves for the hope inspired by the

Brahmins of obtaining everlasting felicity."

The seduction and debauchery of females formed, and probably yet form, part and parcel of the priestcraft of India. A French traveller ralates that the priests were in the habit of selecting the most beautiful females, and dedicating them, while still in a state of childhood, to the service of the god. These girls were trained in every art to delude and delight, "and to the fascinations of external beauty, their artful betrayers added the attractions arising from mental accomplishments. The moment these hapless creatures reached maturity they fell victims to the lust of the Brahmins. They were instructed to mould their clegant forms into the most enticing attitudes and most lascivious gestures; and were early taught to practise the most alluring blandishments, to roll the expressive eye of wanton pleasure, and to invite to criminal indulgence by stealing upon the beholder the tender look of voluptuous languishing.' The same author adds "every pagoda has a band of these young syrens, whose business on great festivals is to dance in public before the idol, to sing hymns in his honour, and in private to enrich the treasury of the pagoda by the wages of prostitution. They are forbidden ever to desert the pagoda, and are never permitted to marry. The offspring, if any, of their criminal embraces are considered sacred to the idol. The boys are taught to play on the sacred instruments used at the festivals, and the daughters are devoted to the abandoned occupation of their mothers. we see that in India, a scheme of shameless seduction and debauchery is established in the name of religion; the priest himself converted into a base procurer and systematic seducer, and the pagoda itself into a public brothel!"

The enormous wealth of the Brahmins, and the atrocious system of "castes," must form the subject matter of a second notice.

PAPAL INDULGENCE.—The Pope has granted to a Roman Catholic barrister in London, an indulgence for all venial sins for himself and his descendants to the third generation; as a reward for the services he has rendered to the church by his legal advice and zealous assistance in the establishment of the new Hierarchy.

THE MODEST MISCREANTS. - The Messagere Modanese states that the papal government had determined to order all the naked statues in the churches, including the little marble angels, and the genius at the tomb of Clement, by Canova, to be covered. Paintings are to undergo a similar process.

TO THE CHARTISTS.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN, -If it is the duty of every true democrat to draw closer the bonds of union at a time when the very existence of our organization is endangered by faction, the leading article in the Northern Star of the 11th instant, must create surprise and pain in every democratic reader. short time since the strugglo of a section of our body was to supersede and crush the legitimate Chartist organization-they have been met and baffled in the attempt; then they tried, since too weak to battle them conjointly, to destroy the confidence of the people in the Executive, one by one, by attacking the character of individuals; failing in this, they are now having recourse to the next worst thing-to divido the movement in two separate and rival associations. This is just what the government want—if they can neutralize the Chartist agitation, by balancing one portion of it against the other, during the stormy times that are coming, they will be able to weather the crisis in safety. But they shall not. We will have no two associations! and it is against the recommendation to that effect in the Northern Star that I conceive it to be the duty of every Chartist to protost. The editor may point out "that the world is wide enough for two Chartist parties"—agreed; but Chartism is not strong enough to afford them. He may tell us of the advantage of "parliament being assailed, by two bodies instead of one." Alas l fear while the covert passions and dastardly insinuations abounding in that leading article continue to poison the movement, it would be the one body assailing the other, instead of their mutual foe.

A few words in illustration as to the spirit and tenor of the leading article to which I allude: The editor informs us: "This week we have received resolutions from so called 'Councils' in localities where we were not aware any Chartist organization whatever existed. They have been deaf and dumb enough, at all events, when they were wanted to help in any good work, requiring the smallest self-sacrifice." What localities have their resolution reported in the Star of the 11th in-The West Riding Delegates, comprising Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, and Holmfirth, and several other places: besides these, Roohdalo, Warrington, Todmorden, and Edingburgh. Did the Editor not know that localities existed there? Have they always been deaf and dumb for good? Is it these localities the Editor dares to insult? If not these, it is clear he has been burking resolutions, for there are nono other recorded in the paper. How dare he call the West Riding delegates a "self-styled council"-when the side he upholds, the "Manchester council," represents fortythree members divided amongst themselves? How can he tell these sterling democrats of Yorkshire, "they should be sent back to the first form, and instructed in the very alphabet of demooracy; they are ignorant alike of its principlos and its How can he call their resolutions "an ukase," when they, the delegates of the Riding to which they address themselves, merely commond that no delegate be sent to the Manchester conference from any locality in the Riding? While on the other hand, the Manchester council break through the constituted rules of the association, sets its execution at defiance, and eall a conference on a basis that violates the very "A. B.C. of democracy,"and breaks through two of the principal points of the Chartor.—Because the election of the Executive was not conducted in holes and corners. Because it was an open election, according to the principles of the Charter, by universal suffrage, aud no property qualification, the electors are taunted as being "waifs and strays;" and the assumed organ of Chartism sneers at the National Charter Association, and tries to destroy the influence of its elected head. But, of course, the men picked out of oo-operative stores, whether they ever heard of the Charter or not; these are no "waifs and strays" -and the eleven gentlemen who represent 43 members, have a full right to constitute themselves a national party.

With reference to personal matters, the space of this truly democratic paper shall not be engrossed with them, on my account. I have sent a letter to the "Star," this week, which if possessed of common fairness the editor must insert, after having published a report, forwarded by the members of the Manchester council, of the meeting of the 5th instant, in which, from the beginning to the end. is scarcely a single word of truth. What I am reported to have spoken, I never said; what is reported to have happened, never occurred. A more audacious and reckless falsehood was never palmed upon the public! But my friends, whatever calumny, they may sussitate against the individual; they cannot oheck the progress of the movement-dictatorships have ceased-faction shall follow them.

Your faithful servant, ERNEST JONES,

Hardwick Lodge, January 14, 1851:

EDUCATION FOR THE PEOPLE.

THE educational controversies of the last few years must have convinced every one that so long as affairs remain in their present position in this country, there will be no real education for the People. Even if the present government-so called-possessed the will to educate the People. they are absolutely incompetent to do so. They have no principles themselves, how, therefore, could they instil any into the minds of the youth of the nation? They could teach them nought hut the soulless ogotisms which rule their own lives. Yet they have no love for any system of universal education, for they well know that Knowledge and Freedom go hand in hand, and therefore do they attempt to stem her liberty-bringing torrents, fearful that they will sweep away the pillars of Ignorance and Prejudice on which the oligarchal power is based.

And the priests, will they give education to the People? When the sun ceases to give light and warmith to our world, or when the tender eastern flower, blooms, in all its native loveliness, in the snowy deserts of Siberia, then, and only then, will the eternal enemies of Truth and Justice become the Apostles of Progress; and those who have ever been the deadly foes of mankind, cease to uphold tyranny and intolerance, to become zealous labourers in the cause of man's regeneration, and to combat under the banner of Knowledge, for the

overthrow of Ignorance.

If we call upon the self-styled teachers to unfold to the benighted wayfarers of the present, the rich intellectual treasures which have been bequeathed to them by the past—that they might profit by the wisdom and by the follies of their predecessors; that they might acquire a knowledge of their high duties towards humanity, and be enabled to add to the intellectual store for the benefit of the future—they will, instead of doing so, continue their labours to obscure the reason, and to load the youthful minds of their pupils wit a thousand unintelligible dogmas; and to inspire them with an unenquiring reverance for "sacred" mysteries, which are as repugnant to reason as opposed to nature's universal laws. This would they do, and call it a "religious education!" Fellow-men!

"The howl of wolves, in sheep's disguise

Why suffer ye, to fill your ears ...
In spite of the opposition of Kingeraft, Priestoraft, and Mammon idolatry, "Trnth is growing steadily;" and the, power of those who for ages have devoured the toiling millions, is tottering to its fall. It is only when that power has fallen and the People have assumed their rightful sovereignity, that we can have a truly "national" education. Let us, then, zealously struggle for the downfall of Wrong, and for the enthronement of Right, for then the blessings of knowledge shall be given to the thousands whom Ignorance hath hitherto degraded into brutishness; and Freedom, Truth, and Justice will spread joy over our land.
ALEXANDER, BELL.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS,

THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS.—In answer to several inquiries, we beg to state that the annual meeting of members residing in London has been adjourned till Friday

bers residing in London has been adjourned till Friday evening, January 31st; then to be holden at 6 o'clock, in the coffee-room of the John-street Institution.

POEMS BY GERALD MASSEY.—Our readers will be glad to learn that a collection of Mr. Massey's poems, under the title of "Voices of Freedom, and Lyrics of Love," will be published by Mr. Watson (3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row), on the 21st of March next. As the price of the volume will be only One Shilling it cannot fail to be purchased by a large number of Mr. Massey's admirers.

admirers.

Lectures by Ernest Jones.—We are informed that the spirited democrats of the Bermondsey branch of the National Charter Association have entered into an arrangement with our friend Ernest Jones for the delivery of three Lectures by him on "The People: their Wrongs and Rights, their Power and Wcakness." It is intended that the lectures shall be delivered in the South London Hall, Webber Street, Blackfriars Road, on the Wednesday evenings January 29th, February 5th, and February 12th, to commence each evening at Eight o'clock. This opportunity of hearing Mr. Jones to greater advantage than he can be heard at ordinary public meetings, will no doubt be seized upon by the democrats of Southwark and Lambeth. We anticipate that Mr. Jones will lecture to We anticipate that Mr. Jones will lecture to crowded audiences.

crowded audiences.

Mones Received.—We have received from Newport, Isle of Wight, the following items: A. Cantelo, 1s. 6d; E. Lock, 1s; G. Fuller, 1s; Mrs. Wickender, 1s; C. Dyer, 6d; G. Dashwood, 6d; J. Cantelo, 6d;—to be divided as follows: National Charter Association, 2s; Fraternal Democrats, 1s; the Polish and Hungarian Refugees, 2s; and 1s, for this publication. We have received from Charles Siddell, Alva, 5d.; and J. W. Smith, Whitechurch, 1s., for the Fraternal Democrats.

Poerny.—T. E. G., S. B., and J. S. T., the lines forwarded by these friends are respectfully declined.

ADDRESS TO THE DEMOCRATS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

The undersigned Committee beg to apprize the Democrats of Britain, that a number of the Hungarians, living in London, have constituted them-seives into a "Democratic Society." The principal object of this Society, according to its programme, is the resolution of its members to struggle with all their strength for the redemption of their country from the Austrian yoke, and for a constitution based upon pure democratic principles. Furthermore, to aid in general the promotion and propagation of the principles of democracy, and to combat for these principles in union with the democratic clements of the other nations,—being fully convinced that the liberty of one nation can find its firm guarantee only in the liberation of all the nations of Europe.

Although the objects of our society arc truly noble, and the zeal of its members every way worthy of their sacred cause, our resourses are inadequate to enable us to carry out our cherished aims. Our society, consisting chiefly of poor and destitute political refugees, and of some compat-riots belonging to the working class, is insufficiently supplied with the regular means required for the bare existence of such a body. Therefore we solicit your benevolent assistance, brother democrats of Britain! A single post-stamp from each of you would furnish us with a sum, which could enable us successfully to work in the true vineyard of the Lord, - the glorious field of democracy. aid supplied to us would be expended for the bencfit of the "Hungarian Democratic Society," not in giving relief to individuals; that being the business of other parties and out of the compass of our affairs. The Editor of the Friend of the PEOPLE, will have the kindness to receive and acknowledge any sums, however small, that may be addressed to his care.

Brother democrats of Britain! Being sufficiently acquainted with your true devotion for our common eause, and also with your generous feelings towards our fallen native land, we sincerely believe that this our address to your sympathizing and fraternal benevolence, will not be like the seed which fell upon barren ground.

In the name of the Hungarian Democratic Socicty, the Committee.

E. SIMONTI. T. XANTUS.

G. MIHALOCZG. London, January 18th, 1851.

We are sorry that our Royton agent was so far short of obtaining the required quantity of Nos. 5 and 6 of the Friend of the People. Those numbers may still be had of our publisher. We shall try to arrange with Mr. Heywood, of Manchester, so that in future the supply at his establishment may be equal to the demand.

* * We have several letters complaining of the irregular delivery of the Friend of the People in various places. We know not where the fault lies. The Friend is published regularly every Monday.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1851.

FREE TRADERS AND PROTEC-TIONISTS.

THE War of Classes is extending. The fruits of "Free Trade," like those of "Reform" will, ere long, prove as deceitful and nauseous as the famed apples of the Dead Sea. Little by little; gradually but surely, the Millocrats of the North are beating down the wages of labour; and ere long "cheap bread" will be as unpurchasable as was dear bread. Chartist predictions are in course of fulfilment, and will yet be completely fulfilled. Wages will continuo to fall, unless the workers, by some means or other, can establish for themselves a safe and sure protection against the untiring assaults of the rapacious Capitalists.

The brutal and insolent oppression exercised by the Ogdens of Sett, near Oldham, has resulted, thus far, in driving the workers to that last act of self-defence, a "strike." We observe that the delegates of the Central Committee have unanimously approved of the strike, and recommended the weavers not to resume work until they get a full measure of justice. It is to be hoped that the Committee will obtain ample funds for the support of the Turn-outs. A case more worthy of support never occurred.

Whilst the Free Traders are engaged in exhibiting their devotion to the maxim of the immortal Alderman BROOKES, "Lord love you! we're all for ourselves in this world:" the Protectionists are performing their part in proving the inherent selfishness of the men of capital, no matter what their pretended principles and party designations. Every one is aware that the Morning Post newspaper is a virulent opponent of tho Free Traders, and a loud-mouthed supporter of "Protection to British Industry." luckily its preaching and its practice widely disagree. In our "Labour Record" will be found an account of the shameful treatment of the Compositors lately employed on that A "Companionship" of upwards paper. of forty men against whom not even the shadow of a complaint is pretended to be advanced, and who have been producing the paper at the lowest possible price consistent with the rule mutually agreed to between the employers and the employed in the news-paper offices of the metropolis, have been suddenly thrown upon the streets, and their places filled up by strangers !

Up to the very last moment the compositors had no notice from the manager; no warning that they were to be dismissed. It is true they had heard, through indirect means, of

the conspiracy to oust them from their employment, but on applying to the manager to know the truth connected with any change that might be in contemplation, they received the most positive assurance that no engagement whatever had been entered intowith any party to take the place of the regular "hands." This continued until the men had made up the paper for January 11, when they were coolly told that their services were no longer required! How worthy of a journal that boasts itself the organ of the Aristocracy, the most ardent supporter of the church, the throne, and the rest of our "glorious institutions," and the advocatepar excellence-of Protection to British Industry!

The shipowners of Lynn are also notorious for "their attachment to the glorious principles of Protection." Let the reader refer to the "Labour Record," and see how they interpret "Protection." The scandalous war of these blood-suckers against the poor seamen and coal-porters, should excite a roar of execration from one end of the country to the other. Something more, however, is needed to save our Lynn brethren from destruction. Their case should be taken up by the seamen and coal-whippers of London. Let the Lynn men send delegates to the metropolis; and in the meantime let those of our readers who reside in the east and south-east of London, make the matter known to the seamen and coal-porters. The support of five hundred men for a few weeks would not be a very heavy burden upon the shoulders of the thousands belonging to both eallings in the metropolis. More than ever it is now necessary that working men should aid each other and combine together in the spirit of brotherhood.

The verdict on both Free-traders and Protectionists must be—" Tantarara, Rogues all!" Never will the Working Men know real Freedom in any sense of the word, never will their labour enjoy Protection, until tiley are free citizens and can protect themselves by laws and institutions, framed by a Parliament and Government of their own choicethe elected of Universal Suffrage.

CHARTISM -LONDON AND SHEF-FIELD.

The campaign just opened by the Executive has had a very encouraging commence-The first public meeting called in London by the Executive was attended by an overflowing assembly, and enthusiasm and harmony characterised the proceedings throughout the evening. Not a vestige of that "antagonism" of which so much has been said, was visible. Those who have been eenspiring to create "antagonism" have only laboured for their own ruin.

The little knot of Sheffielders who have of late been amusing themselves by playing second fiddle to the Manchester factionists have received a lesson which we trust, will bring them to their senses. The "Council" having issued placards calling a meeting to elect a Delegate to the Manchester Conference, found to their astonishment that Sheffield had no ambition to be a party to the ridiculous abortion fixed to come off on the 27th inst. The person nominated to the chair by the Council was set aside, and another person elected by the meeting. On the motion being made to send a delegate to

Manchester, the following amendment was

carried by a large majority.

"That this Meeting being desirous of seeing an Union of all Chartists, regret the obstinate stand of the Manchester Council and others, to hold a Conference in opposition to a large majority of Chartist localities, the Executive Committee at the head of the movement; and likewise in opposition to the principles of democracy: do hereby resolve not to take any part in such Conference."

Thanks to the good men and true of Shef-

field.

THE EXILE.

ITranslated by John Pettie from D Exile, a French Republican Almanack for 1851.]

MOVED by his poetic genius, Lamennais cried one day: "THE EXILE, HE IS ALONE ON THE

day: "THE EXILE, HE IS ALONE ON THE EARTH." It was grief and pity that wrung this cry from his soul, but Lamennais deceived himself. No, the Exile is not alole on the earth.

Know you a place so distant where the exile cannot encounter men persecuted as himself, brothers?

Know you a country or a kingdom where the exile cannot discover men partaking his hopes and his sufferings, and linked to him by that invisible chain of sympathy, which creates on all the surface of the world one family, one nation, the nation of the right, innumerable as the sand of the desert • * Though the suspicious eye of the police, pursues even a patriotic sigh or a fraternal word, though the cruel despotism seeks its victims in the mansions of the rich, and in the cabins of the poor. the exile is always certain to encounter the hand of a man, who in pressing his, shall say to him, "You can count on me," or the glance of a young girl, which shall say to him in its eloquent silence: -"Poor Exile, I am thy sister, I shall pray to God for thee.'

No, the Exile is not alone on the earth.

Will you know, brothers, who are the men isolated on the earth cursed of heaven as CAIN THE FRATRICIDE, without one friend or one hope, and tormented day and night by three infernal furies, Fear, Hatred, and Revenge? Chose you amongst the masters of the world the richest, the most powerful, the most venerated, and still not one of us poor exiles who suffer misery and persecution for our holy cause, would change our life of trial for their counterfeit happiness.

In the centre of England in a mansion where the echo could not repeat the cry of liberty if it were raised anew on the soil of France. AT CLARE-MONT lived an old man, bert under the load of gold plundered from his people. During eighteen years he had been the veritable King of FRANCE. During eighteen years he had labonred day and night to destroy all the liberties, all the virtues of a free and generous nation; when one day the wind of the revolution swept away his throne as the tempest whirls a straw. But there remained to him his gold, his idol: there remained to him his family, so dear to his heart to aggrandize and enrich whom he had not recoiled before one crime, he had not recoiled before one shame: and still he was aloue, still he was unhappy.

Where were then his courtiers, his ministers, his generals? All had cried "Vive La Republique" behind the carriage of the fugitive king. What availed his gold—he had no more consciences to buy,—it was no longer possible to stifle in the mire of corruption the cry of "Liberty"—of a whole people. God has punished him, and there is for him no pity, as there was for him no hope.

* * * * * * * * *

In the most beautiful city of "La Belle Italie," under a sky, that invites to love and joy, in an enchanting palace, reigns a king young and rich, friend and ally to all the most powerful princes of the earth, dear to the great fathor of the Catholic Church, who, after having laved his royal soul in a river of holy and blessed water, has opened to him all the treasures of the Vatican, each alone,

capable of changing Black Satan to an angel of Light. FERDINAND OF NAPLES reigns and governs; his will is "the only law" of his kingdom; the army remains faithful to him, the police is devoted to him, and he repays them. The cities of his states have been transformed into prisons; he punishes speech, he punishes the sigh, he would punish the thought. Each day new exiles, each day new confiscations, each day new victims dying in agony in the dungeons, or fussilladed under the shade of the prison walls. Has Ferdinand of Naples the wish to augment his treasure by some millions? The king speaks, and the people pay. Is Ferdinand displeased with a Sicilian city, "beautiful and populous?" The king ordains that it shall be razed, and "the bombs obey their king:" His courtiers have surnamed him CLEMENT AND MAGNANIMOUS! His journalists have placed him between AUGUS-TUS and MARCUS AURELIUS! The Emperor of Russia has placed at his disposal, his squadrons and his Cossacks. The Lazzaroni have inscribed on their banner, "Saint Janvier and Ferdinand!" But Ferdinand is alone, Ferdinand is miserable: Regard you his palace; a triple crown of cannons defends it; many regiments are quartered in its courts; a horde of "mouchards" • watches over it; it is the fortress of tyrany. Enter its vast apartments, a frozen silence reigns from the cellars to the garrets, broken only by the footsteps of the guards in the long corridors, or the alarm cry of the sentincls on the turrets. Penetrate the interior: a man, dominated by a feverish agitation, passes through a lustrous hall; this man is the king. The minister of police presents himself; he deposits on the table his lists of proscription, his discovery of a new conspiracy, he bows to the earth and retires; the king throws the glance of a tiger on the papers; a cold sweat inundates his visage; his teeth chatter: the demons of fear and of rage have mastery over him.

"Always new complots, always more blood," he cries, "but nothing to appease my conscience or calm my remorse. Who will deliver me from the oath sworn to the constitution? The people alone can, but they will not: the Pope would absolve me, but his indulgences have lost their efficacy, have I not seen himself burning with remorse! Saint Janvier has abandoned ine; the blessed Alphonso has withdrawn his protection; the cyes of the holy virgin of Mount Carmel are menacing. Aml a tyrant, as the world proclaims? or am I too clement, as Rome and the Emperor of Russia repreach me with being? Still a new conspiracy; I am no more in safety in Naples. Let me fly."

Surrounded by spies and gendarmes, habited as a Lazzarone, in the midst of bayonets, he seeks the swiftest of his steamers to fly to Gaeta. The air is calm and clear, the sca is tranquil—and the voice of a poor prisoner is heard chanting a mournful song of home, whilst the moonbeams stream through the bars of his dungeon: the prisoner sings; his voice is clear as his soul is calm; and the powerful, the rich king of Naples, weeps and trembles. This is the life of this man; fear renders him wicked; superstition makes him miserable; he is alone, amidst nine millions of subjects, the most miserable of them all.

Near the banks of the Tiber, on the ruins of the immense Babylonian Gardens built by Nero, there is raised a vast enclosure; if they had constructed houses in that enclosure, it would have contained sixty thousand inhabitants; but it encloses only a square, surrounded by four rows of columns, a church, a museum, and a garden. Who is this who causes every day the vaults of these vast colonnades to resound with the noise of gilded chariots of plumed horses, of noble cavaliers, of an escort all royal? Who is this who, like to a king of the Orient, enters that church, carried by his servants on a bed of gold and purple, surrounded by a numerous and richly apparelled court, while a double row of slaves and courtiers prostrate themselves on the steps of the temple? Who is

this living in this palace of eleven thousand cham bers, which luxury and the genius of architects and of painters have striven to make the most beautiful, as it is the greatest of royal palaces? Who is this, promenading in this museum, in the midst of a people of gods, of heroes, of men, and of women of marble, who breathe, who speak, who move, displaying to the amazed vision, strength, wisdom, and beauty, in all their powerful immobility? Who is this who reposes on a soft carpet, in the midst of the flowers of this garden, or under the delicious shade of these trees, by the side of a fountain spouting from the urns of nymphs, or in a voluptuous kiosque, between a bacchanal who excites to drink, and Venus arising from the sea decked in virginal nudity? It is the first bishop of the universe! it is the man infallible! it is the "king of kings!" it is the successor of a poor workman who preached on the borders of the lake of Galilee! Is he happy, this God man? His word is very holy; his tripple orown, which the indulgences have made of massive gold, and which the ambassadors have sown with precious stones, is very holy! His feet are very holy, thrice blessed are those who can kiss them!

One fine day the tri-coloured flag of Italy is raised on the Capitol. The Pope who had blessed it, suddenly excommunicated it. The Roman people indignant, threw to the Tiber the throne of the Popes; gave to the poor the wealth which the cardinals and prelates had wrung from them; at one blow erased the sanguinary history of the papacy, and in its place inscribed these two magic words: "REPUBLIQUE ROMAINE!"

Then the successor of the Apostles, who to signify his innocence is habited in ermine of purest white—the universal Father of Christians knelt at the feet of princes, catholic and non-catholic, and demanded their cannons, their bombs, and their bayonets, to persuade the Romans, that he was the veritable representative of Christ on the earth!

Preceded by War and Ruin, followed by Misery and Despair, the Pope has re-entered Rome. His carriage has rolled over the bodies of dead Romaus—his lips have drank the waters of the Tiber, still red with the blood of the brave. Seated on a throne rebuilt,—he has put his feet on the heads of his fallen enemies. He is avenged as a god of

the Pagans. Is he happy, this man-god? No, my brothers, he is miserable. Where are the cries of love, of an entire people eager to see him and to receive a benediction at his hands? Where are the tears of happiness, which he shed at the sight of a love so true, so religious? Where are the eulogies of historians, the songs of poets, the acolamations of all the peoples, the offerings of all the princes trembling at his feet? Pius the Ninth has betrayed the people! Pius the Ninth has abjured the gospel! The people have abandoned him, -God has struck him in his anger! When he passes through the streets of Rome, they are deserted at his approach; he is alone, alone, a prey to the demon of vengeance! When he enters the church of Saint Peter on the shoulders of his slaves, a voice from within warns him that this profane worship shall speedily be reversed, and that God shall be elevated instead of the man! When he promenades in the solitary halls of his palace, he hears behind him the step of the people who are coming; of the people the veritable lord of these riches! When he enters his garden and approaches these walls-where the Romans combated for two months against the French forces—he beholds, starting from the earth, the bloody spectres of the intrepid defenders of their country! And when the perjured man takes refuge in his palace pursued by the shades of his victims, the terrible cry sounds in his ears-" God and men have cursed thee:" When he listens to the mocking flatteries of diplomatists, he notes amidst their language the arrogance of the master and the menace of the vanquisher! He his no more the "King of Kings,"-he is the last servant of the Kings,—the cardinals and the prelates are

* Spies.

no more the humble valets of the Pope, as in the time when the Pope had the people with him! Pius the Ninth is before them, a crowned slave-Pius the Ninth is-the manikin king of the Vatican. His power has passed to the Antonelli and to the Nardoni,—his strength to Austria,—his money to knaves and profligates. He retains the Tiara at the will of the Jew-Banker to whom it is pledged!

He remains at Rome at the will of the kings!! HE LIVES WHILST IT PLEASES THE JESUITS!!! * * * * * Let us rejoice, brothers, God has driven from our hearts and for ever, despair and remorse, God has sown with flowers even the paths of exiles: he has accorded to us the reward of the just, and the happy dreams of the man tranquil in his conscience.

He that has the people with him is never alone; he who has the conducty is never unhappy.

PIERRE STERBINI,
Paman Rei he who has the consciousness of having done his

Minister of the Roman Republic.

Teaves from our Tibrary.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 6.)

"Several days passed over without their hearing any news of Count Albert; and Consuelo, to whom this position of things appeared diamal in the extreme, was astonished to see the Rudolstadt family bear so frightful a state of uncertainty without evincing either despair or even impatience. Familiarity with the most cruel anxieties, produces a sort of apparent apathy, or else real hardness of heart, which wounds and almost irritates those minds whose sensibility has not yet been blunted by long-continued misfortune. Consuelo, a prey to a sort of nightmare in the midst of these doleful impressions and inexplicable occurrences, was astonished to see that the order of the house was hardly disturbed, that the canoness was equally vigilant, the baron equally eager for the chase, the ohaplain regular as ever in the same devotional exercises, and Amelia gay and trifling as usual. The cheerful vivaoity of the latter was what particularly offended Consuelo. She could not conceive how the baroness could laugh and play, while she herself could hardly read or work with her needle. The canoness, however, employed herself in embroidering an altar front for the chapel of the castle. It was a masterpiece of patience, exquisite workmanship, and neatness. Hardly had she made the tour of the house, when she returned to seat herself at her work, were it only to add a few stitches, while waiting to be called by new cares to the barns, the kichens, or the cellars. One should have seen with how much importance these little concerns were treated, and how that diminutive creature hurried along, at a pace always regular, always dignified and measured, but never slackened, through all the corners of her little empire; crossing a thousand times each day in every direction the narrow and monotonous surface of her domestic domain.

"To the zingarella, born on the highway and thrown helpless on the world, without any other master or any other protection than her own genius, so much oare, so much activity and intensity of thought to produce such miserable results as the preservation and maintenance of certain objects and certain provisions, appeared a monstrous perversion of the understanding. She, who possessed none and desired none of the world's riches, was grieved to see a lovely and generous soul voluntarily extinguish itself in the business of acquiring wheat, wine, wood, hemp, cattle, and furniture. If they had offered her all these goods, so much desired by the greater part of mankind, she would have asked instead a moment of her former happiness, her rags, the clear and lovely sky above her

her memory in more and more glowing colours, in proportion as she receded from that gay and laughing horizon to penetrato into the frozen sphere which is called real life!

"She felt her heart sink in her bosom when at nightfall she saw the old canoness, followed by Hans, take an immense bunch of keys, and make the circuit of all the buildings and all the courts, closing the least openings, and examining tho smallest recesses into which an evil-doer could have crept; as if no one could have slept in security within those formidable walls, until the water of the torrent, which was restrained behind a neighbouring parapet, had rushed roaring into the trenches of the chateau, whilst in addition the gates were locked and the drawbridge raised. Consuelo had so often slept, in her distant wanderings by the roadside, with no covering save her mother's torn cloak thrown over her for shelter! She had so often welcomed the dawn upon the snowy flagstones of Venice, washed by the waves, without having a moment's fear for her modesty, the only riches she cared to preserve! 'Alas!' said she, 'how unhappy are these people in having so many things to take care of! Security is the aim of their pursuits by day and night, and so carefully do they seek it, that they have no time to find or enjoy it.' Like Amelia, therefore, she already pined in her gloomy prison-that dark and sombre Castle of the Giants, where the sun himself seemed afraid to penctrate. But while the young baroness only thought of fêtes, of dresses, and whispering suitors, Consuelo dreamt of wandering beside her native wave-washed shores-a thicket or a fisher-boat for her palace, the boundless nets for her covering, and the starry firmament to gaze on."

Notwithstanding the general opinion as to Albert's madnoss, Consuelo shrinks from adopting that opinion. In her estimation, "Albert is not mad, but on the contrary, is the fairest type of the saint and the just man.' She is astonished at the comparative apathy with which the family regard his mysterious disappearances. "Ah!" she exolaims to herself, "if I were Albert's father, or his aunt, I would not have left one stone upon another until I had found him; not a tree of the forest should have remained standing until they had restored him to me." These reflections induce the resolution on the part of our heroine toif possible-discover the hiding-place of the young count. "It did not occur to her that the resolution she had taken could be a subject for ridicule or blame; she could not conceive how it happened that Amelia, bound to him by the tics of blood, and in the commencement by the stronger bonds of love, should not have formed the same project,

and succeeded in carrying it out."

In the habit of taking early morning walks by herself, Consuelo on one oceasion meets with the

following adventure:

"After many turnings and windings through the inextricable mazes of the forest, which extended over a rough and hilly tract of country, Consuelo found herself on an elevation covered over with a confused heap of rocks and ruins, very difficult to be distinguished from each other, so destructive had been the hand of man, jealous of that of time. It now presented nothing but the appearance of a mountain of ruins, but had been formerly the site of a village, burned by order of the redoubtable blind man, the eelebrated Calixtin chief, John Ziska, from whom Albert believed himself to have descended, and perhaps was so in reality.

"This ferocious and indefatigable captain having commanded his troops, one dark and dismal night, to attack the Fortress of the Giants, then guarded for the emperor by the Saxons, overheard his soldiers murmur, and one among them not far from him, say,—'This cursed blind man supposes that all can do without light as well as he.' Thereupon Ziska, turning to one of the four devoted disciples who accompanied him everywhere,

the enemy, said to him with that extraordinary accuracy of memory, or principle of second sight, which in him supplied the place of vision-' There is a village near this, is there not?' 'Yes, father,' replied the Taborite guide, 'to your right, upon a hill in front of the fortress.' Ziska then summoned the discontented soldier whose murmurs had reached his ear—'My child,' said he to him, 'you complain of the darkness; go immediately and set fire to the village upon the hill to my right, and by the light of the flames we can march and fight.'

"This terrible order was executed. The burning village lighted the march and attack of the Taborites. The Castle of the Giants was earried in two hours, and Ziska took possession of it.

"At dawn the next day it was observed and made known to him, that in the midst of the ruins of the village, and at the very summit of the hill which had served the soldiers as a platform for observing the movements of the enemy, a young oak, are in those countries, and already vigorous, had remained standing and unscathed apparently preserved from the heat of the flames around it by the water of a cistern which bathed its roots. 'I know the cistern, well,' replied Ziska. 'Ten of our number were cast into it by the accursed inhabitants of that village, and since that time the stone which covers it has not been removed. Let it remain and serve as their monument, since we are not among those who believe that wandering souls are driven from the gates of heaven by the Roman patron (Peter the key-bearer, whom they have made a saint), because their bodies rot in ground unconsecrated by the hands of the priests of Belial. Let the bones of our brothers rest in peace in that cistern. Their souls are living. They have already assumed other bodies, and those martyrs fight amongst us although we know them not. As to the inhabitants of the village, they have received their reward, and as to the oak, it has done well in defying the conflagration; a more glorions destiny than that of sheltering miscreants was reserved for it. We needed a gallows, and there it stands. Go and bring me those twenty Augustine monks whom we took yesterday in their convent, and who make a difficulty about following us. We will liang them high and dry on the branches of that brave oak, whose health such an ornament will quite restore.'

"It was done as soon as said. The oak from that time was called the Hussite. the stone of the cistern, the Stone of Terror, and the ruined village on the deserted hill, Schreckenstein.

'Consuelo had heard this frightful chronicle related in all its details by the Baroness Amelia. But as she had seen the theatre of it only from a distance, or hy the night at the time of her arrival at the chateau, she would not have recognised it. if, on casting her eyes below, she had not seen at the bottom of the ravine which the road crossed, the large fragments of the oak rent by the lightning, which no inhabitant of the country, and no servant of the chateau, had dared to cut or carry away; a superstitious fear being still attached in their minds, although after the lapse of several centuries, to this monument of horror, this contemporary of John Ziska; while the visions and predictions of Albert had invested this tragical spot with a more repulsive character.

"Thus Consuelo, on finding herself alone, and unexpectedly before the Stone of Terror, upon which, overcome with fatigue, she had even scated herself, felt her courage shaken and her heart strangely oppressed. According, not only to Albert, but all the mountaineers of the country, terrible apparitions haunted the Schreckenstein, and drove from it all hunters rash enough to frequent its neighbourhood in search of game. Consequently this hill, though very near the chateau, was often the abode of wolves and wild animals, who found there a secure refuge against the pursuits of the baron and his hounds.

head, her fresh young love and hor liberty upon bead, her fresh young love and hor liberty upon guiding his horse and chariot, and giving him a which she had resolved to combat, determined to the lagunes of Venice—all that was stamped on precise account of the position and movements of rest a moment on the fatal stone, and to retire from

it only at the slow and steady pace which marks a trangall mind in the midst of trial. But just as she turned her eyes from the blighted oak which she saw two hundred feet below her, to cast them dpoh surrounding objects, she saw that she was not alone upon the Stone of Torror, and that a mysterious figure had seated itself at her side without announcing its approach by the slightest noise. The figure had a large, round, and staring face, fixed on a deformed body, thin and crooked as a grasshopper's, and was dressed in an indescribable costume belonging to no age or country, the ragged condition of which amounted almost to slovenliness. Nothingin this being, save the strangeness and suddenness of its appearance, was calculated to inspire terror, for its looks and gestures were friendly. A kind and gentle smile played around the large mouth, and an infantlle expression softened the wandering of mind which was betrayed by its vague look and hurried gestures. Consuelo, on finding herself alone with a madman, in a place where no one could come to her assistance, certainly felt alarmed, notwithstanding numerous bows and kind smiles which the insane heing addressed to her. She thought it prudent to return his salutations and motions of the head in order to avoid irritating him, hut she rose as quickly as possible, and left the place, pale and trembling.

"The maniae did not follow her, and made no movement to recall her; he merely climbed upon the Stone of Terror to look after her, and saluted her by waving his cap with various fantastie gestures, all the while uttering a Bohemian word which Consuelo did not understand. When she found herself at a considerable distance, she recovered sufficient courage to look at and listen to him. She already reproached herself for having felt terrified in the presence of one of those unfortunates, whom a moment before she had pitied in her heart, and vindicated from the contempt and desertion of mankind. 'He is a gentle maniac, said she to herself; 'perhaps made crazy hy love. He has found no refuge from coldness and contempt but on this accursed rock, on which no other person would dare to dwell, and where demons and spectres are kinder to him than his fellow-men, since they lo not drive him away nor trouble him in the indulgence of his moody temper. Poor creature, who langhest and playest like a child, with a grey beard and a round shapeless hack ! God doubtless protects and hlesses thee in thy misfortune, since he sends thee only pleasing thoughts, and has not made thee misanthropical and violent, as thou hadst a right to be. The maniae, seeing that she walked more slowly, and seeming to understand her kind look, began to speak to her in Bohemian with great volubility; and his voice had an exceeding sweetness, a touching charm which contrasted forcibly with his ugliness. Consuelo, not understanding him, and supposing that he wanted alms, drew from her pocket a piece of money, which she placed upon a large stone, after raising her arm to show it to him, and to point to him the spot where she placed it. But he only laughed louder than ever, ruhhing his hands, and exclaiming in bad German-'Useless, uscless! Zdenko needs nothing, Zdenko is happy, very happy! Zdenko has consolation, consolation, conso ation!' Then, as if he had remembered a word which he had sought for a long time in vain, he shouted with a hurst of joy, and so as to be understood, though he pronounced very badly, 'Consuelo, Consuelo, Consuelo, de mi alma!'

"Consuelo stopped, astounded, and addressing him in Spanish ... 'Why do you eall me thus?' said she; 'who has taught you that name? Do you understand the language which I speak to you? At all these questions, to which Consuclo waited in vain for an answer, the maniae did nothing hut jump and rub his hands like a man enchanted with himself: and as long as she could distinguish the sound of his voice, she heard him repeat her name in different tones, accompanied with laughter and exclamations of joy, like a speaking bird when he trics to articulate a word which he has been

taught, and which he interrupts with the warbling of his natural song.

"On returning to the chateau, Consuclo was lost in thought. 'Who, then,' said she to herself, has betrayed the secret of my disguise, so that the first savage I meet in these solitudes calls nie by my own name? Can this crazy being have seen me anywhere? such people travel; perhaps he has been in Venice at the same time as myself." Sho tried in vain to recall the faces of all the beggars and vagabonds slie had been accustomed to see on the quays, and on the Placo of St. Mark, but that of the maniac of the Stone of Terror did not present itself to her memory. But as she onco more crossed the drawbridge, a more logical and interesting association of ideas occurred to her mind. She resolved to clear up her suspicions, and seeretly congratulated herself, on not having altogether failed in her purpose in the expedition she had just concluded."

From Amelia, Consuelo learns that the strange character, by name, Zdenko, she had encountered at the "Stone of Terror," is the intimate friend of Count Albert, "the companion of his walks, the confidant of his scerets, the messenger, it is said, of his correspondence with the devil," Zdeuko is a favourite with the peasantry, who respect him as a saint, "eonsidering his madness rather as a gift from heaven than as a malady of the mind." Consuelo again encounters Zdenko, and, engaging him in conversation, attempts to obtain his confidence, but apparently with little

success. One evening
"Praying and meditating, she forgot the flight of time, and it was past midnight, when before retiring to hed she cast a glance over the landscape, now lighted by the moon's pale beams. The view from her window was not very extensive, owing to the surrounding mountains, but exceedingly picturcsque. A narrow and winding valley, in the centre of which sparkled a mountain stream, lay before her, its meadows gently undulating until they reached the base of the surrounding hills, which shut in the horizon, except where at intervals they opened to permit the eye to discover still more distant and steeper ranges, elothed to the very summit with dark green firs. The last rays of the setting moon shone full on the principal features of this sombre but striking landscape, to which the dark foliage of the evergreens, the pentup water, and the rocks covered with moss and ivy, imparted a stern and savage aspect.

"Just at that moment her eyes were directed towards the Schreckenstein, the summit of which could be perceived above a nearer eminence, and it seemed to her that this fearful spot was crowned by a reddish light which faintly tinged the transparent azure of the sky. She fixed her attention upon it, and saw the flickering light increase, become extinct, and reappear, until at last it shone so clear and decided that she could not attribute it to an illusion of her senses. Whether it was the temporary retreat of a band of Zingari, or the haunt of some brigand, it was not the less certain that the Schreckenstein was occupied at that moment by living beings. But was it not more pro-hably Zdenko who had kindled the fire, to shield himself from the cold of the night? And if it were Zdenko, was it not to warm Albert that the dried branches of the forest were hurning at that moment? This luminous appearance was often seen upon the Schreckenstein: it was spoken of with terror, and attributed to something supernatural. It had been said a thousand times that it emanated from the enchanted trunk of Ziska's old oak. But the Hussite no longer existed; at least, it lay at the hotion of the ravine, and the red light still shone on the summit of the mountain. Why did not this mysterious light-house induce them to institute a search for the supposed retreat of Albert?

"In the morning she awoke full of zeal, and hurried to the Schreckenstein. All was silent and deserted. The grass was untrodden round the Stone of Terror; there was no trace of fire, no vestige of the presence of last night's guests. She a year eat be an imitator of the apostles! - Funch.

wandered over the mountain in every direction, hut found nothing which could indicate their presence. She called Zdenko on every side; she tried to whistle, in order to see if she could awaken the barkings of Cynabre, [Albert's dog], and shouted her own name several times. She uttered the word "eonsolation" in all the languages she knew; she sang some strains of her Spanish hymn, and even of Zdenko's Bohemlan alr, which she remembered perfectly. But in vaih. The crackling of the dried lichens under her feet, and the murmuring of the mysterious waters which ran beneath the rocks, were the only sounds that answered her.

She left a little hasket of fruit which she had brought with her. But on the morrow she found the hasket in the same place, untouched. Even the leaves which covered the fruit had not been disturbed by any curious hand. Her offering had been disdalned, er else neither Albert or Zdenko had been there; and yet the ruddy light of a fire of fir branches had again shone the previous night upon the summit of the mountain. Consuelo had watched until daylight in order to observe it closely. She had several times seen the brightness diminish; and then increase, as if a vigilant hand had supplied nourishment to the flainc. No one had seen any Zingari in the neigh-bourhood. No stranger had been remarked in the paths of the forest; and all the peasants whom Consuelo questioned respecting the luminous appearance of the Stone of Terror, answered her in bad German, that it was not good to search into those things, and that people ought not to interfere

in the affairs of the other world.

"Nine days had now elapsed since Albert had disappeared. This was the longest absence of the kind that had ever taken place, and this protracted delay, united to the gloomy omens which had ushered in his thirtieth birthday, was not calculated to revive the hopes of the famlly. At last they began to be seriously alarmed. Consuelo ventured to suggest a thorough and careful examination of the Schreckenstein. She proposed to leave the chateau the following night, and accompanied only hy the eanoness, and followed at a distance by Hans and the chaplain only, to examine the fire of the Schreekenstein on the spot. But this resolution was heyond the strength of the canoness. She was firmly persuaded that an assembly of demons was held on the Stone of Terror, and all that Conv suelo could obtain was, that the drawbridge should be lowered at midnight, and that the haron with some other volunteers should follow her, without arms, and in the greatest silence. It was agreed that this attempt should be concealed from Count Christian, whose great age and feeble health un fitted him for such an expedition in the cold and unwholesome night air, and who would yet wish to join it if he were informed. All was executed as Consuelo desired. The baron, the chaplain; and Hans accompanied her. She advanced alone, a hundred steps in front of her escort and ascended the Schreckenstein with a courage worthy of Bradamante. But in proportion as she approached, the brightness, which seemed to issue in rays from the fissures of the rock was extinguished by degrees, and when she reached the summit; profound darkness enveloped the mountain from the summit to the base. A deep silence and gloomy solitude reigned all around. She called Zdenko, Cynabre, and even Albert, although in nttering the latter name her voice trembled. All was mute, and echo alone answered her unsteady voice.

'She returned towards her companions com-

pletely disheartened. They praised her couring to the skies; and ventured in their turn to explore the spot she had just quitted, but without suecess; and all returned in silence to the chateau, where the canoness, who waited for them at the gate, felt her last

hope vanish at their recital."

(To be continued.)

GROSS SUPERSTITION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. -That a Bishop with a revenue of some £20,000

Labour Record Co-operative Chronicle.

IMPORTANT TO THE PRINTING PROFESSION.

SHAMEFUL TREATMENT OF THE "MORNING PROFESSION.

SHAMEFUL TREATMENT OF THE "MORNING POST" COMPOSITORS.—Without proper notice, or complaint of any kind, the "Morning Post" companionship, consisting of forty men, have been dusmissed from their employment to make way for a gang of unprincipled slaves from Glasgow, who have been brought to London for the purpose of carrying out the first of a series of attacks upon the rights of the London News compositors. On the 18th of December, 1850, information was received in London to December, 1850, information was received in London to the effect that a person of the name of Dickson, then foreman in the printing office of the Glasgow North British Mail, was engaged to manage the Morning Post, and was engaging hands to take with him to the metropolis. Immediately the companionship of the Morning Post was communicated with, to ascertain if anything was known by them relative to the subject, when it was ascertained that they knew nothing of any intended change in the management. On the 26th of December intelligence was received that Dickson had succeeded in enzaging a nummediately the companionship of the Morning Post was communicated with, to ascertain if anything was known by them relative to the subject, when it was ascertained that they knew nothing of any intended change in the management. On the 26th of December intelligence was received that Dickson had succeeded in engaging a number of Glasgow men. Thereupon a deputation pacceeded from London to Glasgow to explain the nature of the London con scale for News work. The deputation attended a general meeting of the Glasgow Society, and showed that the work the men engaged by Dickson had undertaken to perform for £2 8s, should entitle the compositor to £2 17s. 6d. The deputation showed also that the apparent high rate of remuneration in London was more scening than real; the necessary and unavoidable extra domestic expenses connected with the mode of lite of a compositor employed on a Loudon morning paper bringing his actual remuneration to the ordinary level. The explanations and appeals of the deputation were in vain, at least as far as concerned "theengaged hands," who attended the meeting pre-determined as to the course they would pursue, and with the resolution not to be convinced that they were acting unfairly. They even had the audacity to contend that they could see no reason why the Glasgow practice it is only necessary to state that when Dickson was employed on the North British Mail, the compositors were pail 25s, weekly, but the work exacted from them was worth two pounds weekly, according to the Glasgow scale. The meeting adjourned without coming to any decision. At a subsequent meeting of the Society, a resolution was proposed condemnatory of the course taken by the Dick sonites. This was strongly opposed by thatparty, and by those who were expecting tojstep into the places of the "engaged" hands. By these two sections of the society an adjournment of the question was carried. At the next meeting the Dicksonites protested that they were solided in united and determined front of opposition to Dickson and Co. fro

THE EASTERN COUNTIES' ENGINE-DRIVERS, &c. Things grow worse and worse on this terribly mismanaged line of railway. Two of the servants of the company have been railway. Two of the servants of the company have been killed, and two committed to prison, each on a charge of manslaughter. It would have been much more like ustlee to have committed the directors. The accidents and irregularities are now so numerous that the newspapers dare not conceal them; and two or three letters from indignant correspondents appear almost daily in the Times. The loss to the shareholders in consequence of Times. The loss to the snareholders in consequence of the destruction of property and decline of traffic must be enormous. Remembering how they hacked up Gooch the verilict must be "serve 'em right." The half-yearly meeting is approaching- and if the shareholders have any egard for their own interests, they will cashier both

Cooch and his masters, and restore the turn-outs to their places. No other course can save them from ruin.

THE WEAVERS OF MESSRS. OGDEN OF SETT, NEAR OLD-HAM.—It seems that the tyranny of the Ogdens (commented on in No. 5 of the Friend of the People,) has forced their workers to attempt to gain their just domestic the mented on in No. 5 of the Friend of the Peopte,) has forced their workers to attempt to gain their just demands by a strike. From the first Report issued by the Committee, we give the following extracts: "We have been paid more than 20 per cent less for our labour than others; we have had to submit to the grossest tyranny and oppression; and now that our late employers have grown rich and wealthy, by the cheapness of our labour, they have the impulence to tell us we are no longer profitable to them multiput they can do without us. They we to be inthe impulence to tell us we are no longer profitable to them, and that they can do without us. Are we to be insulted thus. Will you not avenge the insult offered our order, and teach these unprincipled and uncultivated lords of capital, that they have no right to take our wages, and must not be permitted to trample and destroy the happiness and virtue of those who are their equals in everything, but what is base and contemptible? To the shopkeepers and others of Oldham, the issue of this struggle is as important as it is to purselves and our fellow shopkeepers and others of Oldham, the issue of this struggle is as important as it is to ourselves and our fellow workmen. Any curtailment in the reward of labour, must reduce the labourers' means of buying food and clothing for themselves and families. If £2,000 is the weekly wages paid to the weavers of Oldham, a reduction of 20 per cent will make a material difference in the weight of your tills on the Saturday, to the tune of £400 per week. If this sum is kept from you, its effects will be felt in the shop as well as in the cottage of the labourer. Our interests are the same, if one is robbed, both must suffer; we therefore ask you to combine with us, to crush those who would sell the world and all its interests, to satisfy their own filthy craving." At the Central Committee neeting at Droylsden, it was resolved "That we the Delegates assembled, recommend Messrs. Ogdens' Wea-Delegates assembled, recommend Messrs. Ogdens' Weavers not to resume work until they get a full measure of justice.'' As some wenvers do not know for what purpose vers not to resume work until they get a full measure of justice." As some wenvers do not know for what purpose the Central Levy is applied, it may be necessary to observe that all central expenses are paid out of it, such as Deputations, Stationery, the General Secretary's wiges, for attendance to the correspondence and general work of the Association. Since the Association was established, no fewer than six or seven reductions have been prevented, and some hundrads of nounds have been prevented. and some hundreds of pounds have been paid in wages to the operatives, which would have been in the pockets of the manufacturers, had the Factory Worker's Association not been established.

J. B. Horsfall,

the manufacturers, had the Factory Worker's Association not been established.

J. B. Horsfall,
General Sec., Royton.

The Seamen and Coal-porters of Lynn, (Norfolk),—
These bodies of hard-working men have been on strike since New Year's day. In 1846 the pay of the seamen sailing from the port of Lynn was per voyage, £3 10 in summer, and £4 in winter. Some time since the pay was reduced to £3 per voyage. In the last week of 1850, the shipowners held a private meeting at which they resolved to reduce the pay to £2 10 per voyage. At the same time an attack was made upon the pay of the coal-porters. Five or six years ago those men were paid at the rate of fifteen-pence per ton. Four or five years ago the men were forced to submit to a reduction of sixpence per ton; and now their slave-drivers are attempting to enforce a further reduction of threepence-threefarthings, which will bring the pay of the men down to fivepence-farthing, heing a reduction of nearly tenpence out of fifteen pence in the course of four or five years. Altogether about 500 men—seamen and coal-porters, are on strike. The men are resolute, but much in need of support; and already great destitution prevails in the town. Mr. Bagge, one of the M. P.'s for the county, and his hrother, extensive shipowners, are the most strenuous for the reduction. The seamen and coal-whippers of London should extend the helping hand of assistance to their Lynn brethren.

CO-OPERATIVE MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STATES MULS AT OLDBAN A PURPLEN OF THE PARKET STA

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

CO-OFERATIVE MILLS AT OLDHAM.—A number of working men at Oldham have been discussing the propriety and practicability of establishing co-operative workshops. At their last meeting many £1 shares were taken up, and it was agreed that active measures should be taken to carry out the objects.

Co-operation at Rotton.—The Royton Co-operative Stores have taken stock, and have found that all members

CO-OPERATION AT ROYTON.—The Royton Co-operative Stores have taken stock, and have found that all members are entitled to a dividend of 2s. for every 20s. worth of goods they have purchased at the store, besides having a good article at a reasonable price.

MANCHESTEA INOUSTRIAI CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.—This Association is located in Charles-street, opposite the Carpenters' Hall, Garratt Road. This society emanated from the Manchester Socialists, but is a distinct body, modelled on the plan of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers, and so made applicable to the general community. The objects are: "To supply members and others with every article of consumption, of the best quality, at, or as near as possible, cost price, and to find healthy and remunerative employment for such members as may require it. The capital to be raised in shares of one pound each. One shilling deposit and instalments of, at least, three pence per week, until the whole is paid up, five per cent interest allowed on all paid up shares. The profits, after retaining one-tenth for educational purposes, and one-tenth, as a sunk fund, shall be divided among the members in proportion to their outlay. 'In case of sickness or distress, a part of the shares may he withdrawn, thus answering all the purposes of a trades union, benefit society, or savings' bank. Further information may be had at the Society's rooms, or from Mr. Thomas Pilkington, No. 36, Thomas.street, Vine-street, Hulme.

Heywood.—Co-operation, say the Manchester papers, is making head very fast sn Heywood. The co-operative store, in Longford-street, is cramned with customers

almost every evening. This store was commenced about ten months ago, with a capital of £100. It now numbers about four hundred members, and its capital has increased to £600. It has paid in nine months, upwards of £200 in dividends to its customers, besides clearing all the expectation of the store of penses of management, and five per cent upon all capital invested. It does husiness to the amount of £150 weekly. (We are sorry, however, to hear that the Heywood co-operators, satisfied with their own success, set their faces against any plan of union amongst the different co-opera-tive bodies. Association, carried on in such a spirit, may turn out to be mere collective schishness, We trust our lleywood friends will yet "tak' a thought an' mend.")— Christian Socialist Christian Socialist

MESSRS, WALTER COOPER AND LLOYD JONES have been visit-

Messrs. Walter Cooper and Lloyd Jones have been visiting Manchester, Bury, Oldham, Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, &c., and report very favourably of the progress of the co operative movement.

The Galathees Provision Store.—At the annual soirce of this society on New-Year's evening, which was attended by a crowded assembly, Mr. Saunderson delivered an eloquent address in the course of which he observed: "We have every encouragement, Our store began with a capital of only £23, we have now about £800. It started in a small room at a rent of £5, we now pay £70." FRANCE.—The Paris Musical Instrument Makers are a very flourishing association. They make all kinds of instruments in brass and wood—as trumpets, horns, ophiclides, flutes, flagcolets, &c. Commenced the 1st of July, 1843, with a small capital and under great difficulties, but we are now doing a thriving business. When I visited them they were all busy at work, having an extensive order to accomplish. We saw all the operations, from the drawing ont of the tubes of brass and thus reducing their thickness, by a machine that requires the from the drawing out of the tubes of brass and thus reducing their thickness, by a machine that requires the attention of only one man, to the final polishing of the instrument. They keep a musician in the establishment to try all the instruments, and allow none to go out that is not perfect of its kind. At first they hired their machine, tools, and moulds, but afterwards purchased them with the profits they had made, and are now on the look-out for more convenient premises. We started one hot morning from the Faubourg St. Denis, wandered through a labyrinth of streets to the harriers, after which we crossed an open space, nearly sinking under a burning through a laby rinth of streets to the harriers, after which we crossed an open space, nearly sinking under a burning sun, till we reached the summit of Montmatre, where in the Rue Muller, No. 10, a dreary region of miscrable streets, with houses half built or falling to pieces, or looking as though they never would be finished, so desolate that you might almost imagine yourself the last man, surrounded by the debris of a worn-out world. Here these industrious men had hired a large room, something like an innmense coach-house with a small stable attached to it, now used as the counting-house. The men work the ar infinense coach-nouse with a small stable attached to it, now used as the counting-house. The men work altogether in this atelier, and, every one overlooking his brother, they find they can carry out the principle of equal wages without experiencing the usual disadvantages of this plan. In other respects their statutes are very similar to those of the other associations.—The Leader.

Poetry for the People.

THE MEN OF FORTY-EIGHT."
THEY rose in Freedom's rare sunrise,

Like giants roused from wine!
And in their hearts, and in their eyes,
The God leapt up divine!
Their souls flashed out like naked swords,
Unsharted for four five naked swords, Their souls masned out like backet.

Unsheathed for fiery fate;

Strength went like battle with their words,

The men of Forty-eight.

Hurrah!

For the men of Forty-eight. Dark days have fall'n! yet in the strife,
They bate no hope sublime,
And bravely works the fiery life,
Their hearts' pulse thro' the time.
As grass is greenest trodden down,
So suffering makes men great;
And this dark tide shall grandly crown
The men of Forty-eight.

For the men of Forty-eight.

For the men of Forty-eight. Some, in a bloody burial sleep, Like Greeks, to glory gone!

Swift in their steps, avengers leap
With their proof armour on!

And hearts beat high with dauntless trust,

And hearts beat mgn with daulidess tries.
We'll triumph soon or late,
Though they be mouldering in the dust,—
Brave men of Forty-eight.
Hurrah! For the men of Forty-eight!

O! when the world wakes up to worst, The tyrnnts once again;—
And Freedom's summons-shout shall burst
In music on the brain.
With heart to heart and hand in hand,
Ye'll find them all elate,—

Ye'll find them all elate,— And true as ever Spartan band! The Men of Forty-eight. Hurrah!

For the Men of Forty-eight. GERALD MASSEY.

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FRIEND OF THE PROPER.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 8.]

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1851.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.

CONTENTS:

ddress to Social Reformers	A Correction Corrected	men in the North;" "Progression of Association in England, France, and America

Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

A BRITISH HAYNAU.

Four months ago the Morning Chronicle complained, with some show of reason, that whereas HAYNAU had been subjected to the judgment of that high judicial authority so popular in the "far west," the celebrated "Citizen Lynch," other and worse delinquents had been allowed to escape unpunished. The delinquents named by the Chronicle were "Lord" Torkington, ex-governor of Ceylon; and "Sir" H. WARD, still, unhappily, "Lord High Commissioner" of the Ionian Islands.

As regards HAYNAU, with all deference to the Chronicle, all that that Hyena received at the hands of the brewers he richly merited. Not that by any means he met with Had he been lowered to his full deserts. the bottom of one of Barclay's vats, sent with a stone round his neck to ascertain the state of things at the bottom of the Thames, or suspended from a lamp-post as a scarecrow and a warning to all ruffians of a like stamp, he would have been nearer to his full reward than he attained to by morely undergoing a hustling and pelting along Bankside. True, his moustachies were pulled, and his clothes torn, but he-the miscreant, had torn the flesh from the shrinking bodies of women, had riven the heart-strings of many a wife and mother, and committed cowardly MURDER on brave and noble men who, by an accursed traitor's treachery, had been betrayed into his hands. Such a libel on the human shape has no right to existence. Devils in human form like HAYNAU—a million-fold worse than CAIN-should be swept from the face of the earth. The brewers of Bankside were only too morciful.

I have before to-day commented on the crimes of both WARD and TORRINGTON. As of the Democratic and Social Republic. regards the former of these British Haynaus, I observe that, unsatiated with the blood shed in Cephalonia, in the year 1849, he is anxious and eager for more slaughter. Be- Mysteries of Ceylon."

cause the people of that unfortunate island have thought proper to protest against tho tyranny of their foreign satrap by holding a public assembly to recoive their representative, his High Mightiness must send to Malta for ships of war to coerce the Cephalonians. I shall return to the doings of this execrable executioner; -a worthy specimen of the detestable class of politicians of which, when in England, ho was a leader,-the sham-Radicals, the cold-hearted ruffians, who, with liberalism on their lips while seeking power, no sooner acquire power than they rival-or out-rival, the worst atrocities of the avowed defenders of Absolutism.

My present business is with the person denominated, in the "slang" of "high-life," "Viscount Torrington."

My attention has been recalled to the ex-Governor of Ccylon by perusing an article on the history of "his lordship's" government of that island, in the current number of the

Quarterly Review. If the Quarterly Review yet defices the "infection" (a favourite phrase, that, with the Ordermongers) of "revolutionary principles," it cannot absolutely escape from the influence of those principles. How else account for the appearance therein of the article on Ceylon, -an articlo which, while damaging to the Whig officials in particular, is calculated to damage the English aristocracy in general? How clso account for that revelation of the rascality of his defunct "Majesty," Fum the Fourth, in relation to the British Museum? (See the Quarterly's article on that Institution) Let no one, however, dream that the Quarterly has become a convert to the true faith. The flight of pigs through the air, the entry of lawyers into heaven, or any other improbable circumstance is not less likely to occur thau that the Quarterly should take to the worship of the "triad:"-Equality, Liberty, Fraternity. If ever such a conversion should take place it will be not the day before, but the day after the proclamation (in England)

Its general politics notwithstanding the

Quarterly Review has done good service by affording its aid towards unveiling "The

The island of Coylon, "placed at the west-ern entrance of the Bay of Bengal, is separated by a narrow strait from the mainland of Hindostan. It is nearly as large as Ireland. The population, composed of various tribes of native Cingalese, Malabars, Mahometans, Coolies, Portuguese, Dutch, and English, and of their mongrel descendants, is computed at little less than a million and a half of souls. The government is administered by a Governor, assisted by a counsel entirely consisting of European civil and military servants—totally subservient to the will of the Governor. Its religion, as established by treaty, is that of Buddha, a creed which inculcates the purest code of morality ever engrafted on idolatry. The ruins of ancient cities, tanks, aqueducts, canals, bridges, &c., with which the interior of the island abounds denote that in earlier ages it must have been a populous and comparatively civilized country. At the commencement of the sixteenth century the Portuguese formed settlements on its western and southern coasts, from which they wero expelled by the Dutch who, in 1796, were in turn driven out by the English. It was not, however, until 1819 that we succeeded, after a severo and protracted struggle, in finally wresting from the native chiefs possession of the entire island; and since that date the presence of a handful of British troops has secured to us uninterrupted enjoyment of it."

The reviewer proceeds next, in terms of admiration, to describe the natural resources and advantages of Ceylon. He then enumerates the various Governors who have held office since the year 1819. In 1846 the Whigs having resumed office, it was of course necessary to find a place for "Viscount" Torring-TON, who enjoys the good luck of being first cousin to the Premier, and, therefore, the privilego to cozen John Bull.

Earl GREY, that "wiscst, virtuousest, discreetest, best" of Colonial Ministers has declared that when entering upon office he laid down for himself the rule to select the very best men as colouial governors. "Viscount TORRINGTON was, therefore, the fittest man to be appointed to the governorship of Ceylon. His qualifications are described by the Re-

7th Fusileers as a subaltern, and his manhood in discharging the duties of a lord of the bedchamber. He had dabbled in railway speculations; but although nearly forty years of age, and possessed of an hereditary voice in the legislature, he had up to the time of his appointment to the government of Ceylon, evinced no disposition to take part in the unpaid public business of the nation." This specimen of military monkeydom, this railway speculator and Court flunkey, was selected by Earl GREY as "the very best man" to give law to the

luckless Ceylonese! Being a whig, Lord Torrington is of course a "reformer," and, more or less, a disciple of the Free-trade School. Finding on his arrival in Ceylon, that there was, or was likely to be, a deficiency of cash, derived from the local revenue for the local expenditure, he set about the work of "reform." This he did by repealing export and lowering import duties. Of course the revenue sunk rapidly, and it became necessary to either make great reductions in the expenditure, or to impose new taxes. The former was not to be thought of, otherwise what would become of the swarm of hungry officials, who live so well by governing Ceylon? "His lordship" therefore issued a decree by which he imposed seven new taxes, the most obnoxious of which were a road tax, a shop tax, a gun tax, and a dog tax. "The road tax ordinance required that every male resident in the island, between the ages of 15 and 55, should either labour for six days, in each year on the public roads, or pay 3s in licu of such personal service. The shop tax enacted that every occupant of a shop, the rental of which amounted to £5, should take out a yearly licence on a £1, stamp. The gun tax directed that, on a certain day in each year, the people should repair to the chief towns armed, and apply for licenses for their fire-arms at a cost of 2s. 6d. for each gun. The dog tax imposed a tax of 1s. on every dog kept in the island, and sentenced to death all puppies above three months old, whose

tecting twelve-pence." "An ignorant impatience of taxation" is no doubt disagreeable to rulers, but is pretty sure to be exhibited where the taxes are levied after the fashion approved of by "Lord" TORRINGTON. It is a pity but "his lordship" would persuade his "noble" relative, the Premier, to sweep away our whole system of indirect taxation and substitute direct imposts. We should soon see "Financial Reform"! The reader may imagine the exeitement that ensued on the promulgation of "his lordship's" ukase imposing the above-named taxes. "The bulk of the population are extremely poor. The taxes on dogs and guns were imposed upon what were to them absolute necessaries of life-both dogs and guns being necessary for the protection of their crops and the destruction of wild animals; and they looked upon the road-tax as a re-imposition of a most obnoxious burthen, ealled Raja-Karaya, or forced labour, which had been abolished with much solemnity many years before." "Petitions and memorials against the new taxes, numerously signed, were soon forwarded to the Governor from all classes in the island." The leading English merchants remonstrated, and urged Col. Drought and Capt. Watson.

proprietors were not prepared with the pro-

viewer:-"He had spent, his youth in the |"his lordship" to retrace his steps; but in

"On the 6th of July, 1848 a large body of unarmed Cingaleso flocked into the town of Kandy, with the avowed object of com-plaining to the Government Agent of the injustice of the new taxes." The police alarmed called for the assistance of the military; and upon the appearance of two companies of the 15th regiment, the people quietly dispersed having first received a promise that the Colonial Secretary "Sir" EMERSON TENNENT would receive a deputation the following day. The interview took place to the great satisfaction of "Sir" EMERSON who reported to his chief that the malcontents had gone home perfectly satisfied. On the 12th of July the Governor wrote to Earl" GREY that—thanks to his own enlightened measures and the eloquence of his secretary—the colony was peaceful, prosperous, and contented; and in the House of Commons Mr. HAWES reported that "the people were perfectly reconciled to the new Torringtorian system of taxation.' Vive la Reforme!

But, lo! the very next mail brought other tidings. "Lord" Torrington announced 'that Ccylon was in open insurrection; that a Pretender had 'boldly raised his standard,' and claimed the throne of Kandy; that collisions had already taken place between her Majesty's forces and twenty thousand armed and blood-thirsty rebcls; and that 'the severest measures had been resorted to by him, under martial law, to put an end to the revolt." The last portion of this information proved to be too true; all the rest approached very near to the fabulous.

Behold the facts. Finding that "Sir" EMERSON TENNENT, like most Irish orators. was a dealer in eloquent humbug, and that his fine speeches simply amounted to what we English vulgarly, but expressively, term gammon, the people lost their temper, and re-assembled in masses - some of them armed — to remonstrate against the new taxes. A number of the disaffected having assembled at Matelle, a town seventeen miles from Kandy, the police took to flight, not one of them having sustained any personal injury. Two hundred soldiers were at once despatched from Kandy, and the next morning encountered the "enemy." "A general engagement instantly took place, and in a few minutes the "insurgents" were completely routed, losing in killed and wounded upwards of two hundred men. On the side of the British, one soldier of the 15th, who were in reserve, was slightly wounded by a spent shot, fired from 'the field of battle.' One man, too-the superintendant of a coffee estate-was discovered in the vicinity tied neck and heels. Lastly, a few public buildings and private plantations, which had been in every instanco, previously deserted by the persons whose duty it was to care for them, were plundered by the natives; and this was positively all the damage done either to life or property by the 'insurgents' during the Cingalese 'Rebellion' of 1848."

"Lord" Torrington reported the burning of bazaars, &c., by the "insurgents;" a statement purely false and calumnious. The only houses burnt down were set fire to,

The reader must see that the pretended "Rebellion" was all bosh. The "battle of Matelle," was, in fact, so much slaughter perpetrated by the British with perfect impunity. In another case there was an assemblage of the discontented at a place called Kurnegalle, when four thousand of the "armed insurgents" fled before one officer and twelve men of the Ceylon Rifles. In this affair not one of the defenders of LAW and Order received even a scratch, although tney managedto kill twenty six, wound several, and capture a number of the unfortunate natives.

The worst circumstance in connection with these needless butcheries has yet to be stated, "It transpired," says the Quarterly Reviewer, "from a letter addressed by the Chief of the Police to the Governor's private secretary that these wretched massacres had actually occurred in consequence of a private arrangement, entered into between himself, the magistrates, and the resident government agent, Mr. Buller, with the eognizance and approval of Lord TORRINGTON, that no steps should be taken to cheek the congregation of the masses until they should have committed some disturbance which should enable the authorities to

bring them to justice."

As "justice" and "vengence" seem to be synonymous in the estimation of "his lordship," any reasonable person would have supposed that the killing and wounding of between two and three hundred human beings, whose "rioting" had occasioned more fright than hurt, to all but themselves, would have satisfied the Governor. But not so, his first step after receiving news of the "outbreak," and that one soldier had been slightly wounded, was to place two of the most populous districts under martial law. Proclamations were issued, and acted upon, threatening the lives and confiscating the property of those who had fled terrified into the jungles—terrified not at the conduct of the "insurgents," but by the atrocities committed by "Her Majesty's Forces." Courts-martial, posed of subaltern officers, completely ignorant of the language of the country, tried, convicted, and put prisoners to instant death. The commandant of Kandy, Colonel Drought was urgent in his instructions to make short work with the unfortunate prisoners, observeing that "every person who had been engaged in the disturbance was a rebel, and all rebels ought to be put to death." Thus advised, a certain Captain Warson exhorted his own subalterns to "go ahead," to shoot, to slay, and burn down houses, by way of establishing Law and Order. This Captain Warson further distinguished himself by publishing a number of the most sanguinary proclamations-documents worthy of a HAY-NAU or a Rosas.

Although immediately after the riots at Matelle and Kuruegalle, the terrifled natives had abandoned all thought of further resistance to the obnoxious taxes, martial law was continued for between two and three months. During that time the courts-martial-besides confiscating lands and personal property to a considerable amount, and burning down many houses-shot to death 18 individuals, transported 19, imprisoned with hard labour, 72, and flogged 58." Amongst the victims put to death, was one thus mentioned by "Lord" Torrington in a despatch to Earl GREY :- " An influential priest who was convicted of administering treasonable oaths.

was shot at Kandy in full robes." None of the military judges understood the language in which the evidence against the poor priest was tendered. Some attorneys and the interpreter of the local courts, who understood the language, "felt satisfied that the witnesses for the prosecution had perjured themselves, in hope to curry favour with the governor, who was avowedly anxious for convictions.' Under this impression, application was made to "his Excellency" to delay the execution of the sentence for a few days in order that further inquiry might be instituted. "Lord" Torrington's answer was, By God, sir, if all the lawyers in Ceylon said that the priest was innocent, he should be shot to-morrow morning.' And shot he accordingly was." The strongest reasons exist for believing that the unfortunate priest was completely innocent of the charges on which he was convicted. In fact, as long as some one could be got hold of to put to death, "his lordship" cared not whether he destroyed the right or the wrong man, -witness his proceedings towards the alleged "Pretender." "Twice," says the Quarterly Reviewer, he officially announced to Earl GREY that the 'Pretender' had been convicted and shot, but twice he also found himself compelled to write and to confess that such conviction and such execution had been entirely a case of qui pro quo-that is, that some poor creature had been sacrificed in sheer mistako; and the pretender who proved to be a person of no influence, having managed to escape apprehension until Lord TORRINGTON had learnt the ill effect produced by his 'vigour' in England, was eventually not shot at all, but was flogged, and transported for life."

Not satisfied with MURDER by martial-law, "his Excellency" strove hard to erect a "Bloody Assize" under the superintendence of the Civil Courts. He prepared the jury lists, and did his best to obtain convictions. Ultimately seventeen persons were sentenced to death by the Civil Courts, but they were earnestly and publicly recommended to mercy by the venerable Chief Justice. This recommendation made "his lordship" mighty wrath, but he deemed it prudent to check his thirst for more blood, and the hapless beings were not shot. "His Excellency" consoled himself by condemning them and others to transportarion, remarking to Earl GREY that "the dread of transportation amongst the natives is almost greater than that of death.'

Here, for the present, I must pause. I have yet to show the participation of the British Government in these atrocities, so far at least as regards the sanctioning of Torrington's conduct, and the disgraceful fencing had recourse to, to prevent an effective inquiry. For the present I have written enough to show that in his government of Ceylon, Viscount Torrington played the part of A CRUEL AND SANGUINARY TYRANT. THE BLOOD OF HIS VICTIMS CRIES AGAINST HIM FOR JUSTICE AND RETRIBUTION!

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

ROBERT OWEN AND THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

TO THE SOCIAL REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN. FRIENDS AND BUSTHREN, -Great reforms are the result of great efforts. The year 1517 will ever be remarkable in the annals of Europe as the most important epoch in the revolution of mind, when a poor monk electrified the western world by proclaiming the ascendancy of reason, and settling for ever the right of every man to private judgment in matters of faith.

The year 1649 saw, for the first time in our own country, the triumph of popular will. An obscure farmer succeeded, by the aid of public opinion, in explading that monster fallacy of political science, the 'right divine' of kings.

The year 1776 is immortalised by one of the noblest victories in the records of nations, when the New World declared its independence of the Old, despising the trappings of regal pomp, and founding National Law upon National Will.

The year 1793 is distinguished for the hirth of thoso European Revolutions which threaten the disruption of the old system of things, and demonstrate that 'peace and order' will be a stranger in society until the principles of equity and fraternity, in their most enlarged and enlightened in-

terpretation, are established amongst us.
The year 1851, we are assured, will be memorable in the progress and development of civiliza-For the first time in the history of the world there is to be a meeting of the peoples of the leading nations of the globe, not with the view of butchering each other, and making the earth around them groan in agony and death, but for fraternal communion, each contributing their measure of ingenuity and skill to one common emporium, in which will be exhibited all that modern intellect can produce.

Such a hrilliant opportunity should not be lost by the Social Reformers of this country to make further known to the world, through their brethren visiting the International Exhibition, the means of universal happiness and brotherhood. There is a tide in the affairs of nations as of men which, taken at its flood, leads to fortnne. A people, as an individual, by seizing the proper moment may achievo more hy one great effort than years of agitation and suffering. And what moment more opportune for promulgating these views so well calculated to make the world happy, than the time when the world is there to listen to you? The friends of Social Progress, of all shades of opinion, will have serious cause of regret if they permit an event so propitious to pass by, without an effort equal to the occasion, to place their opinions in the hands of these numerous foreigners who may be instrumental in sowing the seeds of truth in quarters they might not otherwise reach for a generation to come.

It is anticipated by the projectors of this Exhibition, and their expectations are reasonable, that it will give a mighty impetus to the progress of physical soience probably advance it a century. Why not also make it subservient to the advancement of those sciences more immediately involving the welfare of the people? If our means of increasing wealth are to ho augmented by it, why not also the mode of distributing, it facilitated. is, in fact, the desideratum of modern civilisation. To increase wealth, without distributing it, is only a partial good. It rests with the devotees of social science, therefore, to see that this memorable demonstration fulfils the highest possible mission.

As many will come from countries where freedom of speech and press are almost unknown, such an opportunity of getting political and social information may be to them of double walue, and the sense of this ought to he to us a double stimulus.

It is proposed that tracts and lectures on political

series of lectures during the season. It would be a worthy triumph in the career of such a man. Who quight to be heard with more affection and respect at the meeting of 'all nations,' than he who has been the devoted and consistent advocate of the welfare of all nations for these last sixty years? The world owes him a debt of gratitude, and no time can be more fitting for its acknowledgment. Public meetings will also be held in various parts of Landon, to which invitations will be sent to the leading visitors of the Exhibition, and every effort usel to take advantage of the great occasion. But in entering upon a war, though a bloodless one, the sinews of war must be forthcoming, or the attempt at once abandoned. Let our friends, therefore, north and south, unite with a generosity and onthusiasm commensurate with their cause, and the opportunity and the year 51 may prove the brightest year in the destiny of We would suggest that committees he nations. forthwith formed in Manchester, Birmingham, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other populous towns, to receive subscriptions and act with the central committee in London. No time should he lost, a week now being worth a month at any other period.

Robert Cooper, George Jacob Holyoake, JAMES RIGBY,

HENRY A. Ivory, Hon. Sec. Communications to be sent in the meantime to the Secretary, 52, College-place, Camden-town, London.

DEMOCRACY IN HOLLAND.

WE give the following extracts (we have not room for the entire document) from an address on the part of

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC Association in Holland, to the Central European Democratic Committee, established in London:-

"An unjust banishment compels you to labour for the progress of the good cause upon a foreign soil, but, thank God, a soil hospitable and just par excellence; a soil which rejects with herror the executioner of the Hungarians, but which energetically protects the apostles of European democracy.

"We have seen attempts at proceedings against you, dictated by animosity, doubtless, but perhaps also by fear. But to these projects public opinion and the press have done full justice, and these proceedings have been shamefully abortive, thanks to the firm generosity of the English people.

"We rally ourselves, with eagerness and con-viction, to the great standard of European democracy which you have unfurled, and upon which the hand, whose appearance astounded Belshazzar, has inscribed in ineffaceable characters the Menz, Tekel, Upharsin of our days, the words sacred to the peoples, and terrible for kings Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.

"We shall use our endeavours, with all the good will, with all the perseverance, that is given by faith, to plant here the democratic banner of the Batavian nationality.

"Independent organizers within the circle of their nationality, the Dutch democrats hold out to you the hand of brotherhood, for the organization of European democracy, attaching their link to the great chain of peoples.

"We accept with eagerness and confidence, the relations you offer for us to hold toward your Committee, and we frame most fervent and sincere wishes for the most thorough success of your grand and energetic initiative, which kings curse, but with which the peoples are well pleased.

"Health and Fraternity, "For the Central Committee of the Demogratic Association in Holland,
"Bevervoorde, President.

"Vandervoo, Principal Sec." Amsterdam, November 22, 1850,"

and social subjects be translated into the leading languages and distributed at the Exhibition, as well as at the residences of various foreigners. It is intended, also, to invite the venerable founder of English Socialism, Robert Owen, to deliver a

THE Times AND Chronicle. -Mr. Muntz, M.P. for Birmingham, states on the authority of a friend, that the Times and the Morning Chronicle are the same property, and that the principal proprietor of the Times is the house of Rothschild, and therefore the Times and Chronicle took Marshal Haynau under their protection.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

AN EXAMPLE WOBTHY OF IMITATION.—"Thanks to your labours, the sublime principles of Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity are being proclaimed throughout the length and breadth of England. We are very happy to be able to inform you that the Friend of the People is gradually, but steadily increasing in circulation in Sheffield. To aid in the good work of advancing the circulation of your excellent little journal, a few Democrats of the right sort have formed themselves into a Committee; and we trust that other localities will do the same. We wish you to send us one hundred large posters, and fifty window-bills. Congratulating you. Sir, on your recovery from your late indisposition, we subscribe ourselves, yours, fraternally, Samuel Jackson, Chairman-Joseph Fairest, Treasurer. William Dyson, George Whitaker, Charles Bagshaw, Morton Royston, Secretary."

"48, West John Street, Sheffield."

POEMSEY ERNEST JONES --Welearnfrom an advertisement AN EXAMPLE WOBTHY OF IMITATION .- "Thanks to your

POLMS BY ERNEST JONES .-- We learn from an advertisement in Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper that the publication of Mr. Jones's Poems, written in Tothill-fields prison has been Mr. Jones's l'oems, written in Tothill-tields prison has been delayed in consequence of the class-prejudice and hostility of the publishing trade. Mr. Jones proposes to publish the Poems in weekly numbers, price two-pence each, as soon as he is assured of sufficient subscribers to cover the expense. Each number will contain 24 pages, of which a portion will be devoted to notes, that will be especially directed to unveil the enormities of the privileged classes, and analyze the hopes of the Democratic measurement. All and analyze the hopes of the Democratic movement. All parties desirous of taking copies are requested to write to that effect, at their earliest convenience, to Ernest Jones, Hardwick Lodge, Moscow Road, Bayswater, London

Another Example worthy of Imitaton.—A correspondent writes, "I forwarded copies of the Red Republican to a great many stations on the South Coast Railway. Recently a circular has been issued from the Manager's

cently a circular has been issued from the Manager's office, intended, as I believe, to prevent the circulation of such publications, 'unless first approved of by the manager.' I am still however distributing the new series on the Dover Line, and amongst the Shipping.' How they break down Waces on the Railways.—The correspondent above quoted, states that "It is part of the system on the Dover Line to engage menat the country stations at a nominal rate of wages, and then after a time remove them with a trifling advance of pay, but an unlimited increase of work to the metropolitan terminus, where by their competition with the men of the towns the work performed is done for about half the wages the workmen are fairly entitled to."

A FBATERNAL DEMOCRAT.—It is a typographical error.

workmen are fairly entitled to."

A FRATERNAL DEMOCRAT.—It is a typographical error. The hour should have been "Eight o'clock." In all other respects the aunouncement in No. 7, is correct.

A RED REPUBLICAN, Halifax.—We believe the only tract issued by the National Reform League was the one containing the "Seven Propositions," which were subsequently reprinted in the Red Republican. We do not know of any volume on "Land, Credit, Currency, and Exchange," in which the doctrines of the National Reform League are advocated. Such a work is needed.

THE HORRORS OF DESPOTISM .- Albert Smith, in giving an account of the Mahmoodeeh canal, in Egypt, states that at the command of the Pacha, 250,000 men, women, and children were employed in cutting this canal, and under an iron bondage, and at the instigation of the task-master and the whip, completed the undertaking in six weeks, at the expenso of 30,000 lives. These 30,000 human beings lie buried in the banks of the canal, which may be said on this account to form one enormous mausoleum.

RUSSIAN TYRANNY .-- A decree of the Council of the kingdom of Poland prohibits the introduction from abroad, or the publishing within the realm, of any print, picture, or lithograph, representing any subject from Scripture history, or referring to Christian rites of worship, or to religion generally, unless it is first examined and approved by the officials of the diocese. same prohibition extends to casts, sculptures, medals, rings, or carvod work. Without this previous permission such objects cannot be prepared, imported, or sold. By an ukase of the 16th of May, 1849, the Polish nobles were forbidden to wear their beards; is it has not been strictly observed, it has again been brought to the notice of the woits and magistrates. The ground of this singular ukase is the Russian law, that every one wearing an uniform, or having the right to wear one, is forbidden to wear a beard. As the Polish nobility has the right to wear an uniform, and to be called into the military service of the State, they are included in the prohibition.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1851.

A CORRECTION CORRECTED.

In No. 5 of the Friend of the People, we took notice of a certain imputation cast upon Chartist "leaders" by Mr. O'CONNOR. The persons to whom were imputed "sordid motives, &c., &c.," were not named by their accuser; but we promised our readers, that, if possible, we would learn their names by questioning Mr. O'Connor, face to face. That promise was fulfilled; and in No. 6 we published an extract from the minutes of the Chartist Executive, which gave an abridged statement of the question put to Mr. O'CONNOR, and his reply. To that extract we appended these words: "There was much more said which there is no present need to publish.'

It seems that the abridged report did not satisfy Mr. O'CONNOR. That gentleman made complaint in the Northern Star, of January 13th, that his answer "to the question put by Mr. HARNEY" was not clearly stated in the official report. To this complaint he added a version of his own, correct as far asit went, but which gave only a portion of his answer, and which was calculated to lead the readers of the Star to the conclusion that the official report was false. To prevent any misapprehension, we considered it necessary to insist upon having a full and authentic account of the conversation in question laid before the public. We, therefore, brought the affair under the consideration of the Executive, at their meeting on the 22nd of January, when the report given below was declared to be correct; and the resolution prefixed was unanimously adopted :-

Moved by G. J. HOLYOAKE, seconded by JOHN MILNE :-

Reference having been made in the Northern Star to a conversation which took place at a previous meeting of this Executive, in a manner which raises a question as to the correctness of the report published of that conversation,-Resolved that the annexed report be inserted in the minutes, which the Executive unite in declaring to be accurate:-

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,

January 8th, 1851.

Mr. O'Connor having stated that he had to lecture at the South London Hall, for the benefit of the Polish Refugees, was then about to retire; but Mr. Harney said that before Mr.O'Connor withdrew, he was desirous of asking that gentleman a question. Would Mr. O'Connor be so kind as to state who were the professed leaders of the people to whom he referred in his letter in the Star of Saturday last, addressed to the "Slaves of England," who were actuated by "sordid motives," who "are struggling for popularity and gain," who "know nothing of your principles, and eare not a straw for you, but merely think of themselves," and "who create disunion for the mere purpose of elevating themselves and living upon your disunion and credulity?" He, (Mr. Harney) hoped that Mr. O'Connor would speak out and declare the names of the sordid and selfish "leaders," and say if he meant the Executive Committee.

Mr. O'Connor commenced his reply by saying: "I will." He then said :- "I did not mean any one in particular, but I may say

'When caps amongst a crowd are thrown Those they fit may wear them for their own.'

I did not mean this committee, nor any member of this committee. But I will say what I have often said, that ninety-nine out of every hundred are

shillings a week for advocating the Charter, they could get two pounds a week by turning against the Charter, they would forthwith desertChartism."

Mr. HARNEY: - "Mr. O'Connor's assurance, that he did not mean the Executive must be satisfactory so far as this body is concerned, but if Mr. O'Connor in reciting 'When caps amongst a crowd are thrown,' &c., means to insinuate that the cap fits me, I repel his insinuation. And as regards those who would abandon Chartism for an extra 5s. weekly, I believe that charge to be well-founded as respects some of Mr. O'Connor's most intimate friends; but for myself, Mr. O'Connor is well aware, that to maintain my principles I have made a sacrifice perhaps greater than any other Chartist. in my position ever did make."

Mr. O'CONNOR: "I will say what I have said a hundred times to Mr. Jones, that I always regarded Mr. Harney as one of the most honest, consistent, and disinterested of Chartists. Mr. Jones, have I not

said so?"

Mr. Jones, "You have."

Mr. O'CONNOR: "I greatly regretted when we parted. I was sorry to lose Mr. Harney. I believe a better, or a more honest man does not exist, and I only wish there were a good many like him.

Mr. O'Connor seemed at first disposed to question the accuracy of the report, but ultimately came to the conclusion, decidedly and unanimously expressed by the rest of the members of the Executive; and gave his asscnt to Mr. Holyoake's resolution. The erroneous "correction" is corrected.

CONCLUSION OF THE TYPEFOUNDERS' STRIKE.

From the following letter our readers will learn that the long-continued strike of the Chiswell-street Typefounders has at length terminated. The fraternal devotion of the "turn-outs" to each other, and their heroic endurance of privations throughout the long term of between seven and eight months, must command the admiration of their fellow working men of every calling: and indeed of all men capable of appreciating conduct so truly noble and praiseworthy.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

Sir,-The protracted struggle between Messrs. Caslon & Co. and their workmen is at length brought to a close. After various interviews between a deputation of the men and the principals, an understanding was come to on Friday, January 17th, and the men, with the exception of a very few, who are in expectation of being taken on as soon as the tools are put in order, resumed their places on Saturday.

This strike we believe to be almost unprecedented, for the length of time it has lasted, for the energy and determination displayed by all concerned, and above all for the unity that has prevailed amongst the trade during this THIRTY-ONE WEEKS of contention. It is to be fervently hoped that now open hostilities are ended, a mutual respect for each other's rights, and a feeling of consideration for each other's circumstances and position will supersede all those feelings of acrimony and ill-will such occasions inevitably call forth. From the bearing of Messrs. Caslon & Fagg toward their men since the termination of the strike, we are led to believe their future relationship toward them will be of a considerate character, and we can assure them that that consideration will be most cordially reciprocated. To all those Trades' Societies and individuals, who through your influence have assisted us in our day of trouble, we return our sincere thanks. full balance account of our income and expenditure will be printed in a few weeks, and all who have helped us shall receive a copy of the same on application.

To yourself, all that we can now give in return trafficking politicians. If getting one pound fifteen for your varied and valuable services, is THANKS-

full, sincere, heartfelt THANKS-accept them, accompanied by the assurance that we feel it a duty to support those organs of the public mind which raise their potent voice in behalf of oppressed humanity, in the hour of its misfortune. Apart from the question of wages, there is much, very much, that a true "working men's friend" may do on his behalf-60,000 people of this country die annually of consumption-how many of these are consigned to a premature grave, in consequence of ill-ventilated workshops, it would be impossible to determine, but no person in the slightest degree acquainted with artisans and mechanics would hesitate to say that thousands annually meet an early tomb from such a cause. Those who know not our position may preach of our dissipation; but to the thoughtful it affords matter of no surprise, that men whose intellectual and moral culture has never been cared for, should fly to stimulants when in a state of physical and mental exhaustion. Debility is stamped on the frame of multitudes of artisans, and on few more so than on those employed in typefounding. To this and other topics of high interest to our welfare, your attention may be drawn, from time to time, and your interest solicited therein. In the meantime receive the reiteration of our thanks for services already performed, and the assurance of the very high esteem of

TW: TYPEFOUNDING TRADE.

The Typefounders may always count upon such aid as we can render in their struggles for justice; and the columns of this publication will be always at their service. Although we have no right to expect "thanks" for the performance of our duty, we beg to assure our brothers that, in our estimation, their kind words are of infinitely greater value than the riehest rewards bestowed by the oppressors of mankind upon their heartless instruments. Whilst we join with "The Typefounding Trade" in the hope that Messrs. Caslox and Co. will henceforth treat those they employ with that consideration which honest, hardworking men have a right to expect from their employers; we consider it necessary to warn our friends that it is the nature of Capital to be grasping and self-seeking, regardless of the rights, claims, and wants of Labour; and that it is morally eertain that the Typefounders will yet have to engage in renewed struggles to protect their hardly-earned wages. We speak not of the men employed by Messrs. Cashon and Fagg in particular, but of the trade in general. We hold, therefore, that the first duty of the Typefounders, after making good recent sacrifices, will be to prepare against future assaults which are sure to arise, and which may be productive of fatal consequences unless they are well organized-united amongst themselves, and also, as far as possible, with their brother operatives of other trades. Let us add, that which we cannot too often repeat, that at the very best, Trades' Unious can afford but partial and inadequate protection to the working men. Real, complete protection to Labour ean never be whilst Labour and Capi. tal are divided, whilst the Labourers and the Capitalists oecupy the mutually hostile position of Masters and Workers. In fact, Society must be changed, radically reformed from the base upwards. But that change, that reform will not come to pass while the lords of Money continue to command the law-making power of the community. The Reign of Social Justice is impossible without the ascendancy of Democracy. Let our brothers reflect, and for their own sakes, for the sake of their children, let them add action to reflection; and, by all the means at their disposal help us

in the great and glorious struggle for the attainment of Universal Suffrage.

The one faet stated in the above letter, that of the 60,000 persons who die annually, in this country, of consumption, an immense proporition consists of working men in whose frames the seeds of that fatal disease are sown by the circumstances connected with their employment, particularly that of having to work in cold, damp, ill-ventilated workshops, should be sufficient to arouse the suffering classes to a stern and unyielding resolution to obtain for themselves that protection which their "masters" refuse, and their rulers will not accord. The Capitalists care nothing for subjecting the ereators of their wealth to a system of WHOLESALE MURDER, because they know that the system-made "surplus" of labour will enable them to command the sweat and toil of new "hands," just as fast as the vietims perish. Appeals and remonstrances on the part of the sufferers are in vain. To fill their pockets, to gorge themselves with gold, is the one object of the Capitalists; an object they pursue heedless of the misery, death, and desolation they cause to reign amongst the trodden-down people. If the latter petition Parliament, their petitions are unheeded, or mocked at and spurned-witness the treatment of the Bakers! Why is this? Because the Parliament is the creation of the Capitalists, and statesmen are their mere humble servants. Employers will not do justice to their workmen, nor will our legislators compel them to act justly. Political Usurpation is the bulwark of Social Oppression. To achieve their social salvation the people must break their political chains. Until they have gained the Suffrage they have gained nothing. Possessed of the Suffrage they may gain all—that is, if possessed also of the good sense to elect the men who, "bold enough to be honest, and honest enough to be bold, will set themselves to the mighty and glorious task of effecting a nation's social redemption.

FUNERAL OF GENERAL BEM .- We regret to find the fullest confirmation of the report of the death of the heroic General Bem. The papers contain the following account of the funeral of the deceased warrior at Aleppo.:— He was buried as a Moslem, having accepted the "true faith," and the dignity of a Pasha. His body, wrapped in linen, bound together at the head and feet, was placed in a rude coffin. During the preparations a number of Mollahs murmured the eustomary prayers. At the head of the coffin an upright stick supported his fez; the coffin itself was covered with a coloured shawl, and carried on two poles. A military funeral has never been seen in Turkey, and, though many Christians were present, all the proceedings were marked by an Oriental want of order. The French and English Consuls were invited by the Commandant, Kerim Pasha, with several offices, and a crowd of soldiers and spectators were on the ground. The long escort was preceded by 20 or 30 Mollahs, chanting a dismal and monotonous "Il Allah:" some of the Christian eomrades of the late general wished to earry the body from the gate to the burial-ground, but the Turkish custom did not permit them; everybody pressed round to bear the cof-fin a few steps, then yielding their places to others. Strong detachments of troops were stationed along the route; the soldiers left their ranks to put their hands to the eoffin like the crowd; even old Kerim Pasha took his turn. Near the burying-ground the body was laid on the tomb of a Mohemetan saint while some more

prayers were said over it; it was then laid, without the coffin, in a shallow grave, with the head towards Mecca; the eords that bound the wrappers were cut, and the grave filled with carth, and the surface covered with a few flat stones. General Bem had frequently promised to write a history of his career, which includes the wars of two unsuccessful national insurrections; but he had not, it is believed, commenced it. He was not more than fifty-six, though he looked much older; his frame was weakened by wounds, and the fatigues of the Hungarian compaigns, but his restless spirit retained its strength and elasticity to the last moment. His conversation was lively and intellectual; he spoke several languages, but was most fluent in French. He had established a manufactory of saltpetre for the Turkish Government, and was engag d in founding a manufactory of arms, when au attack of fever, slight in itself, proved fatal to him. He left no papers, for his correspondence was, at his express command, burnt before he died.

THE PAPACY UNVEILED.

BY A ROMAN CATHOLIC MONK.

THERE is now in the metropolis a very remarkable man-the ecclesiastical leader of Young Italy. He has been delivering a course of orations in the Italian tongue, to his own countrymen, and a select number of Englishmen, at the Princess's Concert Room, on the afternoon of several succeeding Sundays. Father Gavazzi is a Barnabite monk, and took an active part in the recent democratic movement in Italy. Although a Catholic, he is a zealous opponent of papal aggression, and a fearless denunciator of Romish superstition. He is said to possess the eloquence and enthusiasm of Peter the Hermit, and a zeal and devotion as unflagging as that of an apostle. From a translated abridgment of his orations published in the Daily News we select the following extracts:-

He denounced in the most animated language the part which most of the Italian priests were playing in his own prostrate country, but he thanked God that "there is yet a portion of the Italian church truc-hearted and sincere. There are in our land young Levites who are uncontaminated with the leprosy of Rome's hoary-headed prevaricators in the service of God's temple. In Lombardy and Venice they abound; in Tuscany they are numerous; in Piedmont they openly proclaim their abhorrence of papal abominations; they are the hope, and will yet be the rescuers of Italy. He briefly referred to the Jesuits who had long watched him, but whom he defied; clad in his old cossack he had confronted the banded hordes of human tyranny in all their variety of denominations. He had stood out against the bloody Croats of Austria, the miserable Mamelukes of Naples, and the degraded Cossacks of France. The mention of France led him to the occupation of Rome by the French:—"Know we not," he exclaimed, "how low has sunk French policy and French principle in the eyes of thinking Europe and unshackled America? The old butchers of the French St. Bartholomew have got the upper hand once more, and the massacre of Rome's best citizen's may now be added to the canonised and papally-glorified extermination of the Huguenots." He then referred to the Pope's bull,-"Do I seek," he says, "to convert Englishmen to the papal religion, such as it now stinks in the nostrils of mankind? Heaven keep me from any wish of the sort! Men of England, keep your Christianity, hug it to your bosoms, fling it not away for the embrace of the degraded harlot that flaunts her faded finery in the twilight of the human understanding, but in the rays of the sun of intellect is but a loathsome aggregate of abominable imposture. Maniacs are found in connexion with that system, such as it now exhibits its repugnant features to the world, who talk of the conversion of England. God help the silly creatures! * * Who sends, and who are sent now on the errand of conversion? Who sends? I'll tell ye. An empty-headed and hollow-hearted

egotist, whose vanity is only equal to his imbecility, and who has earned the scorn and detestation of three millions of Italian men, over whom by a curse of Providence and the aid of French 24-pounders, he exercises his abhorred tyranny-a pastor, forsooth, of the Roman flock, who has fulfilled to the letter the scriptural sketch of a mercenary shepherd, to whom the sheep do not by right belong. The mercénary or "hireling, when he sees the wolf approach, Hies away "in the best disguise he can, even that of a footman, "because he is a hireling;" but the good shepherd, instead of causing thousands of his flock to be massacred on his account, and for his selfish purposes, rather lays down his own life (not to say a crown that he has no right to) rather than peril the life of a single lamb of the fold. Such is the character who sends to convert England -to convert freeborn men to his allegiance-allegiance to a ruler-brought back over the gory ramparts of bombarded Rome, to sit in sullen and detested supremacy amid the ruins of the press, of the electoral franchise, freedom of speech, free tribunals, and free thought. Such is the European Juggernaut before which your England is called on to bow, and let the wheels of his bloody car roll over your souls. Such being the sender, whom has he sent? At the head of his missionaries comes a man with sufficient learning to expound his Bellarmine and his breviary and sufficient ability to explain how the laws of your land may be vlolated with impunity; whose meekness is manifested by a haughty edict from the "Tlaminian gate," and who instead of the humbly shod, but yet beautiful feet of those who in all kumility bring the gespel of peace, flaunts before the eyes of the barbaric tribes who are supposed to be the aborigines of this island, a pair of red silk stockings; a man who dreams more of "enthronizations" than the poor of Christ; whose thoughts are about a well-stocked cellar and weekly conversaziones; a man "domi-nans in cleris;" an overbearing tendency already marked in scripture as the characteristic of false churchmen; more studious of the paltry homage which he can exact from the feeble and notoriously degenerate aristocracy of his flock than of the state in which the back slums of Westminster are, and will long remain under such care-taking; with his pockets full of Austrian and Neapolitan certificates, and a warrant, no doubt, from his master to superintend and report the proceedings of the Italian exiles in London. After describing the crafty conception and rise of the Papal Power, Father Gavazzi continued to comment on the frauds and erimes that marked its fatal progress. Thus grew up the monster phenomenon we now behold: the church of Christ a den of dark intrigue and a cavarn of simoniaoal barter; changed from the simplicity of its early days into that Babylonian aggregate of ambitious strugglings, envy, hatred, trickery, cant, genoral and personal corruption, "the Court of Rome," Thus arose the Borgias and the spurious spawn of sacerdotal nepotism; thus came the Antonellis to rule in the present interregnum of Papal imbecility, as the Donna Olympias ruled in the days of Papal profligacy. Thus the Nardonis, the Freddis, and Minardis, infamous Jannisaries of the system, are let loose in our days, and traverso a trembling city, marking out their victims for the Papal galleys and the Papal prisons. Thus is the germ of Christian feeling crushed in the bosom of our young men, and the hopes of what religion promises beyond the grave obliterated from the memory of the old by the spectacle of religion's ministers practically refuting what they still impudently preach in God's descorated temples. Against these abominable doings holy men from time to time have raised the voice of remonstrance and fulminated the bolts of indignant eloquence. Savonarola was burnt in the square of Florence by the miserable Medici, at the instigation of the brutal Borgia; and the martyr, Arneldo, was burnt in a street of Rome by Pope Adrian the Fourth, to whose tender mercies he was delivered up by the imperial butcher Barbarossa. The ashes of Wiclist were flung into the Severn. But "like been rebuilt) presents to the nineteenth century.

bread cast into the waters," the day will come for the principles those ashes represent to vivify an awakened generation. These were the famous middle ages held up to our reverence by the swindler's of church history. The so-called "ages of faith" by the Montalembert school were these. For the blessings of the sceptered Popedom, the French Univers refers the simpletons who are gulled by that wretched rag to those model mediæval memories. Ashes to ashes! dust to dust! darkness to darkness. This was the appropriate period when immunity from civil tribunals was olaimed by a dissolute and rampant priesthood; when the greatest and wiscst of your Plantagenets as well as the Hapsburg and Capetian dynasties were bearded and rough-ridden over by the Innocents (!) of Italy. To hold their horso's bridle was but a personal indignity to the monarchs, ignoble enough for those who patiently endured it, but to trample under foot the common principles of law and justice was an insult flung in the face of all mankind. Then came the murder of a Beckett, which was cunningly turned to account in those days as that of Pellegrino Rossi in our own; monarchy was made to pay a penalty to the Pope for the one, democracy for the other; the king and people were equally unconcerned in either perpetration. But the vulpine vigilance of the Vatican can extraot a profit from every vile and villanous occurrence, Vespasian laid on a tax oalled urinæ vectigal; so every human infirmity, every crime in the catalogue of sins, has been a nest-egg of pelf and peculation to the "apostolic chancery." In the general degradation of the human raco and the universal prostration of European lands, our Italy, the seaf and centre of this foul usurpation, was ufterly scorched and blasted by its devastating influence. No hope of nationality for the peninsula from the hour this curse fell on our country. The Popcs have brought transalpine hordes down upou us from the ontset -Chaples d'Anjou, Norman adventurers, German lansquenets, Spanish cut-throats, the outcasts, and refuse of every race have been let loose, by papal intrigue, or open invitation to sack, slay, violate, and plunder among us in the name of Christ, from the days of Manfredi and the murdered Corradino down to those recent deplorable days when that apostate Italian, Mastai, blessed the butchers of Sicily and their king, Bomba; blessed Oudinot for strangling the Roman Commonwealth with a tricolour rope; and would bless the Prince of Darkness himself for replacing on his head that tiara which I hold was originally planted on the brows of Christ's Vicar," in the bitter derision of his doctrine by the common enemy of mankind. This monstrous intermarriage between the kingly function and the service of God's altar has more publicly offended the moral sense of the human race as society has progressed, and the darkidelusions of past centuries been dissipated by the moon-day of civilization. To be a good priest is difficult onough to the infirmity of morals; to understand kingoraft in all its branches is a gift few can boast; to combine both sacerdotal and regal excellence is a perfectly hopeless pretension. Hence, oither the priest is merged altogether, and a Julius the Second levels his artillery in propria persona on my native Bologna, or the king disappears in the grovelling, idiotic, and timorous devotee, as in the person of Pio Nino. A court, forsooth, is requisite to place the patriarch of Christendom on a level with princes; was a court required to place them on a level with the emperors of Rome? did they not maintain Christianity against "giants in those days, hand could they not do so now when paltry pigmies sit on European thrones. I protest I have more respect for the grand Lhama of Thibet as a more excusable object of blunt, downright homage, from congenial and kindred barbarians, than for such a grim jumble of carnifex and pontifex hangman and high priest as the present occupant of the Vatican and the Castle of St. Angelo (the arched Arnoldo were thrown into the Tiber, as those of causeway connecting palace and prison has just

Must the bark of Peter be rowed by galley-slaves? Must the fisherman's ring be the signet to seal death warrants? Must the functions of Nero be perormed by the successor of his supposed victim? Down to the dust-down to uttermost abyss with this soul-destroying and mind-debasing and infidel-ercating system. What a figure does our native country present to the eye of calm intelligence, to the lover of human rights, to the student of Christ's gospel? Away with an imposture that paralyses while it degrades. Away with the night hag that squats on the breast of Italy, checking the current of its life-blood, and clogging all the functions of national vitality, hideous as it is oppressive, and clumsy as it is calamitous, incubus and vampyre combined in one abominable componed of monstrous deformity. Father Gavazzi proceeded to describe the nature of the "Roman court," fatal interference with spiritual things, its dandified abbatimi, its simpering prelates, its intriguing monsignori, its brutified Swiss mercenaries, its bloated cardinals rolling in gingerbread gilt coaches, its "widows in peril" (vedove periclitanti), the venality and flunkeyism pervading the whole aggregate of worldly and vicious men who presume to be the organs of the Holy Ghost on earth, and dispense its inspirations to mankind. Never were the elements of corruption more grossly visible than at the present moment, when ar the carrion crows of Italy and elsewhere have crowded to feast on the carcass of the murdered commonwealth, and divide the spoil resulting from exile and confiscation and ruin of 30,000 citizens. His peroration was a vigorous onslaught on the late papal attempt to hring England down to the same level of grovelling scrfdom which the system has established in other countries. He manned by the this scheme was hurried into execution by the lished in other countries. He maintained that underlings of Austria and Russia at Rome. sympathy Wiseman has manifested in his late pamphlets for the "unarmed Haynau" was a significant symptom of the tendencies which the new "mitred phalanx" was expected to foster among the "faithful" in "perfidious Albion." The animated, earnest delivery, and fervid utter-

ance of several passages in his address drew forth

bursts of sympathising applause.

Kossuth and Hungary .- Mr. Longworth, an Englishman, married to a daughter of the British consul at Kutaya, the place of Kossuth's exilc, is stated to be on his way to England, to publish the history of the Hungarian struggle from Kos-

suth's lips.

BARNUM, THE AMERICAN SHOWMAN .- Adopting Mr. Emerson's idea, I should say that Barnum is a representative man. He represents the enterprise and energy of his countrymen in the nineteenth century, as Washington represented their resistance to oppression in the century preceding. Therise of this illustrious person, like that of some of his fellows, would seem to be veiled in obscurity. Whether he rose to fame on a fabulous grian, or reached the wished-for goal on the back of an eight-legged horse, must remain matter of conjecture. His more recent exploits are well known. They are, Firstly-The discovery of an extraordinary fish, (if I remember aright.) Secondly—The production of a Quaker giant. Thirdly—Of a giantess to match, who married the giant. Fourthly-Of an old black woman, either a nurse or an attendant of some sort or other on General Washington, who related anecdotes of the patriot in infancy. Fifthly—Of Tom Thumb. Sixthly—Of Jenny Lind. Seventhly, Eighthly, and Ninthly—Of a giantess and giant boy; some Chinese gentlemen and ladies of high rank; and a negro who has discovered a process of turning the skin from black to white by means of a herb. which process he is now undergoing. Independently of which, I have heard that Mr. Barnum has a third share of some ghosts, who are now showing off their "mysterious rappings" to enthusiastic audiences. From a new work, entitled "Across the 'Atlantic.''

Leaves from one Libeary.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 7.)

ASCENDING to her sleeping apartment after her return from the Schreckenstein, Consuelo, in her agitation ascended to the upper story, and entered the gallery leading to Albert's chamber. "She stopped chilled with affiright at the entrance of the gallery on seeing a thin dark form glide along before her and enter the chamber, towards which Consuclo was hastening under the idea that it was her own." In the midst of her terror she had sufficient presence of mind to distinguish the form and dress of Zdenko. She hastily turned, and "upon reaching the flight of stairs below she recognised her corridor and the door of her apartment, and perceived that it was Albert's, into which sho had seen Zdenko enter." This confirmed the idea in her mind "that there was some secret outlet from the chateau, and perhaps a subterranean communication with the Schreekenstein." Consuclo arouses the canoness, the chaplain, &c., and they seek Zdenko, but in vain. The next morning Consuelo commenced a strict examination of the wing of the eastle containing Albert's apartments. Coming to a eistern in which there was a descent by means of a narrow, steep, and winding staircase, Consenlo learns from the chaplain that the eistern formerly furnished an abundant supply of excellent rock-water, of immenso importance to the inmates in a time of siege.

" 'Then this water is good to drink?' said Consuclo, examining the greenish and moss covered, water of the cistern. "It seems to me quite

muddy.'

"'It is no longer good, or at least it is not always so, and Count Albert only uses it to water his flowers. I must tell you that for two years an extraordinary phenomenon has occurred in this eistern. The spring-for it is one, the source of which is more or less distant in the heart of the mountain has become intermittent. For whole weeks the level is extraordinary low, and when that is tho case Count Albert has water drawn by Zdenko from the well in the great court, to refresh his cherished plants. Then, all of a sudden, in the course of a single night and sometimes even in an hour, the cistern is filled with a lukewarm water, muddy as you now see it. Sometimes it empties rapidly; at others the water remains a long time, and is purified by degrees, until it becomes cold and limpid as rock-erystal. A phenomenon of this kind must have taken place last night, for even yesterday I saw the eistern elear and quite full, and now it looks muddy as if it had been emptied and filled

anew.'
"'Then these phenomena do not occur at regular

intervals?'

"By no means, and I should have examined them with care, if Count Albert, who prohibits all entrance to his apartments and garden, with that gloomy reserve which characterizes all his actions, had not forbidden me the amusement. If you ask Count Albert what it signifies, he will tell you that these are his mother's tears, which dry up and are renewed again in the bosom of the mountain. The famous Zdenko, to whom you attribute so much penetration, would swear to you that there is a siren conecaled therein, who sings most exquisitely to those who have ears to hear her. Between them they have baptized this well the Fountain of Tears. It is a very poetic explanation, and those who believe in Pagan fables may be satisfied with

"I shall not be satisfied with it,' thought 'I will know how these tears are Consuclo

dried.'

The chaplain begins to suspect that Consuclo 'is herself a sharer of the young count's mental derangement. On her part she resolves so watch the Fountain of Tears. "When the family had retired to rest, Consuelo stole upon the terrace and scated

herself close to the oistern. She fixed her eyes upon the motionless water, in which the meon, thon arrived at the zenith, was reflected as in a mirror.

"After waiting almost an hour, and just as the courageous maiden, overcome by fatigue, felt her eyelids growing heavy, alte was aroused by a slight noise at the surface of the water. She opened her eyes, and saw the spectrum of the moon agii tated, broken, and at last spread in luminous cireles upon the mirror of the fountain. At the same time a dull rushing sound, at first imperceptible but soon impetuous, became apparent, and she saw the water gradually sink, whirling about as in a funnel, and in less than a quarter of an hour disappeared in the depths of an abyss.

"Sho ventured to descend several steps. spiral staircase, which appeared to have been built for the purpose of permitting the household to reach at pleasure the varying level of the water, was formed of granite blocks half buried in the rook, or hown out of it. These slimy and slippery steps afforded no nreans of support, and were lost in the frightful depth. The darkness, and the noise of the water still splashed at the bottom of the immeasurable precipice, joined to the impossility of treading securely with her delicate feet upon the stringy coze, arrested Consuelo in her mad attempt: she ascended backwards with great diffioulty, and scated herself, terrified and trembling,

upon the first step.

"In the mean time, the water still seemed to be continually receding into the bosom of the earth. The noise became more and more remote, till at last it ceased entirely, and Consuelo pondered on the propriety of getting a light in order to examine the interior of the cistern as far as possible from above; but she feared to miss the arrival of him whom she expected, and remained patient and motionless for nearly an hour longer. At last she thought she perceived a feeble glimmer at the bottom of the well, and leaning anxiously forward, saw that the wavering light ascended little by little. In a short time she was no longer in doubt; Zden-ko was ascending the spiral staircase, aided by an iron chain which was secured to the rocky sides. The noise which he made in raising the chain from time to time and again letting it fall, made Consuclo aware of the existence of this species of balustrado, which ceased at a certain height, and which she could neither see nor suspect. Zdenko carried a lantern which he hung on a hook set apart for this purpose and inserted in the rock about twenty feet below the surface of the soil; then he mounted the rest of the staircase lightly and rapidly, without any chain or apparent means of support. However, Consuelo, who observed everything with tho greatest attention, saw that he helped himself along by catching hold of certain projecting points in the rock, of some wall plants more vigorous than the rest, and of some bent nails which stood out from the sides, and with which he seemed perfectly familiar. As soon as he had ascended high enough to see Consuclo, she concealed herself from his view by stooping behind the semicircular stone wall which hordered the well, and which was interrupted only at the entrance of the steps. Zdenko emerged into the light, and began slowly to gather flowers in the garden with great care and as if making a sclection, until ho had formed a large bouquet. Then he entered Albert's study, and through the glass door Consuelo saw him for a long while moving the books, and searching for one which he appeared at last to have found; for he returned towards the cistern, laughing and talking to himself in a satisfied tone, but in a low and almost inaudlble voice, so much so did ho seem divided between the necessity of muttering to himself, according to his usual custom, and the fear of awakening the family in the eastle.

"Consuelo had not yet asked hersolf whether she should address him, and request him to conduct her to Albert; and it must be confessed that, at that moment, confounded by what she saw, discouraged in the midst of her enterprise,

joyous at having discovered what she so much longed to know, but at the same time dismayed at the thoughts of descending into the entrails of the carth and the abyss of water, she did not feel sufficient courage to go forward to the end, but allowed Zdenko to descend as he had mounted, resume his lantern and disappear.

"With outstreched neck and palpitating heart, Consuolo had his name ten times upon her lips to recall him. She was about to decide by heroic effort, when sho suddenly reflected that such a surprise might make the unfortunate man stagger upon the difficult and dangerous stair case, and perhaps lose his footing. She refrained therefore, promising herself that she would be more courageous on the next day at the right

"She waited some time longer to see the water again ascend, and this time the phenomenon took place much more speedily. Hardly fifteen minutes had clapsed from her losing the sound of Zdenko's voice and the light of his lantern, before a dull noise like the distant, rumbling of thunder was heard, and the water, rushing with violence, ascended, whirling and dashing against the walls of its prison like a seething caldron.'

Consuelo resolves at the very next opportunity to descend the cistern. The next day she proceeds in the direction of the Schreckenstein in the hope of falling in with Zdenko, . She meets, him, and at first he is gentle in his manner and answers; but presently, suspecting that she has discovered the secret of Albert's retreat, he threatens to kill her. 'You do not know how to sing,' said

Zdenko.

"'Yes, I do knew,' said Consuelo; 'listen.'
And she sang the first phrase of his song of the three mountains, which she had fixed in her memory, with the words which Amelia had assisted her to recollect and pronounce. Zdenko heard her with transports of delight, and said with a deep sigh, 'I love you dearly, my sister -much, very much! Shall I teach you another song ?

"'Yes, that of Count Albert, but first in German; afterwards you shall teach me in Bohe-

"'How does it begin? said Zdenko, looking at her roguishly.

Consuelo began the air of the song she had heard the day before: "There is down there, down there, a soul in labour and in pain."

"O, that was yosterday's; I do not recollect

it to-day,' said Zdenko, interrupting her.
"'Well, tell me to-day's."

"'The first words? you must tell me the first "The first words? Here they are listen:

Count Albert is down yonder, down yonder in the grotto of Schrockenstein-

"Hardly had she pronounced these words when Zdenko suddenly changed his countenance and attitude; and his eyes flashed with indignation. He made three steps backward, raised his hands as if to curse Consuelo, and began to talk Bohemian to her with all the energy of anger and menace. Frightened at first, but re-assured on seeing that he retired from her, Consuelo wished to recall him, and made a movement as if to-follow him. He turned infuriated, and seizing an enormous stone, which he seemed to raise without difficulty in his weak and fleshics arms: Zdenko has never done any harm to any one, cried he in Gorman: 'Zdenko would not break the wing of a poor fly, and if a little child wished to kill him, he would allow himself to be killed by a little child. But if you look at mc again, if you say another word to mc, daughter of evil !liar !- Austrian! Zdenko will crush you like an carthworm, if he should afterwards be obliged to throw himself into the torrent to cleance his body and his soul from the human blood which he had shed!"

Consuclo, terrified, took to flight,

(To be continued.)

Labour Record Co-operative Chronicle.

Mes Secretaries, or other active members of Tradee Unions, Labour Associations, Co-operative Societies, &c., wi loblineby forwarding intelligence of "Strikes," the formation and proceedings of their Unions, &c., &c., to the Editor of "The Friend of the People."

TRADES' UNIONS.

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF TRADES, FOR THE INDUSTRIAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION OF LABOUR—This Association, better known through its "Addresses," &c., by the title of "Metropolitan Trades' Delegates," was founded in the year 1848. Its declared principles place it far in advance of all similar bodies. We quote from the "Rules, &c.," the following:—
"Preamble.—That, for the amelioration of the social and political condition of the Working Classes in Great Britain and Ireland, it is deemed necessary to establish a Trades' Association, for the accomplishment of the above object. But in forming this Association, the Trades deem it necessary to declare, that they have no desire whatever to obtain their industrial, social, and political rights by any other than purely legal and constitutional means: such as trade and public meetings, lectures, discussious, distribution of tracts, and all other legal agencies that can be made available, and directed by the genius of mind, which are calculated to emancipate themselves, civilize the world, and strengthen the ties that should bind all classes to the general well-being of their country. This preamble is, therefore, set forth with a view to produce a perfect understanding as to the purpose and proceedings of this Association, and to demonstrate that by legal means only will its members perseveringly struggle to attain the legitimate and constitutional ends hereinafter propounded.

Fundamental Principles.—The united endeavours of the members of this Association shall be directed to obtaining parliamentary sanction to the undermentioned principles,

members of this Association shall be directed to obtaining parliamentary sanction to the undermentioned principles, they being considered as its basis, and as a guide to all its proceedings.

1. That the land being the gift of the Almighty to the

1. That the land being the gift of the Almighty to the people universally, ought to be held in sacred trust hy the State for their benefit, and not to he exclusively possessed by a fractional part of the community.

[But the members of this Association, in declaring that the land ought to he held in trust for the people, do not desire that those who now hold it should be dispossessed of that which the custom of centuries has led them to regard as their own, without being fully compensated. Anything approximating to spoliation they entirely repudiate. What is meant hy the declaration is simply this: That as the State may be regarded as the representative power of what is meant by the declaration is simply this: That as the State inay be regarded as the representative power of the people, the land should be placed under its guardianship—not to be sold, but let at such a standard of rental as may be required for revenue purposes, and the general exigencies of the State. This principle is no new feature in our constitution. Parliament has repeatedly established the right of State interference with private landowners, by making such portions of their estates saleable as are required by railway or other companies; witness the late act relating to the Encumbered Estates (Ireland) Bill. Therefore the members of this Association further declare, that what they require is an extension of that principle, with full compensation to the present holders.]

2. That the elective franchise should be extended to

every man twenty-one years of age, of sound mind and un-contaminated by crime.

3. That education should be secured by the Govern-

on the people; and that such education, on the part of the State, should be of a strictly scientific and secular character, without in any way intering with the right of parents to give religious instruction to their children as

parents to give religious Instruction to their children as as they may think fit.

4. That those laws which restrict the expansion of the circulating medium should be repealed, and a representative currency forthwith issued by the Government, equal to the amount of wealth offered in exchange.

5. That as Great Britain and Ireland contain a superabundance of land, skill, and capital, to profitably employ and comfortably support more than double the present population, the Government should introduce a bill establishing self-supporting home colonies, to give immediate employment to the numerons but compulsory unemployed of our population.

employment to the numerons but compulsory unemployed of our population.

6. That the application of machinery should be made available to the interest of the whole community, and that foreign manufacturers, as also goods made in prisons and workhouses, ought not to be introduced into the home market, except upon such conditions as will secure our tradesmen and artizans from the ruinous consequences of unequal competition.

unequal competition.

nnequal competition.
7. That for the just protection of labour, local boards of trade should be established, composed of an equal number of masters and men, under the superintendence of a Minister of Labour, whose office would be to give an impetus to the industrial operations of the nation, and act as an impartial arbitrator between employers and employed.

8. That taxation should be equalized, by substituting for all other taxes a graduated property tax.

We have not room to reprint the rules as to the admission of members, management, funds, &c., &c. The necessary information may be obtained from the Secretary, Mr. A. E. Delaforce, IO, North Square, Portman Place, Globe Road, Mile End, East London.

STRIKES.

THE SEAMEN OF THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.—The seamen of Sunderland and Shields are on strike. They demand a standing wage of £4 10s., a London Coal Trade Voyage, during the winter months; £3 10s. during the summer; and £3 0s., a month and small stores foreign. It is expected that the strike will extend to Newcastle, Hartle-

pool, Seaham, Stockton, and other ports on the coasts.

Friends in the North will oblige by forwarding further intelligence, printed documents issued by the Seamen, &c.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

LADIES' SHOEMAKERS.—The Christiau Socialist reports that this Association (No. 11B, Tottenham Court Road,) is surmounting the difficulties it was forced to encounter

at the outset, and is now likely to do well.

Working Masons.—A number of these operatives at
Bishop Wearmouth have commenced a subscription
amongst themselves to establish a Working Builders' As-

Mr. Walter Cooper.—We are glad to learn through the columns of our above-named contemporary, that Mr. W. Cooper has been lecturing with great success at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and others parts of the North of England.

FRANCE.

Association Fraternelle et Solidaire des Ouvrieres en Casquettes.—This is an association of women for making men's caps: their establishment is in the lower part of the Ruc St. Denis, No. I62, in a little room about 15 ft., by 10ft., on the first floor, which you reach by ascending one of those customary dark, narrow, staircases. On entering, by a low door-way, we observe in the middle of the room a deal table on trestles, with two or three caps, and the materials for making others, lying upon it.—At this table was seated a pale, sickly looking young woman, at work on a cloth cap: I perceived against one of the walls a number of shelves, containing caps of every variety of form and material. Having selected one for my own use, I asked how it was she was alone in the establishment, and was informed that about a week pre-Association Fraternelle et Solidaire des Ouvrieres establishment, and was informed that about a week previously the gerante and another member had gone to a meeting of representatives from other associations, for the purpose of conversing on their own affairs, and arranging for a grand association of all trades. Scarcely had the purpose of conversing on their own analys, and arrang-ing for a grand association of all trades. Scarcely had they assembled when the police pounced upon them, sent them off to prison, to the number of 26, seizing upon their papers, and the next day there appeared in the re-actionary journals a long paragraph about the discovery actionary journals a long paragraph about the discovery of a secret society, in connection with certain associations and seizure of numerous papers, though what the objects of the secret society, or what the papers were, the paragraph did not state, leaving it to be inferred by the casual reader that they were of a political and revolutionary character, than which nothing could be more untrue. Such are the means employed by this Government of hatred to prevent the working classes from raising themselves.—The effects of such a proceeding may easily be conceived: the members hurried off to prison, the atelier closed, and the papers and hooks sealed up by the police; so that in a fortuight all business is gone and the association ruined. In the present instance, the effect police; so that in a fortuight all business is gone and the association ruined. In the present instance, the effect was to terrify the remainder of the cap-makers, and to prevent their coming to the ateliers; so that each worked at her own house, while one only remained on the premises. The number of members, including the two in prison, was seven, who formed themselves into a society in the heginning of 1849, and have had to struggle through the usual difficulties. They have been able, however, to maintain themselves independent, and free from the dangers and temptations that heset young women in large maintain themselves independent, and free from the dangers and temptations that heset young women in large towns: and, though not a flourishing society, they are a remarkable instance of what may he done on the associative principle, when aided by determination, fortitude. and steady industry, even by poor, defenceless women. My friend and I purchased our caps, and took our leave with mingled feelings of indignation and respect. So much were our caps indmired on our return to England, that we might have sold a considerable number if we had brought them. The persons who were arrested were subsequently set at liberty, some paying 200 francs, but others objected to the sum, bargained with the authorities, and were let out for 100f., or even 50f., as they afterwind discovered on comparing notes! Can a people respect a Government that stoops to such low, Jew-practices From the Leader.

THE PAINE FARM ASSOCIATION.—The piece of land granted to Thomas Paine in the State of New York, in consideration of his valuable services in the war of Inde pendence, situated in New Rochelle, Westchester County, about 20 miles from New York City, is now in the pessession of a company of Free Thinkers who propose to turn the farm to various useful and praiseworthy purposes; amongst others, to found thereon a School of Industryl and college of Arts, Sciences, and Professions;—A Rura; Retreat and Home for such as the Association may designate—A Cemetery for such as may choose to be buried, or to Retreat and Home for such as the Association may designate—A Cemetery for such as may choose to be buried, or to see others buried in ground consecrated by the former residence and burial of Thomas Paine. A subscriber of twenty-five dollars becomes a proprietor for life, on his declaration of the right of private judgment and freedom of speech on all subjects, and on his expressing a wish to infuse this spirit of liberty and inquiry into all the objects of the Association; he is entitled also to sepulchral rites for himself, his wife, and family, direct or unmarried, and a voice in election to the Industrial School, Houne, &c. A library is being formed for the use of the Institute, visitors, neighbours, &c. Further information may be obtained from the Society's Agent, Mr. G. Vale, 3, Franklin Square, New York. Square, New York.

Poetry for the People.

THE FLY AND THE BULLOCK.

(Reprinted from Moore's Fables for the Holy Alliance, and commended to the consideration of the victimised People of Hesse-Cassel, Schleswig-Holstein, and Germany in general.)

Or all that, to the sage's survey,
This world presents of topsy-turvey,
There's nought so much disturbs his patience,
As little minds in lofty stations.
"Its like that sort of painful wonder,
Which slight and pigmy columns, under
Enormous arches, give beholders—
Or those poor Capacides.

Or those poor Caryatides, Condemn'd to smile and stand at ease, With a whole house upon their shoulders. f, as in some few royal cases,

Small minds are born into such places-If they are there, by Right Divine,
Or any such sufficient reason,
Why—Heaven forbid we should repine!— To wish it otherwise were treason; Nay, ev'n to see it in a vision, Would be what lawyers call misprison.

"Sir Robeat Filmes says—and he,
Of course, knew all about the matter—
"Both men and beasts love Monarchy;"
Which proves how rational—the latter.
Sidney, indeed, we know, had quite
A different notion from the Knight.
Now, hints a King may less his beed.

Nay, hints a King may lose his head,
By slipping awkwardly his bridle—
But this is Jacohin, ill-bred,
And (now-a-days, when Kings are led
In patent snaffles) downright idle.

No, no-it isn't foolish Kings, Those fix'd, inevitable things

Those fix'd, inevitable things—
Bores paramount. by right of birth),
That move my wrath, but your pretenders,
Your mushroom rulers, sons of earth,
Who, not like t'others, croun'd offenders,
(Regular, gratia Dei blockheads,
Born with three kingdoms in their pockets),
Nor leaving, on the scale of mind,
These Royal Zeros far behind,
Yet, with a brass that nothing stops,
Push up into the loftiest stations,
And, though too dull to manage shops,
I'resume, the dolts, to manage nations!

I'resume, the dolts, to manage nations!

This class it is, that moves my gall, And stirs up spleen, and bile, and all. While other senseless things appear To know the limits of their sphere— While not a cow on earth romances
So much as to conceit she dances—
While the most jumping frog we know of,
Would scarce at Astley's hope to show off—

Your ——s, your ——s dare, 2 Pigmy as are their minds, to set them To any business, any where, At any time that fools will let them.

But leave we here these upstart things-My business is, just now, with Kings; To whom, and to their right-line glory, I dedicate the following story.

FABLE.

The wise men of Egypt were secret as dummies And, ev'n when they most condescended to teach, They pack'd up their meaning, as they did their mun-

In so many wrappers, 'twas out of one's reach.

They were also, good people, much given to Kings-Fond of monarchs and crocodiles, monkeys and mys

tery,
Bats, hierophants, blue-bottle flies, and such things.
As will partly appear in this very short history. To that other great traveller, young Anacharsis)
Stept into a temple at Memphis one day,
To have a short peep at their mystical farces.

He saw a brisk blue-bottle Fly on an altar,

Made much of, and worshipp'd, as something divine; While a large, handsome Bullock, led there in a halter, Before it lay stabb'd at the foot of the shrinc.

Surpris'd at such doings, he whisper'd his teacher—
"If'tisn't impertinent, may I ask why
Should a Bullock, that useful and powerful creature,
Be thus offer'd up to a blue bottle Fly?"

"No wonder"—said t'other—"you stare at the sight,
But we as a Symbol of Monorchy view it—
That Fly on the shrine is Legitimate Right,
And that Bullock the People, that's sacrificed to it."

* The reader, if he pleases, may read this line as fol-Your Greys, Woods, Russells, Lansdownes, dare.

London: Printed by the proprietor, GEORGE JULIAN HARNEY, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square Bloomsbury, in the county of Middlesex; and Published by S. Y. Collins, 113, Fleet-street, in the City of London.

THE PROPER RRIEND

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 9.7

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."— MILTON.

JUSTICE FOR CEYLON.

HAVING shown the brutal atrocities perpetrated by "the British Haynau," "Lord" TORRINGTON, upon the unfortunate people of Ceylon, I have now to call attention to the conduct of the British government in relation to events so damaging to the character and injurious to the name of Great Britain.

The intelligence of "Viscount" Tor-RINGTON'S doings was received with mingled feelings of disgust and indignation by all persons in this country not absolutely hound up with the Whig Ministry. Several members of Parliament addressed searching questions to the Government, and the newspaper press generally denounced the sanguinary exploits of the Premier's "first cousin." These indications of British dissatisfaction alarmed "his Excellency," and induced him to "force through his Council a bill of indemnity "for all bona fide acts done by the constituted authorities of Ceylon during the existence of martial law.' He admitted in the speech in which he introduced the bill, that much property 'belonging to persons innocent, or in no way impli-cated, had been seized and sold, 'as it was utterly impossible at the time' to he always certain who were 'the exact parties implicated or not.' [The executions had heen carried on with the same disregard as to who were the 'exact parties.'] The bill contained a clause, which even in his own council he only succeeded in carrying by his own casting vote, to the effect that the Governor, himself, and Colonel Drought (the commandant of Kandy, who had instructed his suhordinates to punish all rebels with instant death,) were to be the sole parties who were to decide what acts were to be considered bona fide acts.'" "He also forwarded to the Colonial Office scores of complimentary addresses from himself to Lieut. Colonel DROUGHT and his co-adjutors, and from Lieu.-Colonel DROUGHT and his co-adjutors to himself con-

terms, on their firm yet temperate and humane conduct during the 'rehelfion,' and expressing their conviction that nothing hut their own 'vigour and promptitude' had 'saved' Ceylon." Sham "Native Addresses" of the same stamp were also manufactured. How this kind of article was got up may be inferred from the minutes of a "public meeting" recorded in the official documents.
The said "meeting," held at the Kandy
Lihrary, and which passed unanimously a string of resolutions applauding the conduct of the Governor, consisted of twenty-eight persons, all of them connected with the Government House!!

"Order" once more reigning in Ceylon, his lordship" acquainted the Council that he had made up his mind to ahandon the most important of the taxes-to maintain which he had perpetrated so many atrocities. He gave up the dog-tax and shop-tax entirely; he abandoned the yearly tax on guns for a single registration, and announced an important departure from the original principle of the road or poll-tax. A month subsequently there arrived a despatch from "Earl" GREY complimenting "his lordship" in the name of the Queen, upon the success of his fiscal system; and proving, hy elaborate argument, that the dog, gun, shop, and road-taxes were peculiarly suited to the habits and circumstances of the people of Ceylon! Unluckily "those skilfully-devised taxes were already declared defunct by the act of their own unnatural parent !"

At the meeting of Parliament exactly two years ago—Fehruary, 1849—"Petitions from aggrieved parties in Ceylon were presented in hoth Housez, and Mr. Baillie, M.P. for Inverness-shire, moved for a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of the At first, Ministers expressed Governor." their determined opposition to the motion, hut finding themselves likely to be beaten, they at length gave way. Their impudent satellite, Hawes, under-Colonial Secretary, repeated the approval already expressed by "Earl" GREY, of the cruel and criminal acts of "Lord" TORRINGTON. The Committee sat throughout the Session, and then

gratulating each other, in most enthusiastic hroke np without coming to any Report, in consequence of the conflicting and imperfect nature of the evidence submitted to them. They, however, recommended that a Royal Commission should forthwith proceed to Ceylon, to inquire into the facts of the case. This recommendation was violently opposed hy the Ministry, and rejected by a partisan majority; hut the Premier promised "that the Committee should he re-appointed as soon as Parliament assembled in 1850, and in the mean time any witnesses whose attendance they desired should be summoned home." This pledge was repeated to the Committee by Messrs. HAWES and WILSON on the part of the Government; nevertheless, when Mr. BAILLIE, chairman of the Committee, acting upon the instructions of that body, applied to the Colonial Office to summon from Ceylon four persons whose testimony was considered requisite, "Earl" GREY, "regardless of the pledges which his col-leagues had given in his name, flatly refused to do so, alleging that he did not feel authorized to subject the country to such a heavy expense."

When the session of 1850 opened, Mr. BAILLIE exposed the disgraceful conduct of the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. D'ISRAELI proposed a vote of censure upon the whole government as participators in the base attempt of Earl GREY to screen himself and Lord Torrington. . The motion was negatived hy 140 to 68. Mr. BRIGHT then moved that the witnesses refused by Earl GREY be sent for by the next day's mail. This motion was negatived by only 109 to 100, and the Midisters finding themselves thus all but defeated, sent for the witnesses.

In the meantime "Sir" EMERSON TENNENT. the Colonial Secretary of Ceylon, had arrived in England, and was ready to tender evidence in favour of his chief. In the list of the expenses "Sir" E. T. figures as the recipient for the largest sum, no less than 1703l. 13s 1d. There does not appear to have been one word of remonstrance from "Earl" GREY on account of the "heavy expense," although, accordingtoMr. Mendacious HAWES, "Sir" E. T. had not been summoned to the assistance of the chief Colonial Secretary, but happened to be

in England "promiscuously" as it were, on his own private affairs. Why, then was he paid upwards of Seventeen Hundred Pounds

for his expenses?

I have not space to follow the Quarterly Reviewer throughout his examination of the labours of the Committee, suffice it to say, that the charges of misgovernment, oppression, and sanguinary cruelty, brought against "Lord" Torrington, were amply borne out by the evidence of the four witnesses sent for by the Committee :- the Chief Justice and the Queen's Advocate of the Colony, Lieutenant Colonel BRAYBROOKE, of the Ceylon Rifles, and Licutenant HENDERSON, and confirmed by the admissions (under cross-examination) of "Sir" E. TENNENT, and others of the Government staff. Seeing the case for the defence had utterly broken down, and that the awful charges preferred against "Lord" TORRINGTON were fully substantiated, the Ministers directed all their energies to stifle and prevent the exposure involved in the evidence. After a severe struggle, a report was agreed to by the Committee, calling the serious attention of the Government to the evidence, and recommending that a Royal Commission should be instantly sent out. unless some step should forthwith be taken by the Government, which might obviate the necessity of further investigation.' This it will be observed, was a compromise acceded to on the understanding that "Lord" TORRINGTON would be immediately recalled. A few days afterwards it was announced that "his Lordship had resigned."

"Viscount" TORRINGTON has returned to England. If Justice reigned he would, ere this, have been placed on his trial, to answer for the High Crimes and Misdemeanours preferred against him. The Quarterly observes that "The matter cannot rest where it is. It must be revived when Parliament meets." The Legislature is now in session, and it is to be hoped Mr. Baillie will again put his hand to the good work of vindicating the rights and claims of a much wronged people. It is to be hoped too that Public Opinion will manifest itself on the side of Justice, and that the Voice of the People will demand the Impeachment of Viscount

TORRINGTON and EARL GREY.

'They who permit Oppression share the orime." And independent of the claims of Justico, it behoves the British people to show that. while giving free vent to their horror and indignation at the cruelties and atrocities of a HAYNAU, they have no inclination to shield a similar savage, because he happens to be their own countryman. All things considered, it would be more possible to find excuses for the brutality of HAYNAU, than for that of Torrington. The Austrian miscreant had to struggle against a People who all but succeeded in overthrowing the Austrian Empire; thousands upon thousands of Austrian troops were slain by their Hungarian foes; and the generals he put to death included some of the ablest, and most daring, and, therefore, most to be dreaded, enemies of Austria. On the other hand, Torrington had merely to put down a riot, which he had deliberately provoked; not a single defender of the British Government lost his life; and the poor creatures who were so barbarously MURDERED, in virtue of court-martial condemnations—to say nothing of the numbers

massacred by the soldiery—were utterly powerless for mischief, and had they been set at liberty without any punishment, could have been no cause of apprehension for "the safety of society," or "the sovereignty of the British Government." From first to last the acts of the ex-Governor of Ceylon were dictated by a wanton love of cruelty and oppression, and a pitiless disregard for the lives and liberties of the people cursed by his rule.

The conduct of this Torrington, and of those who appointed him to govern Ceylon, and who have exhibited every species of trickery to shield him from censure and punishment, affords a new illustration of the irredecmable rascality of the present system. Never will the colonies and dependencies of this empire enjoy the blessings of Freedom and good government until the people of Great Britain and Ireland are fully represented in the Legislature. With UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, the Greys and Russells would be sent to the right-about, and such brainless, heartless, court-flunkies as Torrington would have no chance of playing their "fantastic tricks" at the expense of the welfare, and the blood of suffering millions.

Therefore the great duty of the People is to seek and win their own enfranchisement by the establishment of the principles of the CHARTER.

While seeking their rights, the people may also denounce the wrongs suffered by themselves and their brethren. To my countrymen I say, lift up your voices in the name, and on behalf of your brethren of Ceylon, and DEMAND THAT "THE BRITISH HAYNAU,"THE CRUEL AND SANGUINARY TYRANT, TORRINGTON, BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE FORTHCOMING CONVENTION.

My Friends—You have elected an Executive committee to conduct your affairs, and they have summoned a Convention of 49 delegates to meet in London on the 3rd of March. Judging from outward appearances, it is not improbable that that body will adjourn its sittings until the month of May. Great good is expected from the proposed Convention by the democratic public; the people, little thinking that it is impossible for the said body to meet unless funds are provided to bring the delegates together, to pay for meeting and lecture-halls, &c., &c. I ask you, brother Chartists, how is it to be done unless you furnish the sinews of war?

My friends, you are placing your Executive in a false position. You have appointed them managers without giving thom anything to manage! Too often it bas been said by you that the failure of Chartism was caused by the leaders-in truth, the failure has been caused by your own want of earnestness. You never before had so good an Executive, all but one being Chartists-and something more—the majority being the very flower of English Republicanism. "Pure and simple" patriots may mouth about "the stigma of red-ism," but, my friends, the only stigma that I am aware of is our "pure and simple" revilers themselves—for they constitute "a stigma." They create "antagonism" just as the shepherd might put the wolf amongst the sheep, and then try out that the victims were being devoured.

Chartists!—men of England, Ifeland, and Scotland, you ought to know by this time who are really your friends. Consider that your most eloquent advocate, E. Jones, has not been the only one attacked by Conference-mongers, leaguers, and the

Star Chamber—they are one and the same party. Therefore, testify your admiration of your true friends, and your disgust for the traitors. The best way for you to show your respect and regard for your true friends is to prove your respect and regard for the People's Charter. To make the forthcoming Convention an effective representation of British democracy will require above one thousand pounds. My friends, do not pass this matter over. It is comparatively a small sum, considering the immense mass of Chartists there are in the three kingdoms. Why, one shilling from 20,000 of you would do it. You must not say you cannot afford it, facts testify very different.

Will you let the Charter fall for want of a few paltry pence? Surely not. He that cannot give a shilling can give a penny. But I am certain 20,000 of you can afford to give a shilling if you

please.

Let it not be said that 20,000 Chartists could not muster a paltry thousand pounds in four months. Do not let one draw back, because one shilling is not £1000. Recollect the pyramids would never have been built if each Egyptian had thus thought and acted. E.A.J.

THE DISCERNMENT OF A MANCHESTER SCHOOL PHILOSOPHER.

BY J. C. ECCABIUS.

A PRIZE-ESSAY entitled "The Working-classes of Great Britain: their Present Condition, and the means of their Improvement and Elevation: By the Rev. Samuel G. Green, A.B.," has within the last few weeks fallen into my hands.

As this Essay has been selected from among forty-eight that competed for the £50 offered by Mr. John Cassell for the best; we must consider it one of the best productions that the literary workmen of the Manchester school could pro-

duce.

With regard to the present social condition of the working-classes, I have no objection to the author's statements; but in his comments and suggestions he is utterly mistaken. In the first chapter, after alluding to the newness (?) and importance of the question-he says, "It calls the divine from his theological studies, the philosopher from his metaphysical speculations, the politician from his party warfare." No such thing. The interest of the warfare." No such thing. The interest of the ruling class calls the divine, the bourgeois philosopher, and the politician to the battle-field of party warfare; for the position of the working-class is alike dangerons to all the men of property: therefore they and their hirclings link together to fight the common foe. In the second chapter, our reverend author begins thus: "That there must be a working-class in distinction from the class of employers and capitalists, I assume as an established fact." This is a very comfortable way of reasoning, and coming from a divine quarter, is at once a canonization of the tyrannical and oppressive rule of capital, and the sanctioning of a system under which one man is used up for the aggrandiseof another. According to Mr. Green's notion, the antagonism between employer and employed is imaginary; their interest, he says, is identical, and if but both properly understood their relation, both would meet on equal terms as mutually helpful brethren. But the meeting is not so bad as the parting. For instance, if a capitalist employs & hundred men who part on the Saturday night with a hundred pounds as their weekly payment, out of which some hundreds of families have to be supported, and the master realises perhaps two or three hundred pounds for himself for doing nothing, it is impossible for the two parties to go to bed with the same notions of the assistance which they have rendered each other. This is the principal source of that animosity which Mr. Green so much deplores. The command of the master in the workshop does not excite so much hatred as the command which he has over the produce of others after leaving the workshop.

In speaking of the artizans in smaller towns, the author says, "Their employers have no more than

a business connexion with them; and as to the rest, leave them to move in their own circle, to think their own thoughts, and live but for them-selves. And after having detailed how these artizans spend the Sabbath, he says, "God is not in all their thoughts. Religious culture and mental enlightenment are alike far from them. Good morals are in them chiefly the dictate of policy, the result of habit, or the suggestion of taste. Yet they are not without aspiration—albeit, un-knowing what they seek. Listen to their talk in workshops-encourage them to utter their secret thoughts, and a deep dissatisfaction will be found. The masses of work-people congregated in large towns, factories, &c. possess a far more decided character. Their association, and often their employment, creates a large amount of intellectual energy." After some further allusions to the existing state of things, he comes to the following conclusion: "Its inevitable consequence is, that the working-class forms a distinct community, with principles, morals, practices of its own. It is 'a nation in a nation.' The men meet their masters in the field of their daily work, as one empire might trade with another—for profit merely, and often with really less fellowship of feeling than unites two lands between which an ocean rolls. In their manner there is an abruptness which, to a stranger, seems native barbarism, but which is, in fact, the suspicious assertion of a disputed right. They cherish their very dialect, although in education far beyond many of politer speech, as its use seems to assert their independence. Their political and religious opinions are the natural result of their habits and their spirit. Chartism and freethinking widely prevail; and any doctrine which but expresses, in some striking form, the spirit of hostility to things as they are, is sure of glad

Our profound philosopher has sagacity enough to discern these facts, but he does not possess sufficient judgment to discern their meaning. Instead of discovering in all this a powerful rising element which only wants cultivation, development, and organisation, to change the face of the whole civilized world; instead of taking it for what it really is, the embryo of an entire new state of society, he looks upon it as the excrescence of reason and mo-

dern philosophy.

Further on he observes-" Ten years ago, thousands of them fancied they had discovered their ideal in the theories of Socialism. They have since been awakened, and, lo! it is a dream. But they are waiting yet. Yes, they are indeed waiting; but for what? Why for a chance to make themselves masters of the land. They have awakened and found out that it is impossible to work out their own emancipation as long as the rich are the rulers of the empire. What our rewerend essayist takes for socialism, is only that sentimental sectarian character of socialism which some years ago appealed to the money grubbers to surrender their riches for the sake of humanity and brotherhood. This has proved a dream, but it has been replaced by a revolutionary spirit which will conquer the material necessary for the solution of the problem by legislative decrees and enactments. This, of course, requires the political dominion of the working class.

(To be concluded in No. 10)

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS.

"Who first taught souls enslaved, and realms und one, The enormous faith of many made for one? "Twas superstition lent the tyrant aid, And gods of conquerors, slaves of subjects made. Zeal, not then Charity, became their guide; Their hell was built on spite, their heaven on pride. See, from the opening earth, and bursting skies, Fieree Gods descend, and fiends infernal rise! Here fix'd the dreadful, there the blest abodes; Fear made her devils, and weak hope her gods,—Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust, Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or lust,—Such as the souls of cowards might conceive, And formed like tyrants, tyrants would believe."

ENORMOUS WEALTH OF THE BRANMINS — THE ATROCIOUS SYSTEM OF "CASTES."

In No. 7, we gave a brief account of the Brahminical superstition. The vast hordes of plunder gathered by the priests of this enormous delnsion, must now be briefly noticed. "Their pagodas," says Howitt, "were crowned with golden and silver statues; they thought any inferior metal must degrade the divinity. The altars were of gold; the incense flamed in censors of gold, and golden chalices bore their sacred oil, honey, and wine. The Temple of Aurana had its lofty walls of porphyry internally covered with broad plates of gold, sculptured in rays that, diverging every way, dazzled the beholder; while the radiant image of the deity burned in gems of infinite variety and unequalled beauty. The floor of the great temple of Naugracut, was covered with plates of gold; and thus the Hindoo in his devotions trampled upon the god of half mankind."

These enormous riches became, in the first instance the prey of the Mohammedans—the Arabs and Tartars. At one fell swoop the Sultan of Gazna made himself master of seven millions of coin in gold, besides an enormous quantity of gold in ingots, and a profusion of pearls and precious stones. "At the holy fane of Kreeshna at Mathura this valiant maurauder made seizure of five great idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies of immense value. He found also three hundred idols of silver which, being melted down, loaded as many camels -the usual load of a camel being from seven hundred to one thousand two hundred pounds weight. At the great temple of Sumnaut he found many thousands of gold and silver idols of smaller magnitude; a chain of gold which was suspended from the roof, and weighed forty maunds (sixteen hundred pounds weight!); besides an inestimable hoard of jewels. In the fury of his Mohammedan zeal against idols, he smote off the nose of the great image. A crowd of Brahmins offered the most extravagant sums to ensure the safety of their "god," but the soldiers of the conqueror only proceeded with the greater ardour to demolish it, when, behold! on breaking its body it was found to be hollow, and to contain an infinite variety of diamonds, rubies, and pearls of a water so pure, and a magnitude so uncommon, that the beholders were overwhelmed with astonishment. Such was the wealth gathered by the Tartars in this wonderful country, that Mahmoud of Gazna, made feasts that lasted a month; and the officers of his army rode on saddles of gold, glittering with precious stones. His descendant, Timour, made a feast on a delightful plain, called Canaugha, or the treasury of roses, at which was exhibited such a display of gold and jewels, that, in comparison, the riches of Xerxes and Darius were trifling. The treasures taken by Timour in Delhi, were so enormous that the common soldiers absolutely refused to encumber themselves with more; and an abundant harvest of plunder was left to future invaders."

Let us now glance at the atrooious system of "Castes." The Brahmins wrote a book which they entitled, "The Institutes of Menu, the son of Brahma." According to these "Institutes," Menu created four orders of men; the first, the Brahmins, from his mouth; the second, the Kettri, or rajahs, from his arm; the third, the Bice, or merchants, from his thigh; and the fourth, the Soodra, or labouring tribe, from his foot. An everlast-

ing and impassable barrier was placed between each tribe. These castes were to preserve for ever their respective stations. Those born in one were not only not to pass into another, but every man was bound to follow the profession of his father. The land of India was declared holy, and the Hindoos were forbidden by all the terrors of temporal and eternal penalties to go out of it. The Marajah, or Supreme king, was chosen by the Brahmine from their owa, or from the aristocratic caste; and they appointed themselves his guardiens and perpetual inalienable counsellers. To this most infernal system, man, with all his hopes and desires must succumb, and be eramped into an eternal stapor, that the privileged Brahmin might tax him, terrify him, and live in the boundless enjoyment of his own pride, insolence, and lust."

Amongst the atrocious laws framed to uphold the supremacy of the Brahmins it was provided that, "for insulting a Brahmin, an iron instrument ten fingers long, shall be thrust, red-hot, down the culprit's throat. For offering only to instruct a Brahmin, boiling oil shall shall be dropped in the offender's mouth and ears." Besides these bodily tortures it was declared, that he who assaulted a Brahmin should remain in hell for a hundred years; for striking him with a like intent the unhappy sinner was to undergo that pleasant doom for a thousand years. On the other hand, the Brahmins, whatever their crimes, could suffer no worse punishment than certain marks of degradation,

Still more wretched than the Soodra tribe, a fifth class—the Chandelahs—outcasts from all the rest, are doomed to a life of unceasing misery and degradation. These pariahs consist of "those who have lost caste, and the children of mixed marriages, that abhorrence of the Hindoo code, for if once permitted it would overturn the whole system. It is ordained that the Chandelahs exist remote from their fellow-creatures, amid the dirt and filth of the suburbs. Their sole wealth must consist in dogs and asses; their clothes must be the polluted mantles of the dead; their dishes for food, broken pots, &c., &c. They are the public executioners; and the whole they can be heirs to are the clothes and miserable property of the wretched malefactors. In such abomination are the Chandelahs held on the Malahar side of India, that if any one chance to touch one of a superior tribe, the latter draws his sabre, and cuts down the unhappy wretch upon the spot.

This hellish system has existed for thousands of years; it still exists, but in a shattered and perishing condition. May the end of its accursed reign

come quickly!

"FATHER PROUT" AND THE CARDINAL.—The following letter from "Father Prout" has been called forth by a paragraph in the Freeman, attributing to his pen an article in a London contemporary designating Cardinal Wiseman "Archbishop of the Slums:"-" Father Prout's compliments, &c. He never used the term 'Archbishop of the Slums' in the Globe; that phrase is from another pen, not his. Were he to employ such langunge, the Freeman might then designate him as 'unhappy,' and not only 'shudder' at the words, but also shrug up his shoulders. He deplores, on the contrary, the utter neglect of the slums, and of the poor Irish denizens thereof, by this new archbishop, whose attention is otherwise absorbed by the coraposition of offensive fanfaronades from the 'Flaminian Gate,' pompous 'enthronizations,' foreign diplomatic recognitions, importing bales of silk hose and a stock of red hats, replenishing his wine cellar, and conversaziones. The father is personally cognisant of how matters go in Westminster, having been priest of that district in the cholera year 1832-33. As to the cardinals in general, he has seen enough of them at head quarters to think the discontinuance of that mere worldly dignity a riddance to be devoutly prayed for in Italy; as to its importation into England, he suspects that to be a hlunder, not to say a mischievous bit of imbecility."

A CHALLENGE BY A YORKSHERMAN.—The following conversation recently took place between two countrymen, who had seen the placards displayed on the walls, exhibiting in large characters. Pope's Bull," and who were enjoying themselves over a pipe and glass at the Whito Horse Inn, in Beverley. "Ah say, Dobson, hez thoo heerd aboot Pope's Bull?" "Heigh; what Pope is it? Is it he weah yoosed to sell cheaop koils?" "Neah, neah, its a chap thot lives abrood in forrun paates." Dobson: "Why I don, care weah he is, nor where he cooms fra, ha'll bet a savrun that Robert Danby, o' Rocuth, hez a better bull than iver Mr.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

HONOUR TO GENERAL BEM, THE PATRIOT AND HERO.—We hear with much pleasure that the Hungarian Demowe near with much pleasure that the Hungarian Democrats, united with the French, German, Italian, and Polish sociations, have convened a public meeting in commemoration of the late General Bem, which will be held on Tuesday, February 11th, at 8 o'clock in the evening, at the Literary and Scientific Institution, John-street, Tottenham Court Road. We are informed that the Fraternal Democrats will co-operate in this demonstration, and Democrats will co-operate in this demonstration, and that a number of Hungarian, Polish, French, German, Italian, and English democrats will take part in the pro-

ceedings.

Ernest Jones's Lectures.—We are happy to learn that the orations by Ernest Jones (published by Dipple, Holywell-street,) on "Canterbury versus Rome," are likely to have a vast circulation. Assuredly the success is deserved. The research, power of argument, and soulstirring eloquence displayed in these lectures have been but rarely equalled. We shall try to find room in our next number for extracts from these truly valuable discourses.

The Red Repulican Song Book.—We have before us the first number of a collection of patriotic songy, selected from the best sources by our enthusiastic friend, J. B. Leno, and published hy Mr. Collins, Fleet-street. The contents of this number include the "Marseillaise Hymn," "Mourir pour la Patrie," "A Man's a Man, for a' that," "Lase Oppressors, leave your slumbers," "The Bremier's Song," "The Song of Hatred," &c., &c. No 2 will shortly be published. The specimen under notice is well printed, and the series when complete will form a neat volume of democratic poetry. We heartly recommend the Red Republican Song Book to our readers.

Liverpool.—Mr. Arnott requests us to acknowledge 1s. received by him for the Charter Association from three Socialist-Chartists, Liverpool, who desire this acknowledgment in the Priving of the People.

Oxford-Street.—Want of space compelled abridgment of the article. THE RED REPULICAN SONG BOOK.—We have before us

ALEXANDEA BELL.-Shall be inserted as soon as pos-

HUNGARIAN REFUGEES.

TO G. JULIAN HARNEY.

SIR,-Will you be kind enough to insert the annexed balance sheet of the Bradford Hungarian Committee's Subscription-list, in your valuable paper, and you will greatly oblige.-Yours, on behalf of the Committee.

JONATHAN HARTLEY.

January 27, 1851.

Balance sheet of the Bradford Committee for the Hungarian Refugees. January 21st, 1850.

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MORAL AND PHYSICAL FORCE.—The ancients made no distinction, as is now done by one of the sillinesses of the day, between moral and physical force, as powers adverse to each other; but looked upon them as one, and as such exhibited in the great forces of nature .- George Dawson,

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1851.

A POLITICAL ABORTION.

So after all the painful and laborious throes of the "Manchester Council," and notwith-standing the most faithful and fussy nursing on the part of the Northern Star, the "Conference," brought forth with so much trouble, has proved to be something less than the mouse in the fable; a ridiculous abortion calculated to sink its authors and abettors to the lowest depths of contempt.

Let us remind our readers of the history of this collapsed bubble; not a bubble of Hudsonian dimensions, but such as a school-boy might produce with the remnant of a tobaccopipe and a saucer-full of soap-suds.

In the month of August last, there assembled at the John-street Institution, a number of men known more or less to the democratic public as advocates of political and social progress. They had, for the most part, been deputed by political and other bodies, including the Chartist Executive Committee, the Fraternal Democrats, the National Reform League, and Social Reform League; and subsequently, the Metropolitan Trades' Delegates. They assembled to take counsel together as to the practicability of uniting the scattered popular forces in one phalanx. They met to see if, "sinking minor differences," the several bodies could agree to combine to forward with their consolidated strength, the great work of democratic and social reform.

Who but enemies, traitors to the people, will assert that the object of the "Democratic Conference" was not noble and praiseworthy?

It was anticipated that the first step in the path pointed out to the Conference would be beset by difficulties; and it was so. Nevertheless, if the Conference had had fair play, those difficulties would have been surmounted. Had the gentlemen who, when it suits their purpose, are never weary of singing and saying, "Unite, unite, ye Chartists brave!"—"United we stand, divided we fall!" &c., &c., shown anything like that desire for union which a literal reading of their stock discourses might lead the unthinking to believe was really meant, the union might have been effected. But of these union-preachers some held aloof, others openly denounced, and others—equally hostile but more crafty-intrigued againt the Conference, and did their best to reanimate worn-out hatreds, and envenom prejudices which, although in course of decline, still existed in spite of the progress of good sense and fraternal principle.

It was pretended that the Chartist Executive were betraying the Chartist party into the hands of the Socialists; that some direful plot existed to destroy or weaken the Charter; that a few men in London intended to "dictate" to the country; together with other falsehoods too numerous to be re-The slanderers knew that they lied; but, then, lying is the natural weapon of unscrupulous calumniators.

By the side of the above-named falsehoods appeared pitiful appeals to the Chartists to

stand by the Charter "pure and simple;" and valorous resolutions to defend that which nobody threatened, that which the proprietor of the Northern Star used to term "the animal;" a vulgarism which, we presume, will not be repeated in that reformed paper. Of course "the snout, tail, bristles, and all" will henceforth be banished from that model

"family journal."

Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR had been invited to take part in the "Democratic Conference." More than any other man he had the power to promote the desired union, and more than any other man ho was bound to give the question a fair consideration, seeing that it had been his constant practice to deplore "division" and expatiate on the necessity for popular organization. Apparently Mr. O'Connor took a widely different view of his duty, and for some reason or other did not respond to the invitation, more than once addressed to him. What his reason was can only be guessed at, inasmuch as he sent no reply to the invitations-a want of courtesy, not usual with members of Parliament who ordinarily are ready enough at giving reasons-good or bad-for their non-attendance at popular meetings.

It was soon seen, however, that the honourable member for Nottingham was not averse to a "Conference," provided it was after his own fancy. He proposed to convene a Conference to meet at Manchester on

the 1st of January, 1851.

With much pretended indignation it has been asked "had not Mr. O'CONNOR a right to suggest the calling of a Conference?" Undoubtedly. It is not merely a man's right, it is his duty, to suggest that which he may believe to be calculated to advance the general welfare. But a sincere regard for the welfare of Chartism, unalloyed by personal considerations, would have dictated that the suggestion to convene a Conference should have been made to the Executive-the directing head of the Chartist party; and that before proposing any provincial town as the seat of the suggested Conference, serious consultation should have been held between Mr. O'CONNOR and others qualified to judge as to the soundness of the reasons, if any, that could be advanced for provincialising the movement by convening the Conference to assemble away from the capital. The course taken by Mr. O'CONNOR at once gave birth to the suspicion that a ratriotic regard for the interests of Chartism was not the only motive that dictated the proposition for holding a Conference at Manchester.

Events soon shewed that this suspicion was well-founded. A gang of traffickers who, having used up the Land Company, next tried to make sale of the Chartist movement to the Financial Reformers, and who, for their reward, had been driven with scorn and degrading ignominy from the Chartist ranks, were the first to hail with delight the suggested Conference. These intriguers, subsidized by the Financials, had opened shop on their own account. rupt in every sense of the word, these fellows hoped to revive their fallen fortunes by coming out in the character of "pure (!) and simple (!) Chartists;" and fiercely they de-nounced the very idea of mixing up any "ism," or associating any question with the Charter. This, too, notwithstanding the vivid recollection of every one connected with the democratic movement, that these "pure and simple" patriots had made their living during many years by making Chartism subsidiary to the Land Scheme; and when that became no longer profitable by attempting to play the same game in reto Financial Reform.

utter baseness ever characteristic of such creatures, they tried to revive the dying embers of prejudice and religious intolerance, by affecting a horror of "Socialists, and Atheists," and a holy revorence for "the religion of the country." And this kind of thing, this appeal to ignorance and vilest prejudice appeared in the Northern Star, without note or comment from its conductor—the ex-editor of the New Moral World!

It was now evident that the "Manchester Conference" was designed not to promoto but to prevent union; to check the growth of fraternal feeling amongst Democratic and Social Reformers; to restore the leadership of baso traffickers, and make of Chartism a thing for sale and barter in return for middle-

class patronage.

The proposition for holding a Conference at Manchester was, in the first place, favorably received by a few localities; but by a greater number was repudiated. The Chartist Executive, the West Riding Delegates, and our friend Ennest Jones, took the same side. Mr. Jones had just concluded his tour through Scotland and the North Ho was best informed as to of England. the state of the several localities, and the information he had gathered induced the decision that the proposed Conference would be premature and mischievous. Immediately a storm of hatred, long pent up, burst forth. Creatures, jealous of tho talents of Ernest Jones, and envious of his popularity, who hitherto had not dared to openly denounce him, but who had been base enough to traverse the country, and secretly pour forth the venom of their slander, even while he was a prisoner, and unable to defend himself, soized upon the opportunity presented by his opposition to tho "Manchester Conference," to give full vent to their long-cherished hatred. At the same time they assailed tho then Executive. To that body, was imputed the disorganized state of the Chartist movement, and all the discredit and weakness into which Chartism had fallen. The fact being that the then Executive had only held office during a few months, and had, during that time, been constantly labouring to revive the spirit stifled by the leadership of their predecessors. During nearly seven years the Chartist movement had been conducted by the very gang who mado it a matter of reproach to their successors that the party had become demoralized and emasculated. True. But why so? Because the Chartists had, during that long term, been misled by theso "pure and simple traffickers."

One special charge brought against the then Executive, and on which was founded the best-looking reason in favour of the "Manchester Conference" was that the former body had been appointed by only a section of the democracy, the metropolitan Chartists, and, therefore, had no sufficient their "first form" long before the Editor of the Chartists generally. To meet this objection in the Chartist "first form" long before the Editor of the Star found it profitable to mount a Chartist "stool." His arguments in favour only way it could be satisfactorily met, the of the Conference have been sufficiently not up to the moment of writing this seen the

Executivo resigned; at the same time ordering a new election, in which all Chartists were invited to participate. Thereupon the Manchester councillors declared that a new Executive would not satisfy them-at the same time announcing their resolution to take no part in the election. Everything was done to discourage the Chartists from voting; and then, when the election had terminated, the intriguers paraded the votes as a proof of the weakness of the existing organization.

Notwithstanding the great majority of localities (in the proportion of seven to one) had previously decided against Mr. O'Connon's proposition, the Manchester Council took upon themselves to convene a Conference to assemble in that town on the 27th of January. This assumption of authority was a gross violation of Democratic principles, seeing that the immenso majority of the party had voted against any such Conference; and that the Council had not the shadow of a claim to the functions of an Executive Committee. We shall presently notice the system of representation laid down by the Council.

A second West Riding Delegato meeting held on the 5th of January, condemned the conduct of the Manchester Council as "contrary to the principles of democracy" and recommended "that no delegate be sent from any locality in the Riding." Amongst other significant resolutions, the following was adopted:—
"That has Mr. O'CONNOR has stated his intention of abiding by the will of the majority, it is the opinion of this meeting that any further opposition to the now expressed will of the majority will lay that gentlemen open to the charge of abetting an anti-democratic faction." This good advice, this sensible warning, was thrown away. Mr. O'CONNOR continued week by week to deploro "antagonism," while week by week he laboured to create "antagonism" by urging the Manchester and other intriguers to proceed with their sham-chartist Conference.

Finally, to secure the election of a large and well-affected "Conference," the Editor of the Northern Star devoted a series of articles to the subject. Under cover of a candid and impartial review of the question, the Editor tried his best to represent tho proposed Conference as a most praiseworthy scheme; its concocters the purest of patriots; and its opponents as animated by "paltry, petty, personal ambition, and animosity. With much seeming carnestness le deplored "the spirit" in which the Conference question had been discussed, at the same time trying to make it appear that the "violence," "abuse," "coarseness," &c., had been chiefly or entirely exhibited by the opponents of the Conference. He, too, spared no pains to exaggerate the weakness of Chartism and bring the Executive into contempt. Mighty wrath he was at the resolutions passed at the West Riding Delegate meeting, and recommended that the delegates "should be sent back to the first form, and instructed in the very alphabet of Democracy." Modest, very ! -from a man whose Chartismis, to say the least, not of a very ancient date. We have no doubt that the majority of the West

answered by the result; a sorry result

Finding that there was little hope of the Chartists generally concurring with the Manchester Council, the Editor of the Northern Star strongly recommended the formation of a new Chartist association. To carry out this recommendation the "Conference" (?) commenced its labours on the 27th of January.

To secure a muster by somo means or other, the Manchester Conncil inserted in their instructions for the election of delogates "that all co-operative societies, numbering one hundred persons, should be requested to send one." A considerable number of these societies existing in Lan chashire, it was hoped that "delegates would be supplied by them sufficient to swamp anything like Chartist opposition. As a bait to those bodies, it was proposed to consider the best means of connecting Co-operation with Chartism. Unfortunately for the Conference-mongers the bait failed. Not a solitary society responded to the fraternal invitation. The Co-operators are wise in their generation. They know a little of the history of the too-celebrated Land Company, and, therefore, have no inclination to saddlo themselves with the support of 'puro (!) and simple (!)' directors, secretaries, managers, office-keepers, &c., &c.

The 27th came-

"Arouse ye now, ye merry, merry men lt is your opening day!"

The delegates "met" in anything but a "crowd." Tho muster-roll was called, and chairman, secretary, &c., included-

"The saviours of the nation not yet saved," found they numbered EIGHT!!! Of these eight it was soon discovered that two-the delegates from Warrington and Bradford,—were opponents of the "new-move" and supporters of the existing National Charter Association. Three of the remaining SIX had no claim to the character of delegates, unless this kind of delegation is legal and democratic:-At a meeting of half-a-dozen of tho "pure (!) and simple (!)" at a Coffee-shop in Farringdon-street, moved by Nobbs, seconded by Hobbs, that Snobbs be sent as our delegate to the Manchester Conference! In plain fact the delegates legally and properly elected to the GREAT Manchester Conference, numbered FIVE and of these, two constituted an opposition! Was ever failure more complete and humiliating? How are the mighty fallen!

"You may call spirits from the vasty deep, But will they come when you do call them?" The necessity that exists of printing unstamped papers so much in advance of the date of publication has compelled us to write the above before obtaining a report of the procecdings of the mock-Conference. At the time of writing these remarks we know nothing of its labours, beyond the facts above stated. In No. 10 we will proceed to canvass the doings of the "dclegates," and express our thoughts thereon, without fear or favour. In the meantime we congratulate our readers on the signal lesson given by the country to these concocters of division, and conspirators against democracy.

25 Since the preceding article was written I have received a copy of Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper of February 1st. I have

Star. Reynolds's ipaper contains a report of the first three days sittings of the "Manchester Conference." In the said report Mr. O'CONNOR is represented to have given utterance to the most diabolical falsehoods respecting myself. I shall go into this matter in the next number of the Friend of the People. In the meantime I hope to have the opportunity. of meeting Mr. O'CONNOR, face to face, when either he must prove the report in question to be false, or I shall prove him to be guilty G.J.H. of the basest calumny.

BLOW UP OF THE "CONFERENCE." SATURDAY, Fobruary 1st.-We have this morning, at the moment of going to press, seen a letter from Manchester announcing the blow-up of the sham "Conference." Mr. MAN-The, delegate for Warrington, succeeded in carrying a resolution in favour of the forthcoming Convention. Thereupon the intriguers, in despair, gave up the ghost; and the Conference dissolved amidst "confusion worse confounded." Mr. MANTLE is entitled to the warmest thanks of all-true Chartists.

THE REVOLUTIONS.

(Translated by Joun Petrie from La Voir du. Proscrit.) Amongst the horesies, political and social, which we are condemned to hear fall from the mouths of the reactionnaires, there is one which has attracted our particular attention, because it is of a nature to discourage and mislead; we speak of that assertion, many times repeated, that France has made too many revolutions.

If we peruse the pages of our national history one thing alone astonishes us; it is that the French people have limited themselves to their Three Grand Revolutions.

A people descends not into the streets with arms in their hands, save when they are forced, and when there remains to them but this last resource to reconquer a natural right. A revolution, then, is always legitimate, because it is the exercise of

popular sovereignty.

When a power falls, it is because it has not made useful and opportune concessions. Let us consult history.—In 1789 France would have probably been content with a "constitutional" regime, similar to that of England, the third estate (the middlo class), domanded not in principle noither the abolition of the noblesse nor the annihilation of the clergy. The nobles and the pricets more expected, only after laws of the most strict equity, to contribute for their part to the public charges, and remedy the financial disorders that they had alone produced, and from which they alone had profited: they revolted against this just requirement, and appealed in support of their exemption to their old privileges. These exorbitant pretentions, caused the philosophers and the people to examine into these terrible foundal nights which had inflicted on the people centuries of servitude and miscry. It required but little time, and little perception to discover that the aristograpy was but an odious usurpation, and to apprehend that men should be equal before the law as they are equal before God. Humanity, blushed for having submitted to be duped so long. The nobles and the clergy, who refused with the most superb disdain to accode to the smallest reform, endured humiliation, and their order was effected in the presence of Equality,—that sublime daughter of liberty, and they were numbered with the Some Culcities, as they named those of their brothers whose simple apparel contrasted with their embroidered habits and robes of black. Their resistance augmented the force of the aggression. They refused administrative reform; the people demanded their republican rights; nobles and priests were swept away in the tempest with the monarch who was so traitorously their ally.

Pass we to another, to the Emperor Napoleon, to whom France has forgiven much; because he much loved glory, the idol of our country. Would the have fallen had he not been sovereign, absolute and despotio ! It is because this "son of liberty" renounced and immolated his mother in all the countries of Europe, that the people arose full of enthusiasm to take under the avenging banner of their princes, the place of the soldiers devoured by battle. And if in France, the statue of a man had not replaced on the altar of the country, tho sacred statue of liberty, would a single warnior of the hely alliance have escaped from our invaded territory to convey to his everthrown countrymen the tidings of defeat? : It may well be doubted, when we consider the irresistible impulse which seized upon the French people, when the national convention, faithfully interpreting the public sentiment, issued the wonder working docree; "THE COUNTRY IS IN DANGER." The Republic gloriously resisted coalesced Europe; the empire succumbed before it. In 1792 and 93, the young and valiant volunteers, undisciplined, battled, and bore off victory to the crics of ". Vive la Republique". " Vive la Liberte;" whilst the old and brave phalanxes of the Empire knew no more than to die, in erying." Vive VEmpereur." Faith alone can work miracles; and faith recognizes not men but eternal principles.

If the restoration had permitted the developement of the principles of liberty inscribed in the charter of 1815, all-insufficient as had been that constitution-octroyeo, Charles the Tenth would not perhaps have been carried away by the hurricane of 1830. But it is the essence of monarchy, to turn to personal government, and consequently

to despotism.

Louis Philippe, without doubt, would not have died in exile, like his predecessor, if he had not sustained to exaggeration his theory of government, supporting himself meanwhile on a class, numerous and powerful, on that intermediate class which unhappily commands the social sovereignty. Well; one puff sufficed to chase him from the Tuilleries, without one of those cowardly knaves, (who to-day launch without danger their epigrams against the 24th of February), having struck a blew in his defence. If the king of the Bourgeoisie had bowed to public opinion in conceding an extensive electoral reform, it is probable that he would have died tranquilly at Paris.

In writing these lines we intend not to explain or defend the legitimacy of the revolutionary right; that needs not to be discussed, for the people are always the absolute masters of their will, and

their means of execution.

And behold the Bourgeoisie commence this old and dangerous struggle against the spirit of progress and of liberty. In what shall it end? Victory shall range on the side of the people. ' No one doubts it.

Never has violence arrested the human anind; in its onward eareor. How have the papacy and inquisition bonefited by the condemnation of Galileo? The earth has turned not the less around the sun. What has availed the royal butchery; of Saint; Bartholemew's? The old catholicism has not the less received its last blow. How profited the German priesthood by the murder of John Huss? From his ashes arose Martin Luther. In what respect, have their liberty killing laws served. the late governments that have succeeded each other in France? Behold where his nobles have conducted Louis the Sixteenth; where his soldiers have conducted Napoleon; where his priests have conducted Charles the Tenth; where his bankers have conducted Louis Philippe 1 To what end. will be the reaction of Louis BONAPARTE? An approaching future shall tell.

Governments, alone exuse revolutions, because they try without ceasing to absorb extreme power to the detriment of public liberty. Let them not then accuse France of having too little stability, for she has endured without punishing many outrages, and borne without avenging many insults. with her he was offended at the But a people has its days of justice, as it has its assured her he was not hungry.

days of patience. Salvation is in the Republic. There in is the solution so much demanded, and not in the burlesque reconstruction of a worm-oaten throne.

Supposing for a moment that the intriguers could succeed, what could they do, except prepare one revolution the more? Who will they place on this throne, if Phoenix-like, it could arise from ashes? . Shall it be the "Count DE CHAMBORD"? He follows in the track of Charles the Tenth, and as a second Charles the Tenth, he would finish at Cherbourg or Goritz! Shall it be the COUNT DE PARIS? The same intrigues that have driven Louis PHILIPPE to his grave, would agitate around him he would be forced to follow the same system of ignoble corruption; and the same faults causing the same results, the family of Orleans would soon be reduced to find anew at Claremont a home in the isolation of exile. Shall it be a Napoleon the Second, Louis Bonaparte? without saying on this subject all that we think, or what every one thinks, it will be permitted to us to write that the nephew is far from having the genius of his uncle : of his uncle who, despite his victories, perished at St. Helena.

There is but one true Sovereign: it is the people. There is but one rightful authority—it is the will of the Sovereign: it is Universal

Suffrage!

The popular Sovereignty is one of those natural rights which cannot be renounced. Revolution has ever been synonymous with progress, and France wills, as France requires Progress:-Christianity was a revolution, the Reformation was a revolution: and every discovery in the physical or moral world, is to speak truly, a revolution. 'We address not here those incorrigible intriguers-who have always sacrificed country and humanity to their detestable passions; they hasten to their doom, their destiny will soon be accomplished: but we speak to those who are deceived by their smooth declamations and sonorous words of "Order," and "Authority." To those we say, "Abandon the traitors to their important schemes. Force not the people to play anew for Liberty, the horrible GAME OF BATTLES, for otherwise the bloodshed shall return upon your heads, on you who will not, or cannot, comprehend; that there is no law against popular Right — and that SALVATION only is in the REPUBLIC!

THEODORE KARCHER.

A GLEE.

Alr-"When Arthur first at Court began!"

When Royalty, for change, began To wear wide laughing sleeves,-It entertain'd three serving men, And all of them were thickes.

The first he was a Bishop proud; The second, a rascal Peer;
And the third, he was a Parliament-man:
And all were regues, I hear.

The Bishop stole for the lave of God; The Peer for the love of plunder; And the Parliament-man as a go-between, His fellow ragabonds under.

The first was damn'd for his blasphemy; The next was hang'd for a thief;
And the People took charge of the Parliament-man: So that . Royalty died of grief. SPARTACUL

CHATTERTON, -On the 21th of August 1770, at the age of 17 years, 9 months and a few days, Chatterton put an end to his life by swallowing arsenic in water, in the house of Mr. Angelo, saok-maker, then No. 4, Brooke Street, Holborn, now occupied by Steffenoni's furniture warehouse. His room when broken open, was covered with scraps of paper. Mrs. Angel stated that for two days, when he did not absent himself from his room, he went without sustenance of any kind. On one occasion when she knew him to be in want of food, she begged he would take a little dinner with her; he was offended at the invitation, and

Traves from mix Libeary.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND,

(Continued from No. 8.)

Norwithstanding, the discouragement cansed by the hostility of Zdenko, Consuelo resolves to pursucher enterpriso of seeking Albert in the grotte of Schreckenstein, by descending into the subterrancan depths at the bottom of the eistern: Having waited until the family had retired for the night, and having provided herself with a dark lantern, Consuclo hastened to the "Fountain of

"She waited a long while, and was several times obliged to enter Albert's study in order to revive ber chilled limbs by a warmer air. While there, she cast a glanco upon the enormous mass of books, not arranged in rows as in a library, but thrown pell-mell upon the floor in the middle of the chamber, as if with a sort of contempt and disgust. She ventured to open some of them. They were almost all written in Latin, and Consuelo could only presume that they were works of religious controversy; emanating from the Romish Church or approved by it. She was endeavouring to comprehend their titles, when she at last heard the bubbling of the water. She closed her lantern, hastened to hide herself behind the balustrade, and awaited Zdenko's arrival. This time he did not stop either in the garden or the study, but passed through both, and crossing Albert's apartment, proceeded, as Consuclo learned afterwards, to listen at the door of the oratory, and of Count Christian's chamber; in order to see whother the old man was praying, in distress or slooping tranquilly. This was a step. which his own anxioty often prompted him to take without Albert's suggetions, as will be seen by what

"Consuelo did not hesitate as to the part she had to take; her plan was already arranged. She no longer trusted to the rosson or the good will of Zdonko; elie wished to reach, alono and without guard, him whom she supposed a prisoner. Most probably there was but one path which led under ground from the cistern of the chatcau to that of the Schreekenstein. If this path was difficult or dangerous, at least it was practicable, since Zdenko passed through it every night. It eertainly must bo so with a light; and Consuelo was provided with tapers, with steel, tinder, and flint, to strike fire in ease of accident. What inspired her with the greatest confidence of arriving at the Schreekenstein by this subterranean route, was an ancient story she had heard tho. canoness relate, of a siege formerly sustained by the Teutonic Ordor. 'Tlioso knights,' said Wenceslawa, 'had in their very refectory a cistern which supplied them with water from the neighbouring mountain, and when their spics wished to make a sortic to observe the enemy, they dried the eistern, traversod its subterranean passages, and came out at a village at some distance which was subject to them.' Consuclo ro-membered that according to the tradition of the country, the village which had covered the hill, called Schreckenstein since its destruction by fire. had been subject to the Fortress of the Giants, and had had secret communication with it in the time of siege. She was strongthonod therefore both by reason and by tradition, in seeking this communication and outlet.

"Sho profited by the absence of Zdenko to doscend into the well. Before doing so however she fell upon her knees, commonded herself to God, and, with simple and unaffected picty, made a sign of the cross, as sho had dono in the wing of the theatre of San. Samuel before appearing upon the stage for the first time. Then she courageously descended the steep and winding stairs, searching in the wall for the points of support which she had seen Zdenko mako uso of, and not looking beneath her, for fear of dizziness. She reached the portioned that the eistern lost less water by this punished with fines of from 14 days to 12 months; iron chain without accident, and as soon as she outlet than it received by the corresponding one on and confinement of from 14 days to 12 months;

had seized hold of it, felt more assured, and had y sufficient coolness: to look: down towards the bottom of the well. There was still some water, and this discovery eaused her a moment's agitation. But a little reflection reassured her immediately. well might be very deep, but the opening in the subterranean passage by which Zdenko came, must bo placed at a certain distance below the surface of the soil. She had already descended fifty stops; with that address and agility which young ladies educated in drawing rooms can never attain, but which the children of the people acquire in their sports and pastimes, and gives them a confidence and conrage which they ever afterwards retain. The only real danger was that of slipping on the wot steps; hut Consuclo had found in a corner an old slouched hat with large brims, which Baron Frederick had long worn in the chase, and this she had cut up and fastened to her shoes after the manner of buskins. She had remarked a similiar contrivance on the fect of Zdenko in his last noeturnal expedition. With these felt soles Zdenko walked through the corridors of the chatean without making any noise; and it was on this account he had seemed to her rather to glido like a gliost than to walk like a human being. It was also tho custom of the Hussites thus to shoo their spics and even their horses, when they attempted a surprise upon the enemy.
"At the fifty-second step, Consuele found a sort

of platform and a low arched passage-way leading from it. She did not hesitate to enter, and to advance in a low, narrow; and subterranean gallery still dripping with the water which had just left it, and howed out and aroued by the hand of man with great solidity. She walked forward, without meeting any obstacle or feeling any emotion of four for about five minutes, when she imagined she heard

a slight noise behind her. "It was perhaps Zdenko, who had descended, and was taking the road to the Schreckenstein; But she was in advance of him, and she quickened lier pace in order not to be overtaken by so dangorous a travelling companion. He had no reason to suppose she was before him, and of course could not bo in pursuit of her; and while he amused himself with singing and muttering his interminablo stories, sho would have time to reach Albert and put herself under his protection.

"But the noise which she heard, increased, and seemod like that of water which rears and strives and rushes forward. What could have happened? Had Zdenko porceived ber design? Had he ralsed the sluice-gate to intercept her and swallow her up:? But he could not do this before passing it himself, and ho was beltind her. This reflection was not very comforting. Zdenko was capable of dovoting himself to death and drowning with her, rather than betray Albert's rotreat. Still Consuclo saw no gate, no sluice way, no stone in her nath, which could have retained the water and afterwards given it vent. In this case the water could only be before her, and the noise came from behind. Itstill increased, it mounted, it approached with a roar of thunder.

"Suddenly Consuclo, struck by a horrible idea, perceived that the gallery, instead of rising, deseended, at first with a gentle inclination, and afterwards more and more rapidly. The unfortunate girl had mistaken the way. In her hurry, and confused by the thick vapour which arose from the bottom of the eistern; sho had not seen a second arch, much larger; and directly opposite that which she had taken. She had entered the eanal which served to earry away the surplus water of the well, instead of that which ascended to the reservoir or spring. Zdonko, roturning by the opposito path, had quietly raised the gate; the water had fallen in a cascade to the bottom of the eistern, which was already, filled to the height of the waste passage, and was now rushing into the gallery in which Consucto fled, almost expiring with terror. In a short period the gallery - which was so pro-

the opposite side, and could thus be filled-would in its turn be overflowed. In an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, the gallery would be inundated and the inclination was still downward towards the abyss whither the water tended to precipitate itself. The vault, dripping from the roof, announced clearly that the water filled it entirely, that there was no possible means of safety, and that all the speed she could employ; would not save the unhappy victim from the impetuosity of the torrent. The air was already pent up by the great mass of water which harried onwards with a deafening noise; a sufficating heat impeded her respiration, and produced a sort of deadoning effect on all her faculties. Already the roaring of the unchained flood sounded in her very ear-already a red foam, threatening precursor of the coming wave-flowed over the path; and outstripped the uncertain and feeble steps of the terrified vietlm."

"'O my mother!' sho eried, 'open thine arm's to receive mo! O Anzolete, I love thee! O my God, receive my soul into a better world!

" Hardly had she uttered this cry of agony to Heaven, when she tripped and stumbled over some object in her path. O surprise! O divine goodness! It is a steep and narrow staircase, opening from one of the walls of the gallery, and up which she rushes on the wings of feat and hope! The vault rises before her-tho torrent dashes forward -strikes the staircase which Consuele has had just time to clear-engulfs the first ten steps-wets to the ancle the agilo feet which fly before it, and fill-ing at last to the vaulted roof the gallery which Consuelo has left behind her, is swallowed up in the darkness, and falls with a horrible dim into a deeps reservoir, which the heroic girl looks down upon from a little platform she has reached on her knees and in darkness.

(To be continued in our next.)

THE NEW PRESS LAW IN PRUSSIA.

The first chapter provides that all printers; lithographers, and book and print-sellers, shall solicit a license from the administrative boards of their respective districts. Booksellers and printers are moreover required to prove that they have been regularly apprenticed to their respectivo trades. If the said persons be condemned for an infraction of the law, the administrative boards are anthorised to withdraw the license. A copy of all printed papers, pamphlets, and books must be submitted to the police officer of the district 12 hours before their publication. Military men and public functionaries cannot edit any newspaper or periodical without the express consent of their superiors. The provisions of the deposits or eaution monoy are the same as in the provisional law of the 3da of Juno. The ponal part of the now law establishes three discussions. tinet classes of transgressious, viz.-1. Press polico transgressions, which are punishable with a fine that shall not exceed 50 thalers, and a term of imprisonment that shall not exceed six weeks; 2. Press transgressions for which a fine of abovo 50 thalers and imprisonment of three years may be awarded. The third class is that of press erimes, for which still severe punishments are provided, and which class alono will be submitted to a jury. The responsibility for the transgressions of a journal or pamphlet attaches alike to printer, publisher, agent, editor, and anthor. The Post-office can refuse to forward any paper which has been punished for an infraction of the law. It is criminal to offend the Soverigns of foreign States (provided reciprocity is granted), members of Parliament, and of public boards, eivil and military functionaries. Blasphenry, aspersions against the Christian church or the members of any incorporated religious society, attacks on matrimonial and family relations, property, and public morality, are likewise to be punished with fines of frem 20 to 1,000 thalors,

Labour Record Co-operative Chronicle.

Mer Secretaries, or other active members of Trades Unions, Labour Associations, Co-operative Societies, &c., will oblige by forwarding intelligence of "Strikes," the formation and proceedings of their Unions, &c., &c., to the Editor of "The Friend of the People."

THE GREAT "STRIKE" OF SEAMEN.

THE GREAT "STRIKE" OF SEAMEN.

This important strike now embraces the whole of the North-eastern coast, from Blyth to Hull. The scamen of Sunderland and North and South Shields exhibit a most determined resolution to prevent ships proceeding to sea with crews collected in opposition to the "strike." The movement is directed as much against the new Mercantile Marine Act as for an advance of pay; and a number of vessels have been unable to leave port, although the owners have offered the rate of wages demanded by the seamen, because the men refuse to go bemanded by the seamen, because the men refuse to go before the shipping-master, or to take any steps which would be tantamount to a recognition of the obnoxious Act of Parliament. The following ably-written memorial has been signed by thousands of seamen, masters, *shipcarpenters, &c., &c:—

"TO THE BIGHT HON. THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL FOR TRADE, &c.

"The petition of the undersigned—
"Humbly showeth,—That your memorialists have observed with considerable interest the important changes recently made in the laws relating to the conduct of master mariners and seamen in the British merchant service, especially those contained in the Mercantile Marine Act of 1850, and in the regulations of your right hon, board in pursuance thereof.
"That your memorialists are duly sensible of the great

hon, board in pursuance thereof.

"That your memorialists are duly sensible of the great importance of using endeavours to improve the condition of master mariners and seamen, and of promoting means to encourage and secure the faithful and efficient discharge of their nautical duties; and they will be happy to give their utmost support to any measures that appear escludated to increase the facilities to commercial navigation, give confidence and assurance of the utmost praction, give confidence and assurance of the utmost praction. csitulated to increase the facilities to commercial navigation, give confidence and assurance of the utmost practical care and security of shipping and cargoes, encourage the professional and moral improvement, and advance the interests, comfort, and satisfaction of masters and seamen in the British merchant service—which desirable objects they consider, with deep regret, are not likely to be effected by means of the present laws and regulations. gulations.

able objects they consider, with deep regret, are not likely to be effected by means of the present laws and regulations.

"That the governing principle of the laws and regulations now in force, and which apply to both masters and seamen, is that of servile degradation, rigorous coercion, and oppressive taxation: inasmuch as British seamen are ticketed and numbered like slaves, without which slavish badges be produced, deposited, and recorded, they cannot obtain employment, and for offences which are frequently unavoidable, they incur extreme pains and penalties not inflicted upon any other clsss of British subjects, and when they obtain employment to sail in the foreign trade, they are prohibited from making their own engagements as masters and servants, however well-known, or whatever degree of confidence they may entertain towards each other, which is the condition of many of your memorialists, who have known each other for many years, and have frequently been employed in the same ships together without any disagreement: not-withstanding which, they are subjected to the intervention and surveilance of a class of officers, called shipping-masters, whose services they do not require, and in whose presence their agreements must be confirmed, their bond or slave tickets must be transferred and recorded, and whom they are obliged to pay by a compulsory tax deducted from their hard-earned wages, which tax is imposed upon slip-owners, masters, and seamen.

"That the establishment of shipping offices, and the compulsory payment of shipping-masters on other than optional use principles, as free commercial institutions to afford facilities of introduction to strangers, as required in London, and other large seaports, and conducted by respectable licensed persons, paid as a remuneration for agency services voluntarily sought and obtained, is, in the opinion of your memorialists, an unconstitutional violation of the rights and liberties of free-born Englishmen, and an oppressive grievance to which no other class of Engl

precedent.
"That of the 22 offences having fines and other penalties "That of the 22 offences having fines and other penalties annexed, as contained in your right hon, board's regulations, all of which are made optional in agreements, only two or three pertain to ship's duties, and they are provided for in the Merchant Seamen's and Mercantile Marine Acts; all the other offences relate to the domestic habits and observances of seamen, which it is respectfully submitted are not legitimately matters of legislative interference, further than pertains to general cleanliness and health.

"That it is most befitting and convenient for ships" "That it is most befitting and convenient for ships' crews to devise their own domestic regulations, which are unavoidably subjected to irregularity of observance, arising from uncontrollable circumstances, such as stormy weather, adverse winds, ships' duties, &c., both at sea and in foreign ports; consequently, to place such matters under legislative jurisdiction would subject scamen to great inconvenience, and place them at the mercy

of officers who might be inconsiderate, and who might misunderstand the circumstances under which such regulations were violated, whereby they might be liable to frequent forfeiture of wages, and much strife and quarrelling be incurred to carry out a law that would be found to require injustice for its support."

THE WEAVERS' STRIKE AT OLDHAM still continues, the men The Weavers' Strikeat Oldhamstill continues, the men of plunder show no signs of regret for the wrong and injustice, the tyrauny and oppression they have exercised over their operatives. The weavers on their part exhibit no inclination to give way. While armed with the justice of their cause, and supported by the pence of their follow operatives, they will never give way. The factory operatives of these districts have many wrongs of which to complain. A mill owner at Lee's Brook has many houses connected with his mill, but so clever is he at getting tenants that none are ever long empty. Many persons at his mills pay rent for two or three houses; and one man in particular has paid rent for a house for years, in which he never lived, because it was live miles from his work. This practice is quite common about Oldham. Many operatives are obliged to have several houses or leave their employment. In some cases where the men cannot live in their masters' houses, because of the distance, they pay say 3s. per week to the master, and have to let the house to others at half the rental they have to pay.

Spinners' Union.—The spinners' union at Oldham is in a very flourishing condition. They are worth at present £800, and have already 1,200 paying members in their association; they have ten acres of land well cultivated by the unemployed of the association.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS. of plunder show no signs of regret for the wrong and in-

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

EAST LONDON CO-OPERATIVE STORE, - This store, lo-EAST LONDON CO-OPERATIVE STORE. — This store, located at the Brunswick Hall, Ropemakers Fields, Limehouse, was commenced in June, 1847, and has been most successful. From meeting in a room by the light of a solitary candle, the founders have from quarter to quarter added to their property and influence until now, they have a pretty little hall and shop, which is opened every Saturday evening, from 5 o'clock till ten, for the sale of provisions. They have now determined to allow members to bring articles of their own production for sale or interchange, and thus effect a direct communication between to bring articles of their own production for sale or interchange, and thus effect a direct communication between the producer and consumer. The store now numbers 70 members, each holding £2 shares; many having paid their shares by sinking their profits to the required amount. The total receipts of the past quarter has been about £200, the total expenditure £160 10s. The management has been carried on by the gratuitous labour of the members, and much of the decorations and fittings of the hall has been done by the willing hands of unpaid workers. The Committee trust that other toilers will "go and do likewise."

New Co-Operative Store.—At a meeting of friends.

The Committee trust that other toilers will "go and do likewise."

New Co-Operative Store.—At a meeting of friends, favourable to Co-operation, held at the John-street Institution, to consider the propriety of forming a Co-operative Store in connection with the London Association of Working Tailors, 432, Oxford Street, Mr. James Benny, the manager, stated that the Association had been successful during the past three months, and they now wished to extend the benefits of Co-operation to their fellow-workers. They had commenced their Association without much capital, and as it would probably be some time before they could put by any profits for assisting others, they thought the establishment of a Co-operative Store would not only add to their own benefit, but to all who joined them. They could by this means immediately vend articles at the lowest price, and secure them from the adulterations of dishonest tradesmen. Mr. Restieux of the Metropolitan Builders Association, spoke strongly in favour of working-men testing the merits of Co-operation. It was then resolved on the motion of Mr. II. Holyoake, seconded by Mr. Pengelly, "That a Committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of forming a Co-operative Store in connection with the London Association of Working Tailors, 432, Oxford-street," A Committee was accordinly formed (with power to add to their number) to meet again on February the 4th.

Tailors' Associations.—The "Christian Socialist" re-

4th.

TAILORS' ASSOCIATIONS.—The "Christian Socialist" reports the formation of a Tailors' Association at Sunderland; also the successful progress of similar associations at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. In the last-named city the Tailors' Association comrises 37

SHOEMAKERS, HOSIERS, AND LITHOGRAPHIC PRINTERS. SHOEMAKERS, HOSIERS, AND LITHOGRAPHIC PRINTERS.—Our above-named contemporary states that an Association of Shoemakers has been formed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne; that a co-operative association for the manufacture of stocking's and fancy hosiery at Leicester is in communication with other co-operative bodies, with a view to mutual accommodation in the disposal of goods; and that an appeal is about to be made to the Lithographic Printers of lengand and Wales, urgin them to take up the good work of co-operation.

FRANCE.

FRANCE.
L'Association des Patrons et Ouvriers Arconnières, is a society of masters and workmen, associated on equal terms for the manufacture of saddle-trees, and all the wood and from work in a saddle. It consists of forty-one members, and was commenced in the spring of 1848, when they had an order from government for 7000 cavalry saddle-trees, at 17f each, which brought them in a profit of 20,72-ff 42e (£829). In January, 1849, the association was remodelled, and established on the same broad democratic basis as the others, placing the executive power in the hands of three gerants, or directors, assisted by a committee of management, consisting of nine members, and entrusting the arrangement of the daily work to two

captains of labour, or foremen, one for the wood and one for the iron department. Besides the ordinary wages, which are paid according to the work done, any member who, by extraordinary industry, peculiar skill in workmanship, or any improvement, shall have materially benefited the society, is entitled to an extra grant of money. In 1849 they received a portion of the three millions; and, notwithstanding the bad state of trade during that year, they made profits to the amount of 40clf. 26c., which, added to the previous year's profits of 20,720f. 68c., made a total of 24,781f. 68c., or nearly £992, up to the 30th of June, 1849; and by the general balance for Dec., 1849, they made a profit of 4000f. more. The profits are divided into three portions—40 per cent. for a reserve fund; 10 per cent. for a common indivisible and inalienable fund to be employed as a loan in case of urgency, 50 per cent. to be annually distributed amongst the members. The directors were empowered to negotiate a loan last year of 20,000f., the half to be paid off by a deduction of 1½ franc on the weekly salary of each member. Their ateliers are situated in the Rue des Petits Hotels, 25, near the splendid new church of St. Vincent de Paule in a small court-yard filled with quantities of timber, the property of this association. This establishment derives a peculiar interest from the fact that employers have here assisted with their workmen, throwing their capital into the common stock, and working on an equal footing with those wbom they used to command.—From the Leader.

Association of Cooks.—At the Association of Cooks at the Barriere des Amandiers, we had an excellent dinner, a la carte, that is, we ordered what we liked, and it was brought us; nor could we have been better served in the Palais National, either as to the quality of the viands or the attention of those waiting on us, who, by the way, are always addressed as citoyen. This association was established January 18, 1849, with the combined savings of a few cooks previously emp

Besides a number of rooms on three different floors, some capable of holding upwards of 200 persons, and the roof of the house, a delightful spot, with a splendid view of Pere-la-Chaise, they have a sort of tea-garden filled with seats under shady bowers of lime-trees and creeping plants, and a capital ball-room, out in the garden, large enough for 300 persons to dance in; beyond this is a fruit and kitchen garden, partly laid out as a vineyard, with a pleasant mound, where we reclined smoking our cigars, and enjoying a fine view of the city of Paris.—From the Leader.

Leader.

THE PARLIAMENT.

Air, "The One-Horse Chay."
All the world's in town arriving, Some by rail, and some are driving, Lords, ladies, manufacturers, and farmers not a few; For the wisdom of the nation

Is met in convocation; Now the Parliament's assembled, I wonder what 'twill do!

Our lordly legislators,—
They don't like agitators,
For they make the people think, if nothing else they do;
And 'tin-pot' legislation
Is spoiled by agitation;
Now the Parliament's assembled, I'll tell you what 'twill

Of religion spouting,
But education scouting,—
And soul-saving bishops, endowing one or two;
But to me it very odd is,
They don't try to save our bodies,
And let our souls alone—it's the best thing they could do

Of landed interest talking, But labour interest baulking,— The cotton lords and millocrats, no doubt, will have their

But those who work the cotton, Of course, are quite forgotten,
Or told, that to emigrate's 'the best thing they can do.'

Lord John 'bout nothing spoutin,' Lord John bout nothing spoutin,
Which part he's out and out in,
Using many words, with ideas very few;
Will cry reform is nil,
To get on, we must stand still.
And to do nothing, is the best thing we can do.

All progression shirking,

All progression snirking,
All retrenchment burking,—
Of "the British Lion" speaking, and "Protection" too;
But if Hume reform proposes,
They cry with fingers to their noses,
'Don't you wish that you may get it? you'll have it when you do!

Now the people knowledge gaiuin,'
Will soon be very plain in,—
Expressing their opinion of this bribed and bribing crew;
Some day they will assemble,
And make 'both houses' tremble—
For they'll kick 'em to the Devil—and's the best thing
they can do!

II. R. NICHOLLS.

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REED OF THE PROPER.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 10.1

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

TUESDAY, February 4th, was a great day for the frequenters of "Vanity Fair." Dear to boys just breeched and girls not yet in their teens are puppet-show and pantomime; and dear (!) to "loyal Britons" is the ceremony of opening the annual session of Parliament, when performed by "Her Majesty" in person. The "Royal Procession" from Buckingham Palace to the Honse of Lords; the sweeps' gambols round Jack in the Green on the 1st of May; the Lord Mayor's Show; and the exhibition and execution of that very old offender, GUY FAWKES, are public ceremonials of the utmost importance in the estimation of all who value our glorious institutions."

The show, on the 4th, had "a very imposing effect;" so much so that the unemployed mechanics, &c., who formed a considerable portion of the crowd, almost forgot "the internal monitor," which reminded them of their dinner hour. The display of "colour" was, according to the Times, truly gorgeous. The horses were of the colour of cream, the Peelers—blue, the courtiers—bronze, and the loyal spectators—green! Within the House of Peers the ladies of our lords mustered in unusual force; and so dazzling and over-powering was the display of their beauty, &c., &c., that the sight thereof threw the reporter of the *Times* into strong convulsions. On "coming to" he, by the help of copious draughts of gin-and-water, was enabled to write that column or more of almighty bosh published in the Times of the day following. If the holy sentiment of gratitude has not altogether forsaken the bosoms of the ladies aforesaid, they will insist that the Times reporter be forthwith raised to the distinguished office of attendant at the Peeresses' Gallery in the appropriate character of flunkey-inwaiting to their ladyships.

The happy art of speaking and saying nothing is one of the privileges of a constitutional monarch. To enter into an elaborate

nation, is vulgar and democratic. Our beloved Queen is not guilty of any such vul-

It has often been observed that the 'National Debt' is almost the only one of "our glorious institutions" assigned to the people. "My army," "my navy," &c., are phrases constantly put into the mouth of "the Sovereign." The speech under notice commences thus:-"It is with great satisfaction that I again meet my Parliament." Assuredly the Parliament is not the people's. Is it the Queen's? Is it not rather the representative and humble servant of those privileged usurpers, the landlords and money-lords, who make the Queen their puppet, and the people their slaves?

As usual, "Her Majesty" is on the best of terms with foreign powers. She is "much gratified" that "the German Confederation" and "the Government of Denmark" are engaged in putting an end to the warfare in Schleswig Holstein; and trusts that the affairs of Germany may be arranged "in such a manner as to preserve the strength of the Confederation, and maintain the freedom of its separate states." This portion of the "Speech" of course expresses the senti-ments of the liberal "Lord" PALMERSTON. He is "much gratified" in being ablo to announce that the gallant people of Schleswig Holstein are in course of being "put down," not by their legitimate opponents, the Danes, but by the brigand forces of the reactionary governments of Prussia and Austria. He is gratified to give his humble support to the promotion of the designs of Russia, the power that must eventually be the sole gainer by "the arrangement" come to for the suppression of the German cause in Schleswig Holstein. The hope expressed that the separate states of the German Confederation will maintain their freedom, sounds horribly hypocritical in the teeth of the notorious fact that freedom is utterly banished from Germany. The suffrage, freedom of the press, public assemblies, political associations, the possession of arms, in most cases trial by jury, in short all the "constitutional rights and liberties" won by the German people in 1848, have been wrested from them by doinestic

gards national "freedom," or independence of foreign control, there is as little of that as of individual liberty. The second and third rate states, such as Saxony, Wurtemburg, Baden, and Hesse, are virtually provinces of Austria and Prussia. Even those firstclass states enjoy but a nominal sovereignty; their chiefs being the mere lieutenants of the Russian autocrat. If the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs really represented the people of this country and expressed their senti-ments, the address of the National Executive would have reprobated the treatment of the Hessians and Schleswig Holsteiners, directed the attention of Parliament to the menacing advances of Russia, condemned the occupation of Italy by hordes of foreign brigands, and demanded of the representatives of the people to take such steps as in their wisdom they might think proper to adopt to check the progress of despotism, protect Europe from the deadly encroachments of Muscovite barbarism, and guard this country against the danger to be apprehended from the alliance of the sworn enemies of Freedom and Progress. Such would be the language of England's government were England really free. Such will be the language of this country's chiefs and servants, when the People's Sovereignty shall be enthroned, and from sea to sea, shall float on the wings of the wind, the flag of THE BRITISH RE-PUBLIC—democratic and social!
As usual "Her Majesty" has "directed

the estimates of the year to be prepared" and laid before her "faithful Commons" "with-out delay." "They have been framed with a due regard to economy, and to the necessities of the public service." The last part of this last sentence will carry with it general belief, if the word service be read "servants." As respects the "due regard to economy," that is a matter of course. Lord JOHN considers his valuable services dirt cheap at £5,000 a year; and Lord PALMER-STON declares that the ambassadorship to France could not be done for a penny less than £11,000 a year; that is to say about twice the sum paid to the President of the United States!

"Her Majesty" has made the discovery account of the state and requirements of the treason combined with foreign force. As re- that the Labouring Classes are generally employed; and the only persons at present entitled to her sympathy are that important body "the Owners and Occupiers of Land!" It is hard to say whether this shameless statement, or the silence of those "popular members" of the House of Commons who allowed it to pass unchallenged, is the most disgraceful. I will not insult the readers of this publication by raising the question as to whether they are better off than the Landlords and Farmers, I only ask them to take note of the insult; and to bear in mind that while in the discussion on the "Address," Whig, Tory, and Sham-Radical speakers combined to talk "columns of rubbish" eon-cerning "Papal Aggression," not one of "the people's advocates," not one of the loud mouthed "friends of the working elasses," had the honesty and moral courage to rise and protest against the fiction of "general prosperity," and the humbug of sympathising with rent-gorging Landlords and labourgrinding Occupiers of the soil.

Next in order, the "Aggression" question enables "Her Majesty" to declare her resolution to maintain the rights of her crown and the independence of the nation against all encroachment. "A measure on the subject' is announced, but of what character deponent sayeth not. Before the publication of this number of the Friend of the People the "ministerial measure" will have been laid before Parliament, but too late to admit of comment thereon this week. I will now only observe that if the British Government had not connived at the "aggression" of Popish and princely brigands upon the Roman Republie, the decree appointing Cardinal Wiseman to the spiritual government of England would never have issued from "the Flaminian Gate," nor, in all likelihood, from any other quarter. The establishment of the Roman Republic would have been the downfall of the Papaey, both temporal and spiritual. The flag of "free Italy;" proclaims freedom of thought and opinion, and war to priestcraft in every form.

The promises of introducing amendments in "the administration of justice in the civil departments of law and equity," and "the establishment of a system of Registration of Deeds and Instruments relating to the transfer of Property," chiefly concern the wealthy classes who have property to transfer, register, and quarrel about. The lawyers being strongly represented in the Legislature, will take very good care that their "vested interests" shall not suffer much damage from "Law Reform." The Whigs being the "Reformers," the lawyers have not much to fear.

In the pious conclusion of the "Royal Speech," "Her Majesty" no doubt speaks feelingly in saying "We have every cause to be thankful to Almighty God for the measure of tranquillity and happiness which has been vouchsafed to us." Unquestionably this is true of herself, her husband, her family, her courtiers, her "noble Lords," and "faithful Commons." How far it may be true of the people, it is for the mechanics, factory workers, labourers, needlewomen, de., de., to say. Tranquility is no doubt a great blessing—particularly to the wealthy and the privileged, and must greatly conduce to their happiness. Indeed, O Queen, Lords, and Commons you have every cause to be thankful!

So much for the inauguration of the session of 1851. So much for the "Royal Speech, which contains not one word of promise to the unrepresented and tax-ridden people of this country. Approbation of the work of foreign tyrants; sympathy with Landlords and Bull-frog farmers; a promise of lawreforms for the advantage of the possessors of property; and an intimation that the time of Parliament is in the first instance to be occupied with discussing the miserable question of "Papal Aggression"—such are the leading points of "Her Majesty's Speech." No doubt the Monarchy is a rost admirable institution, and more than any other testifies to "the wisdom of our aneestors;" still it must be confessed that, considering the return he gets for his money, John Bull pays dear for his whistle! Nevertheless as "good and loyal subjects" let us all cry, ("Vive la Humbug!" and) "God save the Queen!"

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.

This miserable compromise is at its last gasp. Kings begin to discover that their position as "Constitutional" monarches is no longer tenable; that they must drop the veil invented with a view to disguise their tyranny by screening it with a mock representation; that they must attempt a return to absolutism, and endeavour once more to rule the nations with the swords of hireling slanghterers, or see their thrones crushed beneath the million feet of the advancing Democracy.

Every day we draw nearer a climax. Society is

Every day we draw nearer a climax. Society is slowly but surely forming itself into two great antagonistic classes—the oppressors, and the oppressed. The army of Despotism and Re-action ranges itself on one side, that of Liberty and Progress on the other. The final struggle is approaching; and the time is not far distant when shall be decided whether our world shall again be bound in the chains of King and Lordling; the kindling rays of reason be extinguished; and mankind be once more buried in the darkness of ignorance and superstition; or whether tyrannies shall crumble, and the defenders of despotism be scattered before the victorious armies of Freedom!

Guizot, speaking of England in 1688, says, "she did not aspire to change the condition of society. * * * She accomplished a revolution which was both proud and modest—which gave to the country new leaders, and new guarantees; but which, when this object was once attained, felt satisfied, and stayed her course, wishing for nothing less, and aiming at nothing more."

Yes, and the thousands of toil-worn sufferers, who have, since the advent of the "Protestant succession," been crushed by want and misery into premature graves, have had reason to mourn that England, when she arose in her wrath, neglected to "change the conditions of society." The effects of her "modesty" are visible in the wan faces, and stinted forms of the enslaved children of Labour, who, in the stifling atmosphere of factorics, or in the pestilential vapours of crowded courts and filthy alleys, are being daily sacrificed to enrich an all-grasping few. It can be but small matter of congratulation that she should have but redecorated her tyranny instead of destroying it; that she should have still suffered to exist "conditions of society" which sanction such scenes as unhappy Ireland now presents, where human beings are driven in flocks from the home of, their childhood,—are hunted forth from their mother earth, as if they possessed no right to exist but at the will of the lordling! Yet these are but a tithe of the appalling miscries which exist beneath the benign sway of constitutional monarchy!

Had our ancestors aimed at something more than to give "to the country new leaders;" had they, instead of contenting themselves with slightly re-

stricting kingcraft, and then reinstating it in power, abolished royalty altogether; proclaimed the sovereignty of the People; and the inalienable right of each to share God's earth; and to that which he might create thereon, we should not now behold those scenes of misery and woo, which contrast so glaringly with the glitter of princely pageantry, and with the luxurious lives of those, who, doing no work themselves, enjoy all the ifruits of the workers' industry.

This highly-vaunted "constitutional system" has given to the Peoples of Europe a valuable, though dearly bought lesson. It has laid bare the attempt to obtain freedom by covenanting with despotism. Europe will forget not that lesson when her thrones are again overthrown by the revolutionary tempest. England too will remember it when she awakes from her torpor, and the Cromwellian spirit of our fathers has arison to banish tyranny from the land; she will remember that the Republic is Freedom's only haven of safety; and that Kingeraft, under any form, is utterly opposed to the growth of Freedom, and to the best interests of the People.

ALEXANDER BELL.

THE DISCERNMENT OF A MANCHESTER SCHOOL PHILOSOPHER.

BY J. G. ECCARIUS. (Concluded from No. 9.)

Though Mr. Green states in one chapter that the working man's notions and contemplations are the natural result of the position he is in, yet in the following chapter he proclaims the existing state of things to be eternal, and offers nothing in the shape of remedy, excepting free trade cant intermixed with sentimental religious phrases. advises the rich to have social intercourse with the poor, not to look upon them like mere instruments of gain, and thus promote a spirit of Chrlstian brotherhood, &c. The poor he advises to get a true knowledge of the commercial system, that they may understand the eauses why wages go down, and not blame their employers for it. le also recommends some sort of association between labourers and capitalists, comfortable homes, cheap methods for the recreation of the poor, &c. In the conclusion of the chap er, however, he removes all doubt as to his understanding the present movement. To sum up all, he says, "We are not to seek in any change in the mechanism of society the means of reconciling the two great classes of our people. It is by the commercial system developed beneath the power of Christian principles, that Britain is destined to achieve its complete and permanent greatness." Further on he says, "The feudal machine has gone to pieces, it is true; oligarchies and despotisms have been overthrown, or now totter to their fall; but the reason of their destruction has been in their untruthfulness to the nature of man, and to the laws of God. The arrangements and mechanism of commerce, I repeat, are consistent with both." After some phrases, he concludes the chapter as follows,— " To uphold, then, the commercial system in its integrity, to remove its defects, and secure its efficient and mechanical working, I regard as a main duty of every employer; still more, to perform his part in it under the constant remembrance, that ho is dealing, as a man, with brother men. Difficulties and discouragements may beset him; but they may all be conquered. He is in the path of Divine Providence; and he noeds but a divine spirit, to serve his generation truly, according to the will of God. Right noble is his commission. His work, in every aspect of it, is worthy of his greatest powers, and his highest acquisition. Success, in whatever proportion he shall attain it, will be a step towards the last and most glorious victories that the world ean know. For, as Carlyle has well said, in language profounder-as we cannot but now, with grief, believe, than he himself could comprehend-"The leaders of industry are virtually the captains of

the world; if there be no nobleness in them, there will never be an aristocracy more,"

*This reminds one of the King of Prussia (whom the Economist, but the other day, called a royal phantasm, who must be served like the Stuarts and Bourhons), in 1847, when, by opening the united diet, he declared to the constitutionalists,— "I, and my house will serve the Lord! the welfare of Prussia demands that her king should make the laws; a representative form of government would he her ruin. I will not have my people taken away from my paternal care hy thrusting a piece of paper (a constitution) hetween us." The people of Berlin responded to this declaration in March, 1848. Would that Mr. Green might discuss the laws and will of God with the King of Prussia.

The rest of the essay is taken up with the School, the Church, the Press, and hints to the Working People. With regard to the Church, the author observes-"Where are the more thoughtful and cultivated working men? Not in our Churches. These Societies are middle-class institutions. The great majority of the poor have renounced well nigh all religious control."—In a former chapter he tells us that the working man's religious opinion is the natural result of his habits, i. e. his social position. But here our Reviewer takes a different point of view. The reason why the Church has become a middle class institution, and why the poor have left her, is hecanse all sects from Popery downwards have demanded hlind helief, or if not demanded, it has been accorded. It seems to grieve him that the Hall of Science on a Sabbath evening is crowded with eager listeners, while the neighbouring chapel is almost empty. But he is almost sure that the hearts of the poor will he won again, if the teachers of religion will alter their style and address the poor in a comprehensive language. As another sure way of winning many hearts, he proposes that the preachers of the Gospel should occasionally deliver lectures on science to working men, take the presidency of a working man's discussion meeting, and form winter classes for history and philosophy. He also wants religious men to take part in political struggles. He does not pretend to inquire what partioular side they ought to take in the questions of our day—as Labour-regulation, Poor Laws, Suffrage, Extension, the Ballot, and the like. Only let them take some side.

The Press is another sore in the author's eye. "The grand total issue of publications whose influence is all on the side of moral corruptions is 28,862,000 copies, while on the other side inclusive of all the issues of the Bihle and Tract Societies, we have hut 24,418,620, copies. To which may be a ded, that the religious literature referred to circulates chiefly among professing Christians of the middle classes, while the other finds its way to the homes and the haunts of the poor."

"One profound sentence," he says, in the same chapter, "explains the whole defect. The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light! Let us compare a popular infidel publication with a popular religious magazine. In every page of the former there will be manifest the result of a keen study, and thorough knowledge of the minds of the common (?) people, their tastes, their position in the state of intelligence; their prevailing modes of thought; their ruling opinions, and highest aspirations. Now, can a single periodical of the latter class, characterised by these features, be pointed out?"

The defect is to be remedied by "a cheap Christian working man's newspaper!"

Here is a Rev.'s testimony for the intellectual superiority of "infidelity," and in spite of all the ministakeable signs that our existing system is on the verge of dissolution, Mr. Green proclaims It to be eternal;

The principle features among the "Hints to Working People" are, bear your fate with patience, and be frugal. (The frugal and the sober are the most dangerous to that state of society

which Mr. Green considers the only one consistent with the laws of God and the nature of man.)

He recommends Friendly Societies, and the Western Provident Association, formed at Exeter, 1848. Page 132 he says, "Where no heginning is yet made, let a few of you join to attempt one. Get the help, if you can, of ministers, and of the officers in Christian churches." What a happy and pious race we will be by-and-by; Priests to preside over our meetings and discussions! Priests to instruct us in science, history and philosophy! Priests on the political platform! Priests to conduct our newspaper, and Priests to take care of our funds! Hurrah, for the Manchester School Jesnitism!!

The principal deduction to be drawn from this Prize Essay is, that the poor have renounced in theory all relationship and homæogeniety with the rich, and escaped their mental control. Whatever the author advises as a means to bring the working class back under the control of the rich is in vain. The hourgeoisie of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in the same position towards feudalism as the proletariat of the nineteenth century is towards the hourgeois regime. As little as absolute kings and feudal parsons could prevent the victory of the bourgeosie, so little can the latter prevent the victory of the proletariat.

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS. OHRISTIANITY AND POPERY.

In accordance with the promise given in No. 9 of the *Friend of the People*, we proceed to give some extracts from the eloquent lectures of Ernest Jones on "Canterhury *versus* Rome."

"Conceived on the verge of two contending civilisations, that it might radiate alike over the western world, which was the Roman empire, and over the eastern, which was the paradise of Chosroes; born on the neutral ground of Judaism, that nonconducting element, that it might gain no hias of either Zoroaster or the Olympian; eradled in Jerusalem, that mortal nurse of an immortal faith, perishing in fire when she had fulfilled her mission. Christianity overflowed its rooky cup at the head of the Mediterranean—a lake within an empire—that hore it with Peter to the gates of Rome, and wafted it with Thomas to the Pillars of Herenles.

"Greece was a ruin; Asia was a battle-field; Italy was an arena where the sovereign gladiators of Rome contended for the mastery of mankind. The beautiful superstitions of the past had faded heneath the trickeries of a trading priesthood; the temples of the gods were the haunts of legalised vice, the judgment scats of men were the thrones of unchecked oppression. Fierce armies of Romans stood on the soil of every country, rioting in unimaginable excess, and shielding the hordes of tax-gatherers that sucked the life blood of the starving population. Humanity lay prostrate heneath a few invincible tyrants. The poor toiler was the Diogenes of necessity, the rich idler was the Epicurus of his lusts. Science had sunk into sophistry; eloquence had decayed into rhetoric; poesy had dled into rhythm: no public duty was regarded, no domestic tie was sacred; virtue was a mock. honor was a jest, faith was a sport; nothing was holy; nothing was pure, nothing was true; courage alone remained of all the old virtues of the great republic, now lost in the vices of the imperial monarchy. But there it stood-grand, gorgeous and resplendent; it made a boast of its very sins; everywhere its legions marched everywhere its eagles glittered, -and it waved its mailed arm over the world and cried: What shall resist my power? Who shall call me to a day of reckoning?

"Then, in the meanest province of that mighty empire, among the most despised people of the earth, the most insignificant village of their country, and the most humble order of their nation, rose a humanised God, a deified man, proclaiming, to a bleeding and a prostrate race, the gospel of peace, liberty, and love."

To a striking recapitulation of the teachings of Jesus, and a notice of the purity and progress of the Primitive Church, succeeds the following account of the "Five Taints that came upon the Christian Religion:—"

"The first was ambition. priestly distinctions. He appointed no hisheps. There were no hishops in the first century. Presbyters and wisoopoi were equal. Jerome and Eutychius prove this. The distinction between clergy and laity did not exist-the ecclesiastical functionaries were publicly elected by the whole congregation-every man being eligible. Subsequently, synods were holden in the presence of the entire people. Here the overseers, as delegates from their congregations, took the lead, and, ontheir return to enact the rules laid down by the synod, pretended they were answerable to the synod alone, and not to their constituents. The synods were held in the principal town of a district, or province; presidents were elected at them, and these were generally the chief ecclesiastics of the towns where they assembled. Thus, imperceptihly, a personal supremacy was stablished. Out of this, grew the order of hishops, the metropolitan primates, the prelates and patriarchs, the Archhishop of Canterhury, and the Pope of Rome; but the cpiscopal order is directly at variance with the religion of Christ. From these synods, further, came the distinction of clergy and laity, an entirely unchristian institution.

"The second taint was avarice. While the thunders still rung on Sinai, the golden calf was being raised. As early as 260 we have striking instances of this. Under Odenathus and Zenobia, Paul of Samosata rivalled the eastern monarchs in their luxury and splendour. In his council-chamber of porphyry and marble—on his golden throne, with precions censers perfuming the air—he received his suppliant crowds of courtiers, while the glittering courtesans of the Christian pricst of Antioch, outshone the beauties of the neighbouring

grove of Daphne.

"The third taint was usury. Simony followed in the wake of luxury. The clergy hought livings to sell again. A shameless and lucrative traffic was thus maintained. Nay, the highest dignities of the church hecame the rewards for the most infamous services. The hishopric of Carthage was purchased by a wealthy matron, Lucilla, for her favorite, Majorinus, at the then enormous price of 400 folles, or £2,400. The church condemned the whole Mosaic law as heresy, decreeing eternal fire to those that observed it; hut made one exception

"The fourth taint was insanity. Luxury and vice produced an opposite extreme almost equally pernicious. A Persian dualism began to pervade the public mind :- the helief in a good and an evil power-God-and the Devil. Thence a supposed hostility between the flesh and the spirit, as though one work of God was made to destroy the other. Thence the asoetic tendency which caused men to mortify the flesh; thence seclusion from the world, monastic life, watching, and fasting, neglect and filth of body. Linen was proscribed. It is a ohronicled fact, that the warm-hath ceased almost throughout Christendom. Many never washed. The famous Bellarmine never cleansed his body or combed his hair, making it a point of conscience not to disturb the vermin, since they caused pain hy their hurrowing, and, having no future, it was unjust to deprive them of their present joy. Some mingled with their food filth so nauseous, that decency forbids its mention; some lacerated themselves with stripes, and with horselair prevented the wounds from closing; some wore chains eating into their flesh; some tied graters to their hacks and breasts or girded themselves with handages of bristles, intermixed with sharpened wire. Arnulph of Villars, in Bra-bant, was immortalised for wearing a waistcoat made of hedgehog skins, of which five were required for the back and six for the front and sides. St. Dominic, surnamed the cuirassier, wore an iron dress, which he took off only to scourge himself day and night, with a whip in either hand. Some mutilated their members in a most horrid manner. Some committed lingering suicide. Some were famous for the number of their daily genuflexions; some for standing during winter up to the neck in cold water, reciting the psalter. man spent his life on the top of a high column, under the burning sun of Syria; an English saint, Simon Stock, was named and sainted for passing his in a hollow tree, under the cold skies of Britain.

"The fifth taint was blasphemy. Since the words of Christ could never be made to sanction the system of the church, the scriptures were forbidden to be read: tradition and the unwritten word were made to supersede them. The Pharisees had done the same with the Mosaic law. The priesthood tried to blind the people by superstition and magnificence. Miraculous powers were ascribed to bodies, rags, and relics of saints. Armies fought for the possession of a toenail or a nose. Princes visited each other's palaces to steal each other's relics. If a corpse was preserved fresh by the peculiar nature of the ground, it-was declared a saint; and the holy dead were said to be distinguished by a peculiar scent, called the odour of sanctity, which, howover, was sensible only to the noses of the clergy. A dry churchyard near Rome produced many thousands saints. Their bodies were shown about the country for money; then they were placed in shrines; fanaticism spread, and diseases were actually cured at these shrines by the force of imagination; immense sums were thus procured; gifts and offerings poured in on every side; the lucrative game knew no bounds; more of Aaron's rod was shown than would have made a whole forest; more of the Virgin's milk than ten herds of cows could have produced in three generations; more of Christ's blood than a dozen armies would have shed in a dozen fights. Sometimes several bodies of the same saint were exhibited, and once the dispute between three churches was ended by the grave assertion that the dead saint had tripled his body to satisfy the rival claimants.

" Next came the sale of indulgences: a seat in Heaven was sold and undersold like a seat at the Opera. Sets-off for crime were regulated by a scale of penances: recitation of thirty psalms, with one hundred stripes to each, relieved from purgatory for a twelvemonth; the whole psalter, with fifteen thousand stripes, for only five years. Tables of rates of payment for absolution were officially established. Horrid crimes were imagined, and their punishment had to be bought off. Murder or parricide was absolved for a few shillings. Papal St. Peter's, at Rome, was built out of the sale of indulgences to the rich. Protestant St. Paul's, at London, out of the robberies of comforts from the poor.* Yes! History forces me first to dwell on the iniquities of Rome, but do not believe that the Protestant Papacy of England has belied its origin. The mighty monstrosity was crowned in the doctrine of transubstantiation by Pope Innocent the Third and by Urban the Eighth, who maintained that priests should not be subject to the secular power because 'they could create God, their Creator.'"

* The Court of High Commission multiplied fines to a frightful extent, after Charles I, granted such fines for the repair of St. Paul's. These fines were chiefly levied from Dissenters. Laud, when repairing St. Paul's, ordered several houses to be pulled down—and when the owners objected to the terms of composition, pulled the houses down about their ears, and cast them adrift upon the world.

TRUTH .-- Adhere rightly and undeviatingly to truth; but while you express what is true, express it in a pleasing manner. Truth is the picture; the manner is the frame that displays it to advantage. There is nothing, says Plato, so delightful as the hearing or speaking of truth. For this reason, there is no conversation so agreeable as that of a man of integrity, who hears without any intention to betray, and speaks without any intention to deNOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The forthcomino Convention—To the Editor of the Friend of the People. Sir,—I perfectly agree with your correspondent E. A. J.'s suggestion, that the Chartists of England, Ireland, and Scotland should rally round the Executive and give them the means to carry on an effective agitation. I enclose twelve postage stamps as my first subscription towards the "thousand pounds." In trying to elevate the advocacy of the Charter, the Executive will bring around them friends that have hitherto stood aloof; and if they are properly supported, and they do their duty as men imbued with the principles of Democracy, and fulfilling their mission, they will place the cause in that position that the privileged classes will not be able long to refuse the people their just rights.—A CHARTIST AND SOMETHING MORE.

WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Braco, has forwarded to the Editor

WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Brace, has forwarded to the Editor 5s. for the Chartist Executive, and 2s. "for the most needful of the Refugees."

"A Young Red" has forwarded to the Editor 1s. for the Charter Association, 1s. for the Refugees, and 1s. for this publication.

ROBERT OWEN AND THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.—The committee formed to disseminate Mr. Owen's views during the Great Exhibition have received communications from Paisley, Halifax, Derby, and other districts, highly favourable to the objects of the committee. Parties desirous of promoting this important propaganda will please address to the Secretary, Henry A. Ivory, 52. College-place,

Camden Town.

"The English Republic."—No. 2 has been received, and will be noticed in our next number.

"a.* Press of matter compels the postponement of further Notices to Correspondents.

THE TRUTH WANTED-JUSTICE DE-MANDED.

The calumnious statement ascribed to Mr. O'Connor and published in Reynolds's Newspaper of the 1st inst., has called forth strong manifestations of disgust. I have a heap of letters criticising the conduct of Mr. O'Con. NOR in terms that would be anything but pleasing to that gentleman. Some of the writers demand the publication of their letters; a course I must decline taking at present. The overflowing meeting at the John Street Institution on the 4th, passed a resolution unanimously, demanding of the Executive to investigate the affair and report to the public; a similar demand has been made by the Tower Hamlets' Council. I stated in last week's Friend of the People that I hoped in the course of a few days to meet Mr. O'Connor face to face. So far I have not had that good fortune. Mr. O'C. was absent from the John Street meeting, I suppose because of "having to attend to his Parliamentary duties." He was also absent from the meeting of the Executive on the succeeding evening, I presume from the same cause; although, according to the Chronicle, the House adjourned that evening at halfpast seven o'clock; and the Executive continued sitting that evening until nearly half-past nine. The Committee have determined to make the required investigation the special business of their next meeting; and special notice having been sent to Mr. O'Con-NOR, it may be presumed that he will give his attendanec.

I observe in the Star of February 8th, that Mr. O'Connon denies the accuracy of the report in Reynolds's Newspaper. He admits he made some "remarks upon Mr. HARNEY;" but omits to state what those remarks were. This sort of explanation may suit Mr. O'Connor, but will not satisfy me. Not yet having had the opportunity of meeting Mr. O'Connor in the presence of the Executive or the public, I postpone going into the question. I can afford to wait a few days. But not a the less I insist upon inquiry, and demand justice.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

PUSEVISM IN EDINBERGH.—A High Church lady asked Bishop Terrot lately when the candles were to be lighted on the aiter, to which the Bishop emphatically answered —" When it is dark, Madam!"

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1851.

ALARMING BANKRUPTCY! - AWFUL SMASH!

THE annals of bankruptcy record no case soruinous to the bankrupts, as that of the "political traffickers" who started business in Manchester on the 27th of January, and who before five days had passed found themselves "done up," and, as Brother Jonathan would say, consigned to "'tarnal smash!"

It is worthy of note that the longer the question of holding a Conference at Manchester continued under discussion, the more unpopular it became. In November last, the Chartist councils of Rochdale, Stockport, Todmorden, Hull, and Sheffield had passed resolutions in favour of the Conference. Not one of those places sent a delegate—not even Stockport or Rochdale, although the first is within seven, and the second within twelve miles of Manchester. In Sheffield a desperate attempt was made to get the Chartists of that town to send a delegate; but in vain. The supporters of the Conference first "tried it on" at a hole and-corner meeting, and were beaten. Having very naturally voted their defeat "unsatisfactory" to themselves, they next tried a public meeting; taking eare to make use of Mr. O'CONNOR's name in a manner they believed to be calculated to "draw" an overwhelming number of that gentleman's admirers. Their failure was only the more complete. Sheffield would have nothing to do with the project of the Manchester Council.

As stated in our last number, the "delegates' numbered FIVE: to wit, Messrs. O'Con-NOR and LEACH, Manchester; Mr. MANTLE, Warrington; Mr. North, Bradford; and Mr. Lawson, Lower Warley. Messrs. Clark, M'GRATH, and HURST attended as delegates "from London;" that is, from a society of half-a-dozen "pure and simple" patriots, meeting at a coffee-shop in Farringdon-street. In violation of all the ordinary rules of conferences assuming the character of "national," these "delegates" were permitted to speak and vote as though they had been really deputed by popular election.

But few though they were, the "delelegates" were anything but unanimous. From first to last the Conference-mongers were opposed by Mr. MANTLE, who seems to have been generally supported by the delegate from Bradford. The three coffee-shop deputies appear to have acted with that oneness of purpose which worthily became so holy a trinity-in-unity. The Manchester delegates did not well assort, Mr. LEACH zealously advocated the policy of making Chartism subservient to middle-class interests. Mr. O'CONNOR by no means shared his brother delegate's zeal. In truth, the member for Nottingham had to perform the difficult part of exhibiting in two opposite characters at one and the same time. Those who had made themselves instrumental in carrying out his suggestion for the holding of a Conference, naturally looked to him to support their policy; which no doubt he would have done had it not been evident from the miserable muster that the Chartist party re-

pudiated the conspiracy. Not feeling himself bound to commit political suicide for the benefit of his aspiring friends, Mr. O'CON-NOR discreetly backed out of the dilemma in which he had involved himself. To the horror of his friends he revived his old denunciations of the middle-classes. This occasioned some comical scenes. Extracts were read from a file of Northern Stars to show that Mr. O'CONNOR had committed himself. body and soul, to the cause of respectable reform; that he had travelled numberless miles, spenta mint of money, and wrote no end of letters to persuado the Chartists to give their support to the Parliamentary and Financial Reformers. To prove Mr. O'CONNOR's former zeal for the "little Charter," it was stated that he expended £20 to attend a "Reform" meeting at Aberdeen. "More than that, when it was proposed in committee at Aberdeen to alter the constitution of the association, and to adopt universal suffrage, in preference to the suffrage of the Reformers, so unwilling was Mr. O'CONNOR to offer the smallest obstacle to those whom he went to support, that he would not allow Universal Suffrage to be substituted." Any other man might have felt himself in a fix, but not so Mr. O'CONNOR. "Self-preservation is the first law of nature,"and-"to prevent antagonism"-Mr. O'CONNOR gave his vote to, and thereby caused to be carried the following resolution, moved by Mr. MANTLE :-

"That the delegates feel it to be their duty besire separating, to make public their anxious defore that neither this Conference, nor any of its acts, may be deemed disces pectful towards, or antagonistic to, the London Executive. And, farther, this Conference cherishes an anxious hope that the Conference to be held in London on the 3rd of March next, may be so emphatically the representative of the people, as to be powerful to legislate for and inaugurate a national movement, at once worthy of the English people and the sub-

lime object of the People's Charter."

The coffee-shop deputies supported by Mr. LEACH fought hard against this tresolution; as well they might, seeing that it carried on the face of it the stultification of their patriotic labours. But in vain were their efforts, Mr. O'CONNOR gave his vote for the resolution, and thereby administered the coup de grâce to the Conference. Tho "regenerators of Chartism'' found themselves diddled and done for; so kicking up their heels they abandoned the hopeless task of legislating for "a perverse and stiff-necked generation." To the member for Nottingham belongs the honour of having suggested, and of having also (by his vote) broken up the "Manchester Conference!"

In overhauling the speeches, it is amusing to contrast the anxiety of the "new movers" to protect the middle-class "reformers" from Chartist opposition, with their burning zeal to anathematize, oppose, and destroy those Chartists who are not to be cajoled or terrified into participating in their trafficking policy. We must here express our regret to find JAMES LEACH-for whom we were wont to entertain the most sincere respect-in such company. His specches at the Conference, as reported in the Northern Star, are in direct contradiction to the whole tenour of his past political career. Never did a man more thoroughly succeed in "turning his back upon himself," than James Leach has done within the past few weeks. We say this in sorrow,

not in anger. Had he during the Anti-Corn-Law agitation acted upon the policy he now preaches, he would have been the base lacquey of the Free Traders, instead of the foremost and most respected of Labour's cham-

The sovereignty of the majority is the principle embodied in the People's Charter. Denying that principle, you dony the truth and justice of Chartism. The immense ma-jority of the Chartist party decided against the convening of a conference at Manchester; nevertheless the Manchester council persisted in convoking that conference. Having assemblcd, the factionists proceeded to adopt certain resolutions notoriously opposed to the sentiments of the great majority of Chartists. But when at length they found themselves beaten on the resolution moved by Mr. MANTLE, then, rather than bow to the majority of their own assembly, they preferred to abandon their "high mission," and vote their conference dissolved! Finally, the Manchester Council and their supporters have declared their acceptance of all the resolutions, except the last, voted by the Conference! Such are the "pure and simple" Chartists. They will go with the majority, if the majority are of their opinion; if not, not!

Judging by their speeches and resolutions, the following appears to be the programme of

the "new movers":-

1. To make a pretence of agitating for the Charter, but in reality to employ Chartist strength in support of every middle-class movement likely to be profitable to "trafficking politicians."

2. To conciliate and uphold genteel liberals; and calumniate and persecute earnest demo-

3. To swear by the Charter, "pure and simple;" but to endeavour to make the Charter subsidiary to "Co-operation," or any other fashionable "ism" likely to furnish salaries to stipendiary philanthropists.

4. To keep the people in ignorance of their soical rights, so that Universal Suffrage, or any extension of the franchisc, may be turned to the best account by and for the benefit of

political speculators.

5. To denounce true Democrats and Social Reformers as "anarchists," "assassins," "teachers of physical force," "men of violence," &c., &c., and thereby excite against them popular prejudice, aristocratic-andbourgeoise hatred, the accusations of the corrupt press-gang, and government persecution.

It is worthy of note that the traffickers and intriguers affect to entertain a holy horror of "doctrines dangerous to the property and institutions of the kingdom;" proclaim themselves "men of order," and de-nounce "redism;" and (0, ye powers of humbug!) drink the old sham-radical toast the toast of the LEADERS, WHILTLE HARVEYS, and O'Connells of former days-"The Queen, her rights, and no more; the People, their rights, and no less." How appropriate the addition: "Responded to by Mr. THOMAS CLARK"!!!

It is one of the consolations of this life that out of evil sometimes arises good. The barefaced attempt to establish the domination of a selfish trafficking faction, has aroused a spirit of resistance, even at the head quarters of the conspiracy. At a meeting of Chartists in Manchester WM. GROCOTT in the chair.

It was unanimously resolved "That the Manchester Council having, by their late acts and resolutions, placed themselves out of the pale of the National Charter Association, we resolve ourselves into a locality of that association, and in connection with the legitmate executive thereof." It was also resolved, "That the following gentlemen constitute a Council for the next three months: - WM. GROCOTT, Chairman; John Knight, Vice-Chairman; Ed. Hooson, Treasurer; W. B. Robinson, Financial Secretary; George T. Mantle, Corresponding Secretary; John Cameron; J. G. Clarke, sen.; J. G. Clarke, jun.; Thos. Ormersher; Ereperick Smith: John Whitehead: John FREDERICK SMITH; JOHN WHITEHEAD; JOHN RILEY; CHRISTOPHER HARTLEY." readers will recognise the names of some veteran Chartists in this list; the new names, to our certain knowledge, include several highly intelligent and sterling democrats. With energy and perseverance the new locality will soon succeed in rallying the true Chartists of Manchester around the banner of the National Charter Association.

We take leave of the "Manchester Confer-ice;" of which it may be truly said that ence;" "nothing in its life became it is so well as the manner of its death."

"After life's fitful fever it sleeps well!"

TO THE ENROLLED CHARTISTS OF ENGLAND.

Hammersmith, Feb. 3, 1851. FELLOW CHARTISTS,-I accept the trust you have reposed in me as a sign that, in spite of past deceptions, you still participate in reliance on the higher motives of men; that you approve of efforts to promote union among the People, without compromising the independence of our organization; and that you sanction the desire to give our policy a more practical turn, so as to further, in the directest mode, the material well-being of the many.

I hold that you can obtain no great national measure unless you are backed by the great body of the People itself. It is equally true that you cannot obtain the recognition and permanent establishment of any power until that power exists and is displayed; you cannot obtain the Parliamentary enactment of Universal Suffrage until you have created Universal Suffrage, and used it. By that I mean that you must be able to command, not in single, convulsive, and transitory efforts, but steadily, and on every needful occasion, the manifest support of the People. But you cannot command that support, steadily and readily, unless you hold out to the People some idea more tangible than that of political power; sufficient as that idea may be for you, who constitute the thinking and active portion of the People, you must make the national policy appeal to the wants which press immediately on the immense mass of the People; thus giving to the multitude, while you struggle for political power, an earnest of the benefits which that acquisition would secure for them hereafter.

It is for these grounds that I expect the agitation for the Charter to be strengthened and forwarded if we use our organization, without further delay, to concentrate the claim of the People to the right of subsistence for labour-a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, on land, in factory, or shop; the claim to relief from taxation, by transferring it from industry to property; and the claim to improvement of the laws regulating labour-the laws of combination, partnership, contracts, and the

To do that there is no need to relax the movement for the Charter. On the contrary, every benefit obtained by the way will hasten your course by strengthening the confidence of the People at your back, and manifesting your power to your opponents.

Feeling that I have your sanction in that view, I shall use every suitable opportunity to strengthen our movement by combining in our policy the great leading principles of political and social regeneration for the People.

Believe me to be your faithful servant,

THORNTON HUNT.

"GATHOLICISM, THE RELIGION OF FEAR." *

Under this title Mr. G. J. Holyoake has published a little work, for the most part re-printed from the Reasoner, but containing additions in reference to the present anti-papal agitation. The engravings copied from Father Pinamonti's work, most forcibly, but painfully illustrate the horrible superstitition imposed by priestly fraud upon popular credulity. Published at the low price of three-pence, this work is within the reach, and we hope will circulate amongst, the millions. We give two extracts from those portions of the work applicable to the question of—

PAPAL AGORESSION.

"Catholicism may be defined as the best devised machinery the world has ever seen, for confining and enslaving the intellect. It is in effect, whatever it may be in intent, a widely ramified conspiracy against popular liberty. Its priests are political agents under the fair profession of being the Ministers of another world. As such they are dreaded and hated by betrayed patriots in every land where they predominate. No other answer than these facts need be given to the pretension of the Catholic Church that she is the sole depository of the Spirit of God. The Spirit of God would never have made the party to which it allied itself detested, for so many centuries, as the foe of Philosophy and the terror of Freedom.

"When Luther inaugurated the principle of private judgment, he doubtless laid the foundation of a new intellectual world, but as yet it has scarcely dawned. Each new sect exercising self-judgment for itself, but refusing to trust to others, the principle has nowhere among the religious found full play, and they have not attained to the exercise of any clear influence which can lay hold of the world and move it, which can supplant the well-devised system of incentives by which the Catholic Church has withstood the assaults of time, of dissent, and philosophy. It is on this account that we seek to attract attention to its advances, and excite the latent friends of reason to establish an opponent power, which shall save the world from the mental paralysis of the fatal tenets of Catholicism.

"We can be in no doubt that we have to decide between two purely human systems — between Catholicism, the growth of a barbarous period, and Rationalism, the offspring of civilization. Our alternative, therefore, is between a desolating superatition, built on the cowardice and indolence of men; and Rationalism, which invokes activity, humanity, and self-dependence."

TO THE POPE.

ociety exiles you, O Pope, from its bosom. Between us, by virtue of your provod impotence ceases all communion of affection, of works, of aspiration. You ought to have guided us; but whilst our souls, irradiated with new light, foresee a vaster ideal, and our brows sweat blood in clearing the obstacles in our way, you, trembling, dazzled, murmur forth to humanity, old formulas of the middle ages from which all virtue was extracted ages ago; old doctrines of blind resignation to evils that we can overcome, and which the Christian's prayer invites us to conquer—imploring that they kingdom come on earth, as it is in heaven. What progress have we accomplished through you,

* London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

for many ages? What victims have you taught us to save? To what class of sufferers, in mind or in body, have we, through your agency, extended a brother's hand, and said, sit with us at the table of equals: rejoice with us in the communion of souls, because for thee also Christ has given his blood? A people arose in the name of the Cross against the oppression of the Crescent, and whilst men, considered by you as unbelievers, ran from all parts, rebaptised to the faith in hope to conquer or die for that sign, you found not for that people a single word of comfort or benediction! Another people, dear to the church for its faith, and for the long and bloody sacrifices which it has made for her sake, raised in the name of its violated temples, of its destroyed liberties, of its abolished traditions, that national standard, which once arrested the invading Mahometan under the walls of Vienna, and you blessed its executioner! And we, thrilling with the lofty idea of love, of equality, of liberty, we arose, saying: We will make of Italy an altar upon which with joined hands we will pronounce the third word of life for humanity; and we exclaimed :- " Father, bless and guide us; but you, lost to all understanding of the mission of humanity and of the providential scheme, by a prostitution for ages with the princes of the carth, distrustful of yourself, of us, of the world, and of Providence itself, stopped short, terrified. You could do nothing but lament and The energy of faith, the power of sacrifice; the word that consoles and animates, are no longer yours. Our followers die for their faith, you for yours-flee. - Mazzini.

A FRAGMENT.

Translated from the French by John Pettie.

The first of all the revolutions affecting the human race, that revolution, symbolic and sacred, from which was born in the course of time all the progress of man and society, we behold apparent in the Scriptures, under the name and under the image of a female.

The All-powerful had said to the human pair, feeble and ignorant, "Thou shalt not cat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, or truly thou shalt die." The man resigned himself to this inactive and insensible felicity; but the woman, listening to the voice of the spirit of liberty which spoke within herself, accepted the peril. She preferred grief to ignorance, death to slavery. She seized with a bold hand the guarded fruit, and moved the man to participate in her act of daring. The All-powerful chastised both, banished them, and fixed a period to their lives. The mother of man is condemned to bring forth in tears. Eve remains for ever to her afflicted yet noble posterity, the personification, glorious though cursed, of the enfranchisement of the human mind,

This Genesis is the history of all the revolutions.

The powers of the earth, under whatever name they rule, theoeracy, aristocracy, or monarchy, have said always to the feeble whom they would retain in slavery: "If thou seek knowledge, thou shalt find death." And when the spirit of liberty has spoken to the oppressed, inciting them to cast off the double bondage of slavery and ignorance, they have said, "This that speaks to thee, it is the serpent, it is the tempter, it is the demon—it is philosophy, it is democracy, it is the spirit of evil,—listen not to it."

But the Spirit of Liberty is immortal, and revolution, that Eve perpetually renewed prefers still to this hour, as in the first days of the world, banishment, anathema, grief and death—to the shaneful peace of ignorance and slavery.

People, people, respect more than ever, he nour, cherish, venerate this Eve, always young, and always brave, who guards in her heart, the two most noble gifts of terrestrial life: the inspiration of liberty, and the virtue of self-sacrifice.

DANIEL STERN.

Leaves from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 9.)

"Her candle had been extinguished. A violent gust of wind had preceded the irruption of the mass of waters. Consuelo fell prostrate upon the last step, sustained hitherto by the instinct of self-preservation, but ignorant if she was saved—if the din of this cataract was not a new disaster which was about to overtake her—if the eold spray which dashed up even to where she was kneeling, and bathed her hair, was not the chilling hand of death extended to seize her.

"In the mean time, the reservoir is filled by degrees to the height of other deeper waste ways, which carry still farther into the bowels of the earth the current of the abundant spring. The noise diminishes, the vapours are dissipated, and a hollow and harmonious murmur echoes through the caverns. With a trembling succeeds in relighting her candle. With a trembling hand Consuclo Her heart still beats violently against her bosom, but her courage is restored, and throwing herself on her knees, she thanks God. Lastly, she examines the place in which she is, and throws the trembling light of her lantern upon the surrounding objects. A vast cavern hollowed by the hand of nature, is extended like a roof over an abyss into which the distant fountain of the Schreckenstein flows, and losos itself in the recesses of the mountain. This abyss itself in the recesses of the mountain. This abyss is so deep that the water which dashes into it cannot be seen at the bottom; but when a stoue is thrown in, it is heard falling for a space of two minutes with a noise resembling thunder. The echoes of the cavern repeat it for a long time, and the hollow and frightful dash of the water is heard still longer, and might be taken for the howlings of the infernal pack. At one side of this cavern a narrow and dangerous path hollowed out of the rock runs along the margin of the precipice, and is lost in another gallery where the labour of man ceases, and which takes an upward direction and leaves the course of the current.

"This is the road which Consuelo must take. There is no other—the water has closed and entirely filled that by which she came. It is impossible to await Zdenko's return in the grotto: its dampness would be fatal, and already the flame of her candle grows pale, flickers, and threatens to expire, without the possibility of being rerelighted.

"Consuelo is not paralyzed by the horror of her situation. She thinks indeed that she is no longer on the road to the Schreckenstein, but that these subterranean galleries which open before her, are a freak of nature, and conduct to places which are impassable, or to some labyrinth whence there is no issue. Still she will venture, were it only to seek a safer asylum until the next night. The next night, Zdenko will return and stop the current, the gallery will again be emptied, and the captive can retrace her steps and once more behold the blue vault of heaven.

"Consuclo therefore plunged into the mysterious recesses of the cavern with fresh courage, attentive this time to all the peculiarities of the soil, and always careful to follow the ascending paths, without allowing her course to be diverted by the different galleries, apparently more spacious and more direct, which presented themselves every moment. By this means she was sure of not again meeting any currents of water, and of being able to retrace her steps.

"She continued to advance in the midst of a thousand obstacles. Enormous stones blooked up her path; gigantic bats, awakened from their slumbers by the light of the lantern, came striking against it in squadrons, and whirling around the traveller like spirits of darkness. After the first emotions of surprise were over, she felt her courage increase at each fresh danger. Some-

times she climbed over immense blocks of stone which had been detached from the huge vault overhead, where other enormous masses hung from the cracked and disjointed roof, as if every moment about to fall and overwhelm her. At other times the vault became so low and narrow that Consuelo was obliged to creep on her hands and knees amid a close and heated atmosphere, in order to force a passage. She proceeded thus for half an hour, when on turning a sharp angle which her light and agile form could hardly pass, she fell from Carybdis into Soylla, on finding herself face to face with Zdenko-Zendko, at first petrified by surprise and frezen by terror, hut soon indignant, furious, and menacing, as she had previously seen him.

"In this labyrinth, surrounded by such numberless obstacles, and aided only a light which by the want of air threatened to stific every moment, Consuelo felt that flight was impossible. For a moment she had the idea of defending herself hand to hand against his murderous attempts; for Zdenko's wandering eyes and foaming mouth sufficiently announced that this time he would not confine himself to threats. Suddenly he took a strange and ferocious resolutiou, and began to gather huge stones and huild them one upon the other between himself and Consuelo, in order to wall up the narrow gallery in which she was. In this way he was certain, by not emptying the cistern for several days, to cause her to perish with hunger, like the bee which encloses the incautious hornet in his cell hy stopping up the mouth with wax.

"But it was not with wax, but with granite, that Zdenko built, and he earried on his work with astonishing rapidity. The amazing strength which this man, although emaciated and apparently so weak, displayed in collecting and arranging the blocks, proved to consuclo that all resistance would be vain, and that it was hetter to trust to finding another exit by retracing her steps, than to drive him to extremity by irritating him. She used her utmost powers of entreaty and persuasion to endeavour to move him. 'Zdenko,' said she, 'what are you doing there, foolish one? Alhert will reproach you with my death. Albert expects and calls mc. am his friend, his consolation, his safety. In destroying me, you destroy your friend and your brother.

"But Zdenko, fearing to be persuaded, and resolved to continue his work, commenced to sing in his own language a lively and animated air, still continuing to build his cyclopean wall with an active and powerful hand.

"One stone only was wanting to complete the edifice. Consuelo with a feeling of terror, saw him fix it in its place. 'Never,' thought she, 'shall I be able to demolish this wall; I should require the hands of a giant.' The wall was now finished, and immediately she saw Zdenko commence building another, behind the first. It was a quarry, a whole fortress, which he meant to heap up hetween her and Albert. He continued to sing, and seemed to take extreme pleasure in his work.

"A fortunate idea at last occurred to Consuelo. She remembered the famous heretical formula she had requested Amelia to explain to her, and which had so shocked the chaplain, 'Zdenko!' eried she in Bohemian, through one of the openings of the badly joined wall which already separated them; 'friend Zdenko, may he who has been wronged sa-Lute thec !

"Hardly had she pronounced these words, when they operated upon Zdenko like a charm; he let fall the enormous block which he held, uttered a deep sigh, and began to demolish his wall with even more promptitude than he had displayed in building it. Then reaching his hand to Consuelo, he assisted her in silence to surmount the scattered fragments, after which he looked at her with attention, sighed deeply, and giving her three keys tied together with a red ribbon, pointed out the path before her, and repeated, 'May he who has been wronged salute thee!'

head. 'I have no master,' said he; 'I had a friend, but you deprive me of him. Our destiny is accomplished. Go whither God directs you; as for me, I shall weep here till you return.'

"And seating himself upon the ruin, he buried his head in his hands, and would not utter another word. Consuelo did not stop long to console him. She feared the return of his fury, and profiting by this momentary respite, and certain at last of being on the route to the Sehreekenstein, she hurried forward on her way. In her uncertain and perilous journey, Consuelo had not made much advance; for Zdenko, who had taken a much longer route, but one which was inaccessible to the water had met her at the point of junction of the two suhterranean passages, which made the circuit of the chateau, its vast outbuildings, and the hill on which it stoodone, by a well arranged winding path, excavated in the rock by the hand of man—the other frightful, wild, and full of dangers. Consuelo did not in the least imagine that she was at that moment under the park, and yet she passed its gates and moat hy a path which all the keys and all the precautions of the canoness could no longer close against

"After having proceeded some distance on this new route, she almost resolved to turn back and renounce an enterpriso which had already proved so difficult and almost fatal to her. Perhaps fresh obstacles awaited her. Zdenko's ill will might be excited afresh. And if he should pursue and overtake her? If he should raise a sccond wall to prevent her return? Whereas, on the other hand, hy ahandoning her project, and asking him to clear the way to the cistern and empty it again that she might ascend, she had cvery chance of finding him gentle and henevo-lent. But she was still too much under the infl ence of her recent emotion, to think of once more facing that fantastic being. The terror he had caused her increased in proportion to the distance which separated them, and after having escaped his vengeance by almost miraculous presence of mind, she felt herself utterly overcome on thinking of it. She therefore continued her flight, having no longer the courage to attempt what might he necessary to render him favourable, and only wishing to find one of those magic doors, the keys of which he had given her, in order to place a barrier hetween herself and

the possible return of his fury.
"She followed the gallery, which was spacious, and admirably excavated by the athletic heroes of the middle ages. All the rocks were cut through by an elliptic arch of much character and regularity. The less compact portions, the chalky veins of the soil, and all those places where there was any danger of the roof falling in, were supported by finely worked arches of freestone, bound together by square key-stones of granite. Consuelo did not stop to admire this immense work, executed with a solidity which promised to defy the lapse of many ages; neither did she ask herself how the present owners of the chatcau could he ignorant of the existence of so important a construction.

"Sho might have explained it hy remembering, that all the historical documents of the family and estate had hoen destroyed more than a century before, at the epoch of the Reformation in Bohemia; hut she no longer looked around her. and hardly hestowed a thought upon anything except her own safety, satisfied with simply finding a level floor, an air which sho could breathe, and a free space in which to move. She had still a long distance to traverse, although this direct route to the Schreckenstein was much shorter than the winding path through the mountain. She found the way very tedious, and no longer able to determine in what direction she was proceeding, she knew not if it led to the Schreckenstein, or to some more distant termination.

"Afterwalking for ahout a quarter of an hour, "Will you not serve me as a guide?' said she. she found the vault gradually increase in height, "Conduct me to your master.' Zdenko shook his and the work of the architect cease entirely.

Nevertheless these vast quarries, and these majestic grottoes 'through which she passed, were still the work of man; but trenched upon hy vegetation, and receiving the external air through numberless fissures, they had a less gloomy aspect than the galleries, and contained a thousand hiding-places and means of escape from the pursuit of an irritated adversary. But a noise of running water which was now heard made Consuelo shudder; and if she had been able to jest in such a situation, she might have confessed to herself that Baron Frederick on his return from the, chase had never expressed a greater horror of water than she experienced at that instant.

"But reflection soon reassured her. since she had left the precipice where she had heen so nearly overwhelmed with the rush of water, she had continued to ascend, and unless Zdenko had at his command a hydraulic machine of inconceivable power and extent, he could not raise to that height his terrible auxiliary, the torrent. Besides, it was evident that she must somewhere encounter the current of the fountain, the sluice, or the spring itself; and if she had reflected farther, she would have been astonished that she had not yet found in her path this mysterious source, this Fountain of Tears which supplied the cistern. The fact was, that the spring pursued its way through unknown regions of the mountain, and that the gallery, cutting it at right angles, did not encounter it except just near the oistern, and afterwards under the Schreckenstein, as happened to Consuelo. The sluice-gate was far behind her, on the path which Zdenko had passed alone, and Consuelo approached the spring which for ages had been seen by no one except Alhert and Zdenke. In a short time she met with the current, and this time she walked along its hank without fear and without danger.

"A path of smooth fresh sand hordered the course of the limpid and transparent stream, which ran with a pleasant murmur between carefully formed banks. There the handiwork of man once more re-appeared. The path sloped down to the margin of the rivulet, and wound its way through beautiful aquatic plants, enormous wall-flowers, and wild hrambles, which flourished in this sheltered place without injury from the rigour of the season. Enough of the external air penetrated through cracks and crevices to support the vegetation, but these crevices were too narrow to afford passage to the curious eye which sought to pry into them from without. It was like a natural hot-house, preserved by its vaults from cold and snow, but sufficiently aired by a thousand imperceptible breathing-holes. It seemed as if some caroful and discriminating hand had protected the lives of those heautiful plants, and freed the sand, which the torrent threw upon its banks of any stones, that could have hurt the feet, and this supposition would have been correct. It was Zdenko who had made the neighbourhood of 'Albert's retreat so lovely, pleasant, and secure.

"Consuelo already hegan to feel the grateful influence which the less gloomy and poetic aspect of external objects produced upon her imagination. When she saw the pale rays of the moon glance here and there through the openings of the rocks, and reflect themselves upon the moving water; when she saw the motionless plants, which the water did not reach, agitated at intervals hy the wind of the forest; when she perceived herself ascending nearer and nearer to the surface of the earth, she felt her strength renovated, and the reception which awaited her at the end of her heroic pilgrimage was depicted to her mind in less sombre colours. At last she saw the path turn abruptly from the margin of the stream, enter a short gallery newly huilt, and terminate at a little door, which seemed of metal, it was so cold, and which was encircled, and as it were framed, by an enormous ground ivy.

(To be continued

Labour Record Co-operatibe Chronicle.

Mes Secretaries, or other active members of Trades Unions, Labour Associations, Co-operative Societies, &c., will obliquely forwarding intelligence of "Strikes," the formation and proceedings of their Unions, &c., &c., to the Editor of "The Friend of the People."

THE WORLD'S INDUSTRIAL CONGRESS. TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SEVENTY-EIGHT SOCIETIES REPRE-SENTED IN THE NEW YORK INDUSTRIAL CONGRESS.

Citizen Brothers—I am instructed by the central committee of the "Metropolitan House Painters' Society" to communicate to you their intention to elect a delegate or delegates, in accordance with the summons issuing from delegates, in accordance with the summons issuing from your body, convoking an Industrial Congress of working men. Citizens, we respond to your summons, with awakened hopes; and hail as auspicious for the interests of our order, that our brethren of the great republic have, in taking counsel together, on LABOUR'S RIGHTS, remembered us, who in old Europe know most of LABOUR'S WRONGS. We had hoped (and it appears not vainly) that your fathers had bequeathed to you alike their hatred of oppression and their sympathy with the oppressed. And though the number is great of those of our hrethren, who yearly fly to your shores, seeking the home and bread which is denied them in the land of their hirth, yet greater still are the numbers of those who, condemned to toil and suffer here, think of America with hope, and hear of her growing power with pride.

Come then citizens on your mission of brotherhood. It is good that ye whose forefathers fled from our country, to escape from persecution and wrong, should return to

escape from persecution and wrong, should return to console and aid the sufferers who remain.

Accept, citizens, our fraternal regards,
Signed on behalf of the central JOHN PETTIE, committee
12, Goldington-street, St. Pancras,
London, Feb. 10th, 1851. Secretary.

STRIKES.

CARPENTERS AND SHIPWRIGHTS.—It is reported in the daily papers that the shipwrights and carpenters of South Shields are on strike, and it is thought that if an arrangement is not speedily come to between the employers and the men, the whole of the shipwrights of the Tyne will be off work. off work.

the men, the whole of the snipwrights of the Tyne will be off work.

The Great Strike of Seamen.—Captain Beechey has been deputed by the Board of Trade to confer with the Seamen on strike at Sunderland, Shields, &c. After hearing the captain's statements and explanations, a large meeting of the seamen resolved that the said statesments, &c., were unsatisfactory. At Hull, meetings have been held, and a deputation appointed to confer with the mer of the North. The repeal of the Navigation Laws is loudly condemned. The register tickets are stigmatised as being designed to aid impressment in the event of a war. At one of the meetings a speaker declared that if the present law remained unaltered there would be more desertion from British Ships at North American ports than there has been for the last twenty years. The fact that seamen have not one representative of their class in the House of Commons is bitterly commented on! The following is the reply of the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade to the master mariners and seamen of Sunderland:—

"My Lords direct me to acknowledge the receipt of a memorial from the seamen of Sunderland, transmitted to my Lords by the local marine board of that port, and to return the following answer to the several points which

to return the following answer their referred to:—
"With regard to register tickets, I am to state that my Lords cannot consent to abolish a system which is not now introduced for the first time, and which they are considered is beneficial to the merchant service. They expended is beneficial to the merchant service. now introduced for the first time, and which they are convinced is beneficial to the merchant service. They expect, however, that experience will enable them to make it more serviceable than it has hitherto been, and they desire me to point out that without such a system it would be impracticable to carry into effect any plan for distinguishing or otherwise rewarding long services and good conduct—an object on which the memoralists justly set so high a value.

"With regard to the shipping offices and to the fees naid by the seamen on their engagement and discharge.

"With regard to the shipping offices and to the fees paid by the seamen on their engagement and discharge, I am to state that my Lords consider that the dispensing power vested in them was not intended by the Legislature to be exercised in such a manner as to put an end to the operation of the shipping offices, and they cannot, therefore, consent so to exercise it.

"As much misapprehension appears to exist on the subject of these offices. I am to state they are intended to

"As much misapprenension appears to exist on the subject of these offices, I am to state they are intended to effect the following important objects:—To render both masters and seamen independent of private shipping agents; to keep a record of character which will enable the good seamen more readily to obtain ampleyments to agents; to keep a record of character which will cnable the good seamen more readily to obtain employment; to protect the seamen by insuring a proper understanding and execution of the agreement, and a proper issue of the advance note; and to facilitate a settlement at the end of the voyage by insuring delivery of a proper account, and by providing a cheap and speedy mode of deciding disputes, which cannot otherwise be determined without a long and expensive process before magistrates.

"Besides these objects, the shipping offices will also, by the records kept there, supply the means of tracing meritorious conduct, and of rewarding it in any manner which may be found practicable.

"My Lords desire me also to remind the memoralists that by the recent act, the stamp duty, amounting to one shilling, has been taken off every advance note, while the note itself, by the precautions used in issuing it at the shipping office, will be much increased in value.
"When these circumstances are duly considered, my Lords believe the fee paid by the sailor for the mainte-

Lords believe the fee paid by the sailor for the mainte-nance of the shipping office will no longer be considered a grievance. They desire me, however, to state that though they can hold out no expectation that it will be dispensed with, they are prepared, after a short expe-rience of the working of these offices, to take into consi-deration whether it may not be possible to reduce the fees in the case of ships which make short and frequent voyages, as is believed to be the case with many vessels bc-

longing to the northern and eastern ports.

"With regard to the regulations for preserving discipling issued by the Board of Trade, I am to state that much misapprehension appears to exist as to their real character. The Board of Trade has no power to enforce their general adoption, and has not attempted to do so. No master or owner need adopt any of them unless he pleases, and no seamen need enter into any agreement which contains any of them unless he chooses to do so of his own free will. There is nothing in the act or in the regulations of the Board of Trade, to prevent masters and crews from framing their own rules, provided they are not contrary to law. Of the fines authorised by the Board of Trade, the greater number were in frequent use before the recent act came into operation. They have been selected with a view to the comfort of the crew, fully as much for the purpose of protecting the interest of the owner; and those which relate to breaches of discipline under the act will probably, in cases where the offences are not of a very serious character, be employed in preference to legal prosecutions, and will thus operate as mitigations of the severer punishments which might be inflicted. They have, with few exceptions, been voluntarily adopted in the ports of the United Kingdom, and will, it is believed, operate to the advantage of all wellwill, it is believed, operate to the advantage of all well-"With regard to the establishment of nautical schools,

"With regard to the establishment of nautical schools, I am to state that my Lords sincerely concur in the desires expressed by the niemoralists. They believe that the examinations introduced by the statute will have a great effect in promoting such institutions, and they have been informed that in one large scaport this effect has been already produced. Although my Lords believe that this object may be attained in the most effectual mainer that the constance of the responsibility and they by the spontaneous efforts of the persons interested, they will gladly give to such efforts any encouragement or as-

will grainly give to such enterts any encouragement of assistance in their power.

"With regard to badges or other distinctions, or rewards for good conduct, my Lords entirely concur in the principle of such rewards, and are ready to receive any suggestions for carrying it into effect which may be found practicable.

rracticable.

"In eonclusion, I am to state that my Lords are most anxious to promote by every means in their power a good understanding and a proper relation between officers and crews, as well as between shipowners and those employed by them, and they trust that the masters and seamen of Sunderland will, on consideration, be satisfied that the recent measure is calculated to effect these objects by its various provisions, which will, on the one hand, insure proper qualifications in officers, and on the other maintain a proper observance of discipline by scamen, and will in addition insure to both parties those rights and comforts which their respective situations demand. tions demand.

"Office of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, Jan. 30."

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS

Spring-Knife Cutlers's Co-operative Sture.-We understand that a portion of the spring-knife cutlers in this town are making indefatigable efforts to establish a store for the sale of groceries and all kinds of provisions generally, to be called the "Spring-knife Cutlers' Co-operative Store." The chief objects of this society will be to supply its members with a good article at a cheap rate, and the profits that accrue from the business be allowed to work in the concern for the joint benefit of the society; thus, ultimately, securing to each mcmber a considerable amount of profit for the loan of his subscription. We strongly recommend every individual of that most formidable body, of which there are upwards of 2,000 in Sheffield, to rouse themselves and add their names to those who are already making strenuous efforts to better the condition of their fellow-workmen. The committee room of the spring-knife cutlers, in Holly-street, has been mentioned as the most convenient place for the co-operative store.—Sheffield Free Press.

tioned as the most convenient place for the co-operative store.—Sheffield Free Press.

Planoforte Makers.—The Christian Socialist states that an association of working pianoforte makers is about to be started. The plant and good will of the business of their late employer have been bought in on their behalf by one of the Promoters; they are sixteen in number, and have a market for between four and five pianos a week. The men bear an excellent character, and are

ber, and have a market for between four and five planos a week. The men bear an excellent character, and are preparing an oak piano for the Great Exhibition.

LEGALIZATION OF INDUSTRIAL ASSOCIATIONS.—The following form of Petition (by working men,) for the legalization of Industrial Associations has been sanctioned by the Council of Promoters:

Council of Promoters:
"To the Honourable the Commons of the United King-On the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled. The humble petition of the several persons whose name are hereunder written showeth: That your Petitioners are persons supporting themselves by their labour

in various handicrafts or trades, which they are desirous of carrying on in common upon their own account for the support of themselves and their families; That your Petitioners have at present no means of associating tosupport of themselves and their families; That your Petitioners have at present no means of associating together for the above purpose, under the sanction of the law, beyond the number of twenty-five, otherwise than under the provisions of the Joint Stock Companies' Act, 7 and 8 Vict., c. 110; but that the expense of registration under that act in most cases greatly exceeds their resources, whilst many of its provisions are either needless or even prejudicial, for the purpose of associated labour; That if the old common law of England applicable to partnerships had continued unaltered, your Petitioners are advised that they would have been enabled to make such voluntary agreements as would have helped in carrying out the objects they have in view; that the objects of your Petitioners are analagous in many respects to those contemplated by the Acts relating to Friendly Societies, which have been extended of late years to Building Societies and Loan Societies; and that such objects could be readily carried out by the machinery supplied by these Acts; Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that the provisions of the said Acts relating to Friendly Societies may be extended to all associations of working-men formed for the purpose of carrying on their trade, labour or handicraft, for the benefit of themselves and their families in like manner as they have been extended to Building Societies and Loan Societies like manner as they have been extended to Building Societies and Loan Societies.

And your Petitioners will ever pray, &c.''

Signatures.

Poetry for the People.

THE MORNING HYMN OF FREEDOM. Air-Blue Bonnets over the Border.
Wake! wake! Freedom hath need of ye;

Wake! wake! Freedom hath need of ye;
Up from the sloth where too long ye have slumber'd:
Rise! rise! hope taketh heed of ye:
Rise! for the hours of Oppresion are number'd.

Ages have pray'd for ye;
Heaping up aid for ye;
Even Despair signs your warrant of glory:
Hasten ye! Victory
Waiteth to welcome ye!
On for your birthright! God goeth before ye.
Rise! rise! Freedom hath need of ye;
Out of the sloth where your energ; s slumber'd:
March! march! God give good speed to ye!
On! for the hours of Oppresion are number'd.
Leap from the torpor of Doubt that enthrall'd ye:

On! for the hours of Oppresion are number'd.

Leap from the torpor of Doubt that enthrall'd ye;
Cast off the Hate coiling round ye like pain;
Trample the shadowy fear that appall'd ye
Come from the poor house, the prison, the chain!

Welcome to Liberty!

Earth heaveth joyfully;
Tyranny's minions are qualling before ye;
Long shall Futurity,
Pointing with pride to ye:
Tell how the Serf won his garland of glory.

Wake! wake! Freedom hath need of ye;
Stormfully burst from the depth of your slumbers;
Rise! rise! Hope taketh heed of ye;
Tyrants are whelm'd in the tide of our numbers.

Spartacus.

COSSACK, OR REPUBLICAN?

"The lance of the Cossack shall not doom our Europe to barbarism, slavery, and the knout! * * * * The hour must come when Freedoom's sons will march on the Great Crusade for the overthrow of the Cossack to the cry of 'Vive la Republique Universelle, Democratique et Sociale!"

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

Still 'mong the hills, and in the valleys low, The unextinguished fires of Freedom glow, Though seeming, day by day, to dimmer grow. Mazzini's name's still whispered on the tomb Of martyred youth, and 'mid the present gloor In trusting hearts, hopes for the Future bloom. Great Kossuth's voice shall once again inspire With renewed hopes, Ilungary's souls of fire; And kings, and slaves fice from the Magyar's ire. "Europe is mine!" Such is the Cossack's dream; But Freedom yet shall on the Peoples beam; And our blest banner o'er our world shall stream. ALEXANDER BELL.

BUNHILL-FIELDS .- The eminent persons and public characters interred in this burial ground, include John Bunyan, author of the Pilgrim's Progress; George Fox, founder of the sect of Quakers; Lieut.-General Fleetwood, son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell; Daniel De Foe, author of Robinson Crusoe; the mother of John Wesley; Dr. Isaac Watts; Thomas Hardy, secretary to the London Corresponding Society; Gale Jones, the Radical orator; and Thomas Preston, one of the associates of the political martyr, Arthur Thistle-

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KRIND OF THE PROPER.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY C. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 11.7

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1851.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—

BEM AND KOSSUTH.

I would that my country readers could have participated in the assembly held at the Literary Institution, John Street, Tottenham Court Road, on the evening of Tuesday, Feb. 11th, to honour the memory of General BEM. It was a glorious sight to witness the fraternal assemblage of so many patriots of various nations, all uniting in paying homage to the memory of a hero whose sword was ever pointed against tyrants. It has been said that BEM was no democrat in the meaning attached to that name by all true democrats. Even if so, his loss is, never-theless, to be deplored; for if no demoerat, he was at least the sword of Democracy. Before Democratic ascendancy can be possible, it is necessary that the tyrants and brigands against whom BEM waged implacable war, should be overthrown, and their power utterly annihilated. Whatever may have been the faults or errors of BEM as a politician, as a soldier he was the bravest of the brave; and all his heroism was devoted to the destruction of despotism. In the holy war of the peoples against their oppressors which cannot be much longer delayed, the struggling nations will sorely miss the daring valonr of tyrant-hating BEM.

The most interesting circumstance in connection with the meeting above alluded to was the first appearance of Louis Blanc on a public platform in England. In my time I have witnessed the reception given to many popular men by their admirers, but I question if ever I saw and heard anything equal to the burning enthusiasm which hailed the apostle of Labour's Rights, on the evening of the 11th inst. Again and again bursts of applause, terminating with the English "Hurrah!" repeated over and over, preceded and followed the speech of the Peoples' friend. What an answer to the lies of the Times; what a reply to the calumnies of Louis Blanc's traducers! I rejoice in being able to supply my readers with an accurate

report * of the first public speech delivered in England by the man whose writings and labours, consecrated to the service of Humanity, have won for him a world wide and imperishable renown.

SPEECH OF LOUIS BLANC,

DELIVERED AT THE INSTITUTION, JOHN STREET, TOTTEN-HAM COURT ROAD, ON TUESDAY, FEB. 11, 1851, AT THE MEETING CONVENED TO HONOUR THE MEMORY OF THE LATE GENERAL BEM.

The Chairman, CARL SCHAPPER, having introduced Louis Blanc, the meeting rose as one man; at the same moment burst forth a hurricane of applause, which after being renewed again and again, concluded with "three times three" tremendous cheers. Silence being at length restored, Louis Blanc

spoke as follows:

"It is not for a Frenchman, speaking in the presence of Hungarians, to retrace the prodigies of this war, which was the wonder and admiration of Europe, and which has rendered the name of Bem imperishable. But what a Frenchman may recall here is, that the Hungarian war had not only for its object to protect the iuviolability of a particular territory, to avenge the legitimate pride of a special nationality, but also to defend the principles of justice, and the ideas by which the conscience of the peoples is agitated at the present time (applause). Who does not remember the acts of the Hungarian Diet after the revolution of February? A national and responsible ministry, civil and political equality, without distinction of language or sect; the equal taxation of all, nobles or plebeians; the land restored to its cultivators: behold by what glorious reforms did Hungary announce the spirit in which its children drew the sword. (Cheers.) In this sense, we may attest that the Hungarian cause was a cause truly European, and that in the hands of the heroic soldiers of Bem the flag of independence was also that of liberty! (Great applause.) The kings were not blind to this. The manifesto published by the Emperor Nicholas, when he sent his armies to Austria,

* The only accurate report. I regret the reader can only have the pleasure of reading the speech. He would have been much more pleased to have heard the speech delivered in the fine clear voice, and accompanied by the eloquent "action" of the orator.

contained these words—'Russia will fulfil her holy mission.' Now, of what mission did he speak? Peter the Great had said in his political testament: 'I found Russia a stream, I leave her a river, and my successors will make her a vast sea.' The Emperor Nicholas would fain have added to the insolent words of the Czar Peter, 'and this vast sea shall submerge the liberties of the world.' Ah! it will be to the eternal honour of the Hungarians to have figured in the front rank in this supreme struggle of the two Europes of which Napoleon spoke—Cossack and Republican. It will be to the eternal honour of the Hungarians that the Emperor of Russia has not thought it possible to march straight to the Republic, in order to destroy it, except by passing over their dead bodies. (Renewed applause.) But at the same time I proclaim it with profound grief in thinking of my country, shame, eternal shame to the French government for having permitted, without a single word of protestation, this sacrilegious aggression! (Assent!) Hungary abandoned, Italy oppressed—behold two stains of blood which this Louis Bonaparte has upon his forehead, blood stains, like those in Macbeth, which all the waves of the ocean could not efface. (Assent!) A great man of this country, Lord Chatham, once said—'with a man who does not see that it is for the interest of England to arrest the encroachments of Russian power, discussion is impossible. And to me it seems that we might say,-With a man who does not see that it is for the interest of all peoples, and even of the Russian people itself, to arrest the encroachments of Russian power, discussion is impossible.' (Cheers.) Yes, Hungary, in this war, more memorable than that of the 30 years, has been the advanced guard of civilization compelled to engage with barbarism in a terrible struggle. It is that which gives to the efforts of so many noble warriors an historical importance, and, as it were a sacred character. And with respect to Bem, whether he was or was not a democrat, his glory has been that of being a chief of militant democracy. (Cheers.) Most as suredly, citizens, I am not one of those who love war for war's sake. That thieving on a large scale which men call conquest, fills me

with horror, and conquerors with contempt. (Applause.) If I might choose for my country the motto of its foreign policy, it should be-Propagandism ever, but never Conquest! (Renewed applause.) I would add that even when not an atrocious folly, war is at best, one of those ever to be lamented acts of wisdom which prove the general felly of men. I would add that kings only are interested in the permanence of armics, because they have need of armed proletarians to keep in subjection the proletarians without arms. (Loud cheers.) But is the time arrived for the Peoples to sing in chorus a hymn to peace? Let such be the belief of those naif philosophers who have lately been hurrying here and there, and assembling in their congresses of peace, whilst Russian cannon decimated Hungarain soldiers, and Frenchmen become Vandals, were compelling Italian independence to render up its last sigh. For us, citizens, we believe that so long as despots have their satellites, it is well that Liberty should have her soldiers. (Renewed cheering.) We believe that far from laying down the sword the people ought, to use an expression of one of our revolutionary heroes of the convention, to cast far away the scabbard. (Great cheering.) Without doubt some day, if our dearest hopes do not deceive us, from all parts of the globe this sublime cry shall mount to heaven. Vive la Paix! But in the meantime, citizens. as long as there shall be oppressors, Vive la Guerre! (Immense, enthusiastic, and long-continued applause.)"

Public meetings have been holden in a few towns to memorialise the British Government in favour of Kossuth and his fellow exiles. It is greatly to the credit of the working men of Newcastle-upou-Tyne that they have been foremost in this good work. At a public meeting convened by the Mayor, on the requisition of 120 of the inhabitants, chiefly of the industrial classes, the following resolution and memorial were unanimously adop-

"That the cause of nationalities and of popu lar sovereignty is ever sacred in our eyes. our sorrows for Kossuth's country's reverses, and our destestation of her infamous oppressors, are only equalled by our admiration of his genius and heroism, who, against such fearful odds, displayed such prodigies of valour and self-sacrifice in the defence of his country; and we believe that, in so honouring the Ex-President Governor of Hungary, we are but discharging our national contingent of gratitude which European democracy owes to the first organizing genius of the age, and to the chivalrous people with whose wrongs and renown his name is imperishably linked."

"To Viscount Palmerston, Her Majesty's Princi-pal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Memorial of the inhabitants of Newcastle-

upon-Tyne in Public Meeting assembled, Sheweth,—That your memorialists respectfully but earnestly solicit your lordship's intercession, in the name of England, on behalf of the brave but unfortunate Hungarians, now detained under Turkish superintendence at Kutaja, in Asia, contrary to expectations which they have been led to entertain, and that, as England inter-fered first to support Turkey in her exercise of the rites of national hospitality, and to save her from the compulsory surrender of those who had taken refuge within her borders, and thrown themselves on her protection, and as your lordship on more than one occasion (February 7th, March 18th, 1850,) has publicly expressed your hope and belief that this detention would be only for a time, and shortly terminate, your memorialists entreat your lordship to follow up with vigour the same just and humane policy, and, by procuring the liberation of Kossuth and his companions, enable them to remove into distant countries, where they may honourably maintain themselves by the exercise of their talents and industry, till eireumstances shall again permit them to return to the land of their fathers."

Copies, or improved versions of the above may be adopted at future meetings. For the words "enable them to remove to distant countries," I would substitute the wordsenable them to take refuge in this country, &c.' The words in the original memorial might be construed to mean that the English people desired the release of the exiles from Turkey only to be transported to America. Surely there is room in this country for the Hungarian patriots. England would be honoured by their presence. She would be disgraced if she failed to afford a home to Kossuth and his illustrious fellow sufferers.

Could it be avoided I would be the last man to countenance memorials to "Lord" PALMERSTON, or any of his colleagues, on any subject whatever. But having in view the end proposed I have no hesitation in urging the working classes to follow the example of their brethren of Newcastle. The real nature of the Foreign Secretary's "liberalism," and the hollowness of his sympathy for the Hungariau cause, are well understood and appreciated by the readers of this publication. They have not forgotten that the decided step taken by the British Goyernment in support of Turkey, at the moment that the latter power was menaced with war by Russia and Austria for daring to accord protection to Kossuth and his companious in exile, was dictated partly by motives of state policy, but principally by the force of public opinion expressed with so much unanimity, energy, and enthusiasm in favour of Hungary's champions. Let then, "the pressure from without" so effective on that occasion be again tried; and doubtless "Lord" PALMERSTON'S sympathies will be quickened and his influence exerted to induce the Turkish government to give freedom to the exiles to proceed whither they please.

Where popular committees are already in existence, let them forthwith take up this question. Where no such committees exist Where no such committees exist, let two or three earnest men come together, seek the aid of others, and call a public meeting, if posssble under the sanction and presidency of the local authorities, to memorialise the Foreign Secretary in favour of the exiles. If the good work is done at once, and with the requisite energy, not many weeks will clapse before Kossuth will tread the shores of England. Let every man do his duty!

In the latter part of January, there sailed from Constantinople for England, more than two hundred Poles, belonging to the Polish Legion, late in the service of the Rcpublican government of Hungary. the Poles there are associated a number of Hungarians, Italians, &c., &c., also belonging to the late Hungarian army of Freedom. These soldiers of Liberty are expected to arrive at Liverpool early in March, and will land on these shores utterly destitute of the means of subsistence. To provide at least some temporary assistance for our heroic but unfortunate brothers is a sacred, an indispensible duty. If left merely to the unorganised sympathy of the public generally, they must perish. It is, therefore, imperative

that Committees the forthwith formed in Liverpool, Manchester, and London, to begin with, for the purpose of appealing to the generous and fraternal feeling of the British people in behalf of the noble men who will almost immediately be cast destitute upon the soil of this country. Money should be obtained, and the Liverpool Committee furnished with the means of supplying the exiles with food and shelter, at least during some days; and this money should be obtained with as litle delay as possible. I entreat the Friends of Liberty in Liverpool and Manchester to forthwith take counsel together as to the best means of obtaining the necessary funds; and let them, as soon as possible, communicate with friends in London. Until a committee is formed_I will undertake to forward all communications addressed to my care, to the chiefs of the Polish Emigration residing in the metro-

Since the above was witten I have heard that another band of the defenders of Hungary are expected to arrive at Southampton immediately. An appeal to Parliament for a graut of money in aid of the Refugees should be instantly made by public meetings, backed up by addresses to the M.P.'s from their constituents in connection with the non-electors. Again I say: Let every man do his duty!

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

TO THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS.

BROTHERS,-In accordance with the rules of our Society the members residing in London have elected us, the undersigned, to conduct the association during the year 1851. The election is subject to the approval of the majority of the entire body; it is for those brothers who reside in the provinces to express their assent to, or dissent from the ehoice made by the London members.

It is necessary that those members whose annual contribution was paid on or before the 1st of March. 1850, forthwith renew their subscription. An account of the receipts and disbursements will be forwarded to each member on receipt of a postage

During the past year your Committee exercised the power entrusted to them to the best of their ability, for the advancement of the objects of the Society, by holding public meetings for the dissemination of our principles, and by privately succouring the unfortunate to the extent permitted by the society's funds. Our numbers have increased, and we look for a considerable addition in the course of the present year. Brothers, we will not fail in our duty; it is for you to know and aecomplish yours.

1850 has witnessed the abrogation of Universal Suffrage in France, the be-trayal of the people of Electoral Hesse and Schleswig-Holstein by the perjured Prussian king, the continued conspiracy of the tyrants of Europe, and the unchecked persecution of the defenders of Democracy. Vain efforts to conserve the anthority of Evil and prevent the triumph of Justice! The conspiracy of the tyrants is but the prelude to the union of the Peoples. That union is even now in course of progress; Time will accomplish the

If we cannot congratulate you on victories gained by the people over their oppressors, in the course of the past year, we may at least felicitate you on the mental and moral progress of our holy principles. Repressed in external action, the force of democracy is felt strengthening, expanding everywhere, and influencing the thoughts and acts of men, and of nations. The sabre still sways the fate of our brethren throughout Continental Europe; the Lords of the Mill and the Mine, the Bank and the Bourse, still rule over and sap the vigour of Our Land. But the hour approaches, when the swords of the despots, who now devastate Europe, scattering destruction over its cities, and grief and widowhood in its villages, -will be turned against their own breasts; and Wealth and Privilege shall cease to dominate over the industrious millions. The time draws near, when MAN shall exist "Sceptreless, free, equal; king over himself: just, gentle, and wise." Brethren, the promised land is before us; Feudality and Slavish superstition behind. The past returns not, and it remains for you to give your help to annihilate the despotism and suffering of the present.

(Signed by the Committee).

D. W. RUFFY, Edw. Swift, H. A. Ivory, John Milne, John Arnott. WM. SHUTE JAMES GRASSBY, Treasurer. John Petrie, Financial Secretary. G. Julian Harney, Corresponding Sec. Feb. 14, 1851.

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS. THE PAPAL CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

WE continue our extracts from Prinest Jones's lectures :-

"To uphold the Papal system, a vast army of the church militant was maintained in every land. They rested like bloated spiders on the fruits of the soil. Hundreds of thousands of monks were spread through every kingdom. Their cathedrals were their fortresses, their monasteries their barracks, the rack their weapon. No standing army was ever so wasteful, no police so vigilant. eye was on every house, their shadow on every threshold, their hand in every pocket. They watched the first smile of the infant, and darkened it with the gloom of superstition; they caught the last sigh of the dying, and with it the patrimony of his heirs. Swarms of sturdy beggars, the mendicant orders, poured their greedy hordes, wave after wave, over every country, every one of them more inviolable than a king, and more feared than a God. Pride and idleness were their brand-marks. The barefoot Carmelite reproved a king of Spain upon his throne; the courtiers asked him if he did not tremble thus to address his sovereign, sooner,' h · replied, 'does it behave you to tremble before us, who every day have your kings at our feet, and your God in our hands.'

"A terrible tribunal, inserutable as the conneils of Heaven, its countless seats buried within massy walls, never pierced by the eye of the profance, scarce fathomed by the light of day, sometimes plunged within the very bowels of the earth, waited their behest with rack and fire. Beautiful young women were torn from their families under the cloak of heresy-the doors of the Holy Office closed on them-the laseivious Priests seized them, and what became of them none ever knew. Men vanished from the circle of their kindred-one moment they were sitting by their fireside—but a dark-robed figure beekoned them away-the next, they were gone-and for ever! None dared question how or where! The widow durst not be seen to mourn, or the orphan to weep for the doomed of the Inquisition !

"The general of this tremendous army, the judge of this irresponsible tribunal, one old man, sat in the Lateran at Rome, before whom the crowned licads of the earth bent in the dust. his foot on the neek of a German Emperor, he dashed the crown off the brows of an English king. At his word, the heart of the world was paralysed; at his mandate, none were baptised, married, or buried, throughout Christendom. Son drew his sword against father; the wife gave her husband to the stake; nations were hurled against nations, war was hurried upon war.

"Not content with the mastery of carth, he arrogated the sovereignty of Heaven. He was

styled Pope, "the King of Kings" and "Lord of Lords." In his bulls he asserted he was meant, when it was said to Jeremial, "Behold | I have this day set thee over the nations and the kingdoms, to root out and pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant." was an incomprehensible, infinito power. preme king of the earth, he could tax all Christians, and none but madmen could deny this right. He might depose kings; all living beings were his subjects, and the belief in this was necessary to salvation.

"Down at the feet of this accursed superstition sank everything that was good and great and free and brave. Brute force strangled every liberal thought-torture silenced every generous heart. Francis the First hung the Protestants from a moveable gallows, the beam dipping into a slow fire, and lifting them out half dead to prolong their Under one Pope they were bound in the dark on bedsteads of hollow iron, which were gradually made red-hot beneath them; under another they were placed over a furnaco in brazen pans, with lids that locked over them, and thus left to calcine. For one King of France the priests prepared a triumphal entry into Paris by night, the streets being illuminated by rows of Protestants, fixed up at the sides covered with resin, and burning in imitation of torches. For another, they consumed the feet off the bodies of their living victims, thursting their legs nearer as the ends burned off. Priests stood on the breaches of the stormed cities of the Protestants, teaching the soldiers to toss little children to and fro on the points of their pikes. At one town in Provence, the entrances having been closed, while man, woman, and child were burning within in a single mass, a noble ventured to object that many good Catholies were in the town! "No matter!" cried the legate, "burn them all! God will know his In England, seeing the indomitable spirit of their victims, and fearing its effects on the people, they parburned and parboiled them first in prison, to shatter their nerves, before leading them out to public execution. At last, individual murders, nay! battles and sieges became insufficient to slake the bloodlust of these priests of hell: the Massacre of St. Bartholomew stands without a parallel in the history of the world, and received the benediction of its 'holy father.'"

After this general picture of the Papal System, Mr. Jones reviews the history of the Papal Church in the times of the Ancient Britons, Anglo-Saxons, Normans, &c., &c. We select the following pas-

sages :- "The British Church before the Anglo-Saxons," says Southey, "was deplorably corrupt. Cadwallon and Edwin, Christian princes, committed atrocities that Penda, the pagan ally of the former, 'blushed to behold, and abhorred to imitate.' Such was the British Church.

"The infant church of the Anglo-Saxons was soon shaken by contention. What was called the Pelagian heresy arose.* Then came the question about the tonsure; the Romanists saying, the head ought to shaved all round where the crown of thorns rested; their opponents contended that the forepart, from ear to ear, was quito enough n-eio able a priest to get to Heaven. A terrible war arose out of this. You smile—but is it more absurd then the surplice-strife of our own day? Then followed the great struggle as to whit ofet two days Easter should be held on. Augustine told the schismatics: 'Since you refuse peace from your brethren, you shall have war from your Since you will not preach what we

* The doctrine adopted by Pelagius was brought to Rome by the Syrian Rufins, about the year 400. He taught the perfectibility of human nature—that Adam's sin affected only Adam, and that all mankind were not damned to all eternity because one man was once persuaded to eat a piece of an apple. The English people eagerly embraced the doctrine—but it was rooted out by the sword.

preach, the word of life to the Saxons, you shall have death at their hands.' To verify his words, he mado Ethelfred murder 1,200 monks at Bangor in cold blood. After this massacre, Augustine triumphed. He was made Primate of England, fixed his see at Canterbury, built the Cathedral, and with that deed of murder, the English Church was founded. Jortin calls this, its first Archbishop, 'a most audacious and insolent monk,' 'a pretended apostle and sanctified ruffian.'

"Licentiousness kept pace with ignorance. King Edgar, himself one of the most dissolute of tyrants, thus sums up the character of the churchmen in the time of Dunstan, who introduced the Benedictine order, and tried to force celibacy on the hierarchy; With your leave I speak, reverend fathers! If ye had watched these things with diligent scrutiny, such horrible and abominable proceedings of the clergy would have not reached our ears. Their loose garments, our ears. Their loose garments, their insolent gestures, their turpitude of conversa-They are so negligent in their holy offices, that when they approach the holy mass, it is to sport, not to worship. give themselves up to such eating, drunkenness, and impurities, that seem the receptacles of pro-stitutes, the stages of buffoons. There are at dice, dancing, singing, and riot. Thus are wasted the patrimony of kings, the alms of the poor, and what is more, the price of His precious blood, that their strumpets may be decorated, and feastings, dogs, and hawks provided.'

"Such was the Saxon church, from its beginning to its end! Am I in error when I say that this section of the church was the enemy of religion, the abettor of vice, and the upholder of

"The Norman church was an invasion of armed robbers. They cut down their victims with their own hands, and then divided the spoil. Out of 60,215 knights' fees in England, under the Conqueror, 28,015 were seized by the clergy. half-burned, was given to the Bishop of Bayeux; Jean de la Ville, a physician of Tours, was made Bishop of Wells. Renouf Flambart, a footman, was made Bishop of Lincoln. He plundered the inhabitants of his diocese to such an extent, 'that, says an old historian, 'they coveted death, rather than live under his authority."

"The treatment of the people, in inflicting which the clergy were foremost, is thus described: 'they hung men with their head downwards, and smoked them with foul smoke till they gave up their treasures, or died if they had none. Some they suspended with coats of armour tied to their feet.' Multitudes abandoned their beloved country, and went into voluntary exile. Whole families; after sustaining life as long as they could on herbs and roots, at last died of hunger, and you might see many pleasant villages without a single inhabitant of either sex.'-Chron. Sax., Ap. Mackintosh.

"When nothing was to be gleaned from their victims, the clergy quarrelled among themselves. What they could not obtain by murder, they achieved by theft-after cutting each other's throats, they began to cheat each other, and 'simony,' says Southey, 'was the characteristic sin of the age,

"When they had amassed their rapine, they sought to riot in it without fear of molestation. Accordingly, they now claimed and enforced immunity from the laws of the country. All who had received the tonsure were considered clergymen, and a host of the most idle and dissolute swarmed into the church, to commit every crime with impunity.

"Such were the characteristics of the Norman church. Again, I say, the fountain of oppression, and the hotbed of iniquity; devoid of one redeeming feature; for no interest attaches to the struggle between Papacy and royalty: it was merely a trial, whether we should have the fox or the jackal for

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. O'Connor's Manchester Speech:—In connection with this affair there is awful lying on one side or the other. The Executive have voted that "the matter now wholly rests between Mr. O'Connor and the reporter of Reynolds's Newspaper." For the satisfaction of those not acquainted with the facts connected with my retirement from the Northern Star, I will give the documents connected therewithin the next number of the The Friend of the People; and there the matter shall end as far as I am coucerned, G.J.H.

A. C. R. Woolwich.—There was no part 5 of the Red Republican published. There are no parts published of the Friend of the People. All the numbers may be had of the publisher. We will forward numbers of the R. R. on receipt of postage stamps.

THE "NEW LIGHTS."—A correspondent writing from Bradford, observes, "Although I have witnessed some strange specimens of Jim Crowlsm on the part of our leaders; I never yet perceived such a presumptious and impudent attempt at 'gulling the mob' as the late Manchester Farce. How wise in their generation, have some of our most furious revolutionists lately grown! How mild and amicable do they now seem disposed towards their 'commercial' friends, and how holy their reverence for the sacred Rights of Proferty. Some of our democratic friends deplore this seeming division in the ranks of democracy. Not so your humble servant. I look on it as a 'consummation devoutly to be wished.' We have been too long tormented and divided by these pretenders, who have at last exhibited themselves in their true colours. As an ultra democrat and social reformer, I rejoice in the secession of these doubtful friends. Let them go! Close up brothers. There is no mistake as to our duty. The poor oppressed against the rich oppressor. The men of no property—the Proletarian against the respectable plunderers of labour, who can give a few of the crumbs that fall from their table to the needy creatures that consent to do their dirty work. True men take your places! Eschew the 'halmy and etherial' nonsense of those who would protract your slavery to the end of time, and who substitute threadbare cant for manly integrity."

J. Clewes, Stockport, states we shall oblige several

J. CLEWES, Stockport, states we shall oblige several friends by answering the following queries:—"Is Mr. Tindal Atkinson, Solicitor to the Anchor Insurance, or Assurance Company? If not, what place has he in the above company?" As we are not of the staff fed by crumbs flung from the tables of the Financial Reformers, and know nothing of Mr. Tindal Atkinson beyond his name, we cannot give our correspondent the required information. Mr. Clewes should write to the Land Company's Office, 144, High Holborn.

MORE QUERIES.—A correspondent in the Isle of Wight writes: "I see that Mr. O'Connor instinuates in the Star that Mr. Hurst is in the pay of Mr. Tindal Atkinson. I would like to ask that gentleman who Thomas Clark is in the pay of? Sir Joshua Walmeley has been residing here with his family, and while here stated that "He took pity upon Thomas Clark as being a persecuted young man (!), and got him a berth at, I think. £250 a year." Sir Joshua added that if his protégé "ahstained from political agitation for a time he would get on in the world." Our correspondent desires also to know "at whose instigation, and at whose expense Clark and his friends went to Manchester?"

ME. JAMES LEACH, Manchester; "Me. JAMES LEACH, Manchester, has written to know if we are "prepared to allow him to defend himself and justify the course that he with others has thought proper to adopt "Our answer is that if Mr. Leach conceives we have misrepresented h. s public conduct he shall have full liberty to show wherein we have misrepresented him, and to justify himself to those who (including the Editor of this publication) would only be too happy to find their past confidence in James Leach restored. If, however, Mr. Leach's design is to re-open the past four month's discussion on the policy of the dead and buried "Manchester Conference," we must decline committing ourselves to being any party thereto. We must add that we have never knowingly misrepresented Mr. Leach; while Mr. Leach is well aware that his "friends" have hestated at no falsehood or calumny designed for our destruction. He is also aware that throughout the proceedings of the late "Conference" we were constantly and unscrupulously maligned by his "friends." Did he demand fair play for us? Did he insist that we should he informed of the calumnies vomited by our slanderers, so that we might auswer misrepresentation, and exercise that self-defence we cheerfully accord to Mr. Leach, on the understanding above stated.

The Newcastle Democrats.—We are happy to learn

The Newcastle Democrats.—We are happy to learn that the Chartist Council of Newcastle-upon-Tyno have opened a Democratic reading and news-room, at Joiners' Hall, High Friar-street. A daily paper, and the best of the weekly journals and publications, are supplied to members at the exceedingly moderate charge of 1s. 3d. per quarter, or 5d. per month, paid in advance. Visitors who

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1851.

THE PROPOSED CHARTIST CON-VENTION.

RAPIDLY nearing to the month of March, it is necessary that the Chartist localities should forthwith determine their course in relation to the proposed Convention. Either they should at once make all necessary arrangements to elect and support a national delegation; or, otherwise, they should intimate to the Executive their inability to do so under existing circumstances. If the latter course is taken, the Executive must of necessity postpone the Convention until some date more advanced in the year.

That the proposed Convention may be effective, it is requisite: Ist, That delegates should be appointed not merely from a dozen or fifteen localites, but from at least a majority of the districts in the list published by the Executive; 2nd, That funds should be collected previous to the meeting of the Convention, at least sufficient to defray the travelling charges of the delegates, furnish them with the ordinary remuneration, and meet the necessary expenses of hall-rent, printing, &c., &c.

In accordance with the notice issued by the Executive, the Convention should consist of forty-nine delegates, representing forty-three districts. Taking into account the too general apathy on political questions, we should not consider the Convention a failure were not more than some thirty districts represented and some thirty-odd delegates elected. But any fewer number of districts represented and delegates elected, would prevent the Convention assuming anything like the character of a national, or even a general, delegation of the democratic masses. "Convention" of inferior strength might usefully deliberate on the details of any plan of organization, or scheme of agitation, to prepare the way for a truly national assembly of the people's delegates; but would be powerless for any greater work. Half a dozen men, even self-elected, may, wisely and well, speak to the millions; but it is the saddest folly under the sun to affect to speak in the name of the millions, without being backed by those millions. It may suit "trafficking politicians" to play this game, inasmuch as the profit to be derived thereby compensates them for the ridicule with which the ruling classes treat their pretentions. But if honest men, men like John Mitchel for instance, coinmit this error, they are certain to be sacrificed without "the millions" shedding a drop of blood, or raising a finger to save them from destruction.

"Men and money," says ERNEST JONES; and we agree with him that these are the indispensable requisites for the success of a popular movement. Without a sufficiency of members at the exceedingly moderate charge of 18, 3d, per quarter, or 5d, per month, paid in advance. Visitors who are not members are required to pay one peuny per visit. We trust that the working men of Newcastle will give their support to the Council, and by becoming members, ensure the stability of so praiseworthy an institution.

The latter, any Convention, however numerously attended, must be a failure. Indeed, the collection of a fund adequate to pay the delegates and defray all tho

expenses of the Convention is of the first importance. If this cannot be ensured, it will he an act of foolishness to proceed to the election of delegates. The great majority of the delegates will be working men, no better off than the general body of their constituents, and of course, unable to travel to, and reside a week or two in London at their own expense. Without holding out temptations to men to "go a-delegating," it is absolutely necessary that the delegates should be paid a fair and equal remunera-tion out of a common fund. We say a "common fund," because otherwise, a poor constituency will be either unable to appoint a representative, or if they do appoint one, they will probably be unable to pay him the remuneration received by the man sitting next to him at the same council-board. In the first Convention some of the delegates received five pounds a week, others a guinea a day; whilst others again did not average a guinea a week. Again, from the common fund must also be paid the travelling expenses of the delegates, otherwise Aberdeen, Dundee, &c., will be heavily taxed, while places within a hundred or two-hundred miles of London will be but lightly taxed, and the metropolis will altogether escape that burden. Lastly, the common fund must be adequate to meet the charges of rent, printing, doorkeepers, messengers, &c., otherwise the Convention will be crippled in its means of usefulness, and separate in debt and dishonour. There must be no printers' bills left unpaid; no delegates degraded to the level of "cadgers." Any man who has reason to apprehend any such infamy will shew himself to be utterly devoid of self respect, to say nothing of respect for his principles, if under such circumstances he allows himself to be elected.

We believe that if sufficient time is allowed, all, or nearly all, the districts included in the list published by the Executive will be so aroused as to be able to send delegates. We believe, too, that with the necessary time the local councils will be able to collect a sufficiency of money to enable the delegates to do their work with credit to themselves and the Chartist cause. But we stongly doubt that there is the necessary time between the present date and the 3rd of. March. It is for the Chartists generally to determine. If there is a chance of having an effective Convention-strong in men and money-the first week in March, so be it, we shall rejoice. But if there is reason to apprehend anything like a failure in both, or even one of the twoessentials, let the Convention be postponed until May or June, with the understanding that the Executive shall summon such a body at an earlier date in the event of a dissolution of Parliament, or any other very important political event rendering such a step necessary.

THE ANCIENT ROMANS-VERY LIKE MODERN Conquerors .- "The robbers of the globe, when the land fails they scour the sea. Is the enemy rich, they are avaricious; is he poor, they are ambitious—the cast and tho west are unable to satiate their desires. Wealth and poverty are alike coveted by their rapacity. 'To carry off, massacre, seize on false pretences, they call empire; and when they make a desert they call it peace." From the speech of Galgacus to the Caledonians previous to their last battle with the Romans. - See Tacitus.

THE PRIESTHOOD AND THE REPUBLIC.

[Translated by John Petrie from La Voix du Proscrit.]

The archhishop of Paris has addressed to the priests of his diocese an evangelical message, the purport of which is, to confirm the decree of the council of Paris relative to the intervention of the clergy in political affairs. There is in this decree a superfluity of rhetorical images, a few parables, some sage counsels of moderation, which will he very badly received in the camp of the "crusaders," and a certain unction of the Christian pastor, of which the Church of Maledictions and Anathemas seemed for a long time to have lost the secret.

Seduced by the tenderness of these forms, and astonished not to find excommunication and insult hurled against them by the bishop, the Republicans in general have applauded the message, and some journals have enriched their columns with it. As to us who can remember the faith and openhearted sincerity of the people in February, 1848, when the priests came to consecrate their trees of liherty, and the hitter vindictive part which the sacerdotal militia has since taken against the Republican party, we shall not be so prompt to eulogise. The word of a man—is it a serious guarantec when all the manifestations, all the instructions, all the acts of his party contradict it? And the kiss of peace from a bishop—can it make us forget the deep and general complicity of the clergy, in the war undertaken by the privileged, not only against the new institutions and the recent conquests, but against the guarantees acquired by the labour of ages, from the first efforts of free thought until the present time?

The archbishop of Paris, M. Sihour, says to the

priests of his diocese:

In the name of God and of the Church, in the name of your sacerdotal dignity, remove yourself from the theatre where is played FOR THE MISERY OF NATIONS THE TERRIBLE TRAGEDY which these scenes precipitate towards we know not what denouement: contemplate but at a distance, from the height of your faith, the spectacle of these fierce struggles of parties, shedding on all the pity and the pardon which human error and human weakness demands: descend not from the sacred mountain to the plain, save to fulfil your

ministry of reconciliation and love."

With the exception of one blind epithet against the Republic, that "Terrible Tragedy" which will bring to us equality, not for "The Misery of Nations," but for their final enfranchisement, these counsels are good and are those of a true Christian paster. But have they prevented, or will they prevent in the future, the dear co-operators of M. Sibour from descending the sacred mountain, to make a commerce of superstitious amulets, of lying predictions against liberty, of electoral influences against the Republicans? Will they arrest, or have they arrested, the religious propaganda, more political than religious, from tempting misery in the workshops, and from enlisting even in the barracks, to the profit of the coalition of all abuses and of all privilege? Can it be believed that at the word of M. Sibour his brothers in Christ, his dear co-operators of the provinces, will arrest themselves in the campaign opened against these unhappy schoolmasters whom they reduce to misery, to hunger, in denouncing them to the magistrates, and hunting them from their homes with calumny? M. Sihour says again to the priests of his diocese :- "Let not the robe of the priest appear in the arena of the press, else it will be torn and sullied. No more, as in other times, in the pagan circus, hy the teeth of the heasts and the blood of the victim shed in evidence of his faith and to the eternal profit of his soul, but by the envenomed bite of human passions, happy to attack the priest in the political man, to humiliate, to outrage, to degrade, to damn him, perhaps in making him partake their excess. Let the minister of the church then mingle no more in the debates of the political press, nor those 'of the tri-

hune, if he would preserve all the splendour and the independence of his divine mission.' the counsel comes too late. There has not been for three years a political journal, not one, that had equalled, that had approached the journals called religious, in outrage against the Republic, in insult against the Republicans, in provocation or in calumny against the vanquished. And these priests, content not with scattering in this manner hatreds and hearthurnings in the midst of our convulsed country, have sought-they seek stillto deprave the intelligence of the masses, by the ignoble juggling of false miracles. . Thus recalling the people to the old superstitions, to enslave and brutalise them. Behold, for three years the work of these faithful (?) servants of Christ, who, to extinguish the love of science and country in the family of the hourgeoise, have made of the superior committee of public instruction, a Romish propaganda. M. Sibour says, in concluding his epistle to his dioeese of Paris:—"We agitate ourselves here below in miserable debates, in the pursuit of fragile good, and for the satisfaction of vain and futile desires, not having on the earth, but a horizon of inferior position, and, consequently, of limited view, we give to our political forms, to our institutions of a day, such great importance, that we consume our entire life to establish or recal that which will perish in an hour, as if the cternal felicity of our souls were attached to them; but all those political forms which pre-occupy us with so much solicitude, and which, without doubt, have their relative goodness and value, interest not the church, save inasmuch as they are favourable or contrary to the respect due to God, and to his We tell you then in the name of God, holy laws. our very dear co-operators, no-tho church of Jesus Christ, has not been established for this or that government." These declarations made in the name of God, are the most severe condemnation of all the clerical intriguers, engaged in mundane interests, and royalist conspiracies during the past sixty years; hut they also mount higher, and strike the Pope upon his throne. The Roman Republic, emanating from the free will of the nation, respected in the fallen temporal prince, the Vicar of Christ, the spiritual authority, the chief of souls. Nevertheless, what has he done, this successor of St. Peter, this pope of the prison and not of the Vatican or the Capitol?

He has summoned against his city and his country the armies of the stranger; as a pagan Cæsar he has sought for his crown in the midst of smoking ruins and in the blood of his children. Ah! the words of M. Sibour, simple bishop of the Gauls, shall not efface from our memory that act of impiety, which has fouled the tiara with blood; and it is not at Paris but at Rome that we shall seek the true doctrines, the serious traditions of the Catholic church; there they exist in all their pride and all their power. There we find EXCOM-MUNICATION, INQUISITION, CONFISCA-TION. There they people the dungeons with victims, they brutalise souls, they pervert intelligence, they continue, in fine, their old secular policy, which is the double enthralment of the mind and the body. This is why we believe it our duty to warn the Republicans against being misled, or induced to make truce with their eternal enemy. The Catholic dogma implies faith in its absolute dictature. The Catholic t. adition, daughter of all despotisms, and living only by them, will never yield willingly to the free institutions which bring independence to nations, equality amongst citizens, and establish the sovereignty of the People.

CH. RIBEYROFLES.

It is calculated, on what appears to be reasonable data, that the taxes on knowledge, besides the loss of intellectual nourishment which they occasion in town and country actually keep forty thousand persons out of employment in London alone—compositors, printers, folders, stitchers and so forth, with the workers auxiliary to them. The number so kept out of work in the country by the same causes cannot be much, if at all inferior.—Athenœum.

The Instruments of Reaction.—The generals who succeeded in putting down the people have, in fact, everywhere been set aside. Cavaignac in France; with him Lamoriciere, Changarnier-Bedeau, the generals who triumphed over the bar, ricades, where are they? In Austria, Windischgratz, who reduced Vienna, is unemployed; and Haynau has been disgraced. Radetzki holds his ground, but it is known that his political advice has been slighted. General Wrangel had no battle to fight, to take possession of the streets of Berlin; still he led the military to triumph, and since then we have never heard of him. And as a crowning example, Narvaez, who has upheld the Court and the Cortes on the point of his sword, and made the military principle predominant in Spain, he, too, is a fugitive at Bayonne.—Daily News.

Progress.—Right or wrong, the fact is indubitable, that the whole of the civilised world is in a state of ferment, of transition—passing from one state of religious helief and social manifestation to another; new combinations of social and religious elements are arising while others are disappearing. The Present is crumbling beneath our feet at every step; and we are horne resistlessly on towards the Future—that unknown and ineffable condition, which stands like some terrible apparition into the shadow of which we cannot choose but enter.—Westminster Review, pp. 380-2, January, 1850.

WATERLOO .- The hattle of Waterloo and its attendant and consequent expenses added, in a little more than a year, above £120,000,000 to the National Debt, the interest paid on which has ahsorbed ever since for 35 years, nearly £4,000,000 per annum, or, in all, nearly £140,000,000, and far more than double that amount at compound interest. That is to say, the British people have paid for the glory of Waterloo, annually, ever since 1815, all the window taxes, and all the excise duties on soap, and the duty on hops; besides which, in consequence of those wars, extravagant payments and corrupt pensions have been so mystified in the public accounts that it is impossible to unravel the scandalous practices which prevailed, and which were sanctioned by a House of Commons not representing the people-a house which has continually, by its money votes, enforced the infliction of fiscal tyranny over an unrepresented nation .- Mr. Macgregor, M.P. for Glasgow.

TREES AND FLOWERS IN LONDON .- The metropolis was once famous for its trees and flowers. Vinegar-yard, Drury Lane, was the vineyard of Covent Garden; Saffron-hill, in the dense purlieus of Clerkenwell, was once covered with saffron; the red and white roses of York and Lancaster were plucked in the Temple Gardens; and Ely House was held by Sir Christopher Hatton on condition that the Bishop of Ely possessed the privilege of entering Hatton Garden and gathering so many bushels of roses yearly. Daniel, the poet, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, had an excellent garden in Old Street, Saint Luke's; and Gerard, the herbalist, in the same reign, a choice assemblage of botanical specimens in his garden at Holborn. Two large mulberry trees were growing in 1722 in a little yard about sixteen feet square, at Sam's In the same Coffce House, in Ludgate-street year figs ripened well at the Rolls Garden, Chancery Lane, and in the garden belonging to Bridewell; and a vine at the Rose Tavern at Temple Bar, "where the sun very rarely comes," had ripe grapes upon it. Ely Gardens were famous for strawberries in the reign of Edward the IVth; and Tothill Fields, for melons in the reign of The white and red Provence rose Charles the Ist. grew in London in 1722, but no other sort of rose would blossen in the city gardens since the use of sea-coal; though, as Fairchild had heard, they grew very well in London when the Londoners burnt wood. - Cunningham's Hand Book of London.

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CONSUELO. BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 10.)

When she saw herself at the end of all her fatigues and uncertainty-when she rested her weary hand upon this last obstacle, which would vield to her touch in a moment (for she held the key of the door in her other hand) - Consuelo hesitated, and felt a timidity take possession of her, which was more difficult to conquer than all her terrors. She was about to penetrate alone into a place closed to every eye, to every human thought, and there to surprise, in elesp or reverie, a man whom she hardly knew; who was neither her father, nor her brether, nor her busband; who perhaps leved her, but whom she neither could leve mor wished to love.

"However, she made up her mind. She had three keys, and she therefore must pass through three doors and two apartments, before reaching that in which she supposed Albert to be a prisoner. She would thus have sufficient time to stop, if her

strength failed her.

"She entered a vaulted hall, which had no other furniture than a bed of dried fern on which was thrown a sheep-skin as coverlet. A pair of ancient-looking sandals, very much worn, served as an indication by which she recognised it as Zdenko's chamber. She recognised also the little basket which she had carried filled with fruit to the Stone of Terror, and which after two days had disappeared. She resolved upon opening the second door, after having carefully closed the first, for she still thought with terror of the possible return of the wayward owner of this dwelling. second apartment which she entered was vaulted like the first, but the walls were protected by mats and trellises covered with moss. A stove diffused a pleasant heat through it, and it was doubtless its funnel opening in the rock, which produced the fleeting light seen by Consuelo on the summit of the Schreckenstein. Albert's bed, like Zdenko's, was formed of a heap of leaves and dried herbs; but Zdenko had covered it with magnificient bear-skins, in spite of the absolute equality which Albert exacted in all their habits, and which Zdenko observed in everything that did not interfere with the passionate tenderness he felt for him, and with the care which he bestowed upon him in preference to himself. Consuelo on entering this chamber was received by Cynabre, who hearing the key turn in the lock, had posted himself upon the threshold, with raised ear and anxious eye. But Cynabre had received a peculiar education from his master: he was a friend, and not a guardian. When young, he had been so strictly forbidden to howl and to bark, that he had entirely lost the habit so natural to all animals of his species. If any one had approached Albert with evil intentions, he would have found his voice; if any one had attacked him, he would have defended him. But prudent and circumspect as a hermit, he never made the slightest noise without being sure of what he was about, and without having carefully examined and smelt those who approached him. He walked up therefore to Consuelo with a look that had something almost human in it; smelt her dress, and especially her hand, which had held for a long time the keys touched by Zdcnko; and completely re-assured by this circumstance, he abandoned himself to the grateful recollection he had retained of her, and placed his great velvet paws upon her shoulders with silent joy, while he slowly swept the earth with his long and feathery tail. After this grave but sincere welcome, he returned to his bed on tho corner of the skin which covered his master's couch, and stretched himself upon it with the apparent weariness of old age, although he still fol-lowed with his eyes Consuelo's every step and move-

"Before wenturing to approach the third door, Consuelo cast a glance round this hermitage, in order to enther from it some indication of the moral condition of him who occupied it. She found no trace of madness or despair. An extreme neatness and order prevailed throughout. A cloak and other garments were hanging from the horns of the urus, a curiosity which Albert had :brought from the forests of Lithuania, and which served for clothespegs. His numerous books were regularly arranged in a book-case of rough boards, supported by great branches admirably fashioned by a rude but ingenious hand. The table and the two chairs were of the same workmanship. A hortus siccus and some old books of music, entirely unknown to Consnelo, with titles and words in the Sclavenic language, served to reveal more completely the peaceful, simple, and studious habits of the anchorite. Aniron lamp, curious from its antiquity, was suspended from the middle of the vault, and burned in the eternal night of this melancholy sanctuary.

"Consuelo remarked that there was no fire-arms in the place. Notwithstanding the taste of the wealthy inhabitants of those forests for the chase and for the objects of luxury which accompany its enjoyment, Albert had no gun, not even a huntingknife, and his old dog had never learned the grande science; for which reason Cynabre was an object of Baron Frederick's contempt and pity. Albert had a horror of blood; and though he appeared to enjoy life less than any one, he had a religious and boundless respect for the idea of life in general. He could neither himself kill, nor see killed, even the lowest animals of creation. He would have delighted in all the natural sciences, but he contented himself with mineralogy and botany. Even entomology seemed to him too cruel a science, and he never could have sacrificed the life of an insect to gratify his euriosity, Consuelo knew these particulars, and she now remembered them on seeing the evidenees of Albert's peaceful occupations. 'No, I will not be afraid,' said she to herself, 'of so gentle and peaceful a being. This is the oell of a saint and not the dungeon of a madman.' Butthe more she was reassured as to the nature of his mental malady, the more did she feel troubled and She almost regretted that she was not to find a deranged or dying man; and the certainty of presenting herself before a real man made her hesitate more and more.

"Not knowing how to announce herself, she sunk into a reverie which had lasted some minutes when the sound of an admirable instrument struck her ear: it was a violin of Stradivarius, giving birth to a solemn and sublime strain, under a ehaste and skilful hand. Never had Consuelo heard so perfect a violin, so touching and at the same time so simple a performance. The air was unknown to her; but from its strange and simple forms, she judged it to be more ancient than any ancient music sho was acquainted with. She listened with rapture, and now comprehended how Albert could have so well appreciated her from tho first phrase he heard her sing. It was because he had the revelation of the true, the grand music. He might not be acquainted possibly with all the wonderful resources of the art; hut he had within him the divine afflatus, the intelligence, and the love of the beautiful. When he had finished, Consuelo, entirely reassured, and animated by a more lively sympathy, was about to venture to knock at the door which still separated her from him, when it opened slowly, and she saw the young count advance, his head bowed down, his eyes fixed upon the earth, and his violin and how hanging loosely in his nerveless hands. His paleness was frightful, and his hair and dress in a disorder which Consuelo had not before witnessed. His absent air, his broken and dejected attitude, and the despairing apathy of his movements, announced, if not entire alienation, at least the disorder and ahandonment of human reason. He seemed one of those muteand oblivious spectres, in which the Sclavonian people believe, who enter mechanically into the houses

without aim, obeying as if by instinct the former habits of their lives, without recognising and without sceing their friends and terrified servants, who fly from or look at them in silence, frozen with astonishment and fear. Such was Consuele on meet-ing Count Albert, and perceiving that he did not see her, although he was not two paces distant. Cynabre had arisen and licked his master's hand. Albert said some friendly words to him in Bohemian; then following with his eyes the movements of the dog, who earried his discreet caresses to Consuelo, lie gazed attentively at the feet of the young girl, which were shod at this moment much like those of Zdenko, and without raising his head, spoke in Bohemian some words which she did not understand, but which seemed a question, and ended with her name. On seeing him in this state, Consuelo felt her timidity disappear. Yielding entirely to her compassion, she saw only the unfortunate man with his bleeding heart, who still invoked without recognising her, and placing her hand upon the young man's arm confidently and firmly, she said to him in Spanish, with her pure and penetrating voice, 'Consuelo is here!'"
Albert addresses Consuelo, whom he does not re-

cognise, in a manner strongly indicative of insanity. After some minutes, overcome with bodily and mental fatigue, Consulto falls on her knees, her sweening form striking the young count as she

"Imediately Albert, as if awaking from a dream, saw her-recognised her-uttered a deep cry, and arousing himself, pressed her in his arms with wild energy. Through the veil of death which seemed to spread over hereyelids, Consuelo saw his joy, and was not terrified. It wes a holy joy, radiant with purity. She closed her eyes and fell into a state of utter prostration, which was not sleep nor waking, but a kind of indifference and insensibility to all

present things.

"When Consuelo recovered the use of her faculties, finding herself seated upon a hard bed, and not yet able to raise her eyelids, she endeavoured to collect her thoughts. But the prostration had been so complete that her powers returned but slowly; and if the sum of the fatigues and emotions which she had latterly experienced, had surpassed her strength, she tried in vain to remember what had happened to her since she left Ve-Even her departure from that adopted country, where she had passed such happy days, appeared to her like a dream; and it was a solace (alas, too fleeting!) to her to be able to doubt for an instant her exile, and the misfortunes which caused it. She therefore imagined that she was still in her poor chamber in the Corte Minelli, on her mother's pallet; that after having had a violent and trying scene with Anzoleto, the confused recollection of which floated in her memory, she returned to life and hope on feeling him near her, on hearing his interrupted hreathing, and the tender words he addressed to her in a low and murmuring voice. A languishing and delicious joy penetrated her heart at this thought, and she raised herself with some exertion to look at her repentant friend, and to stretch out her hand to him. But she pressed a cold and unknown hand; and in place of the smiling sun, whose rosy brilliancy she was accustomed to see through her white curtain, she saw only a sepulchral light, falling from the roof of a gloomy vault, and swimming in a humid atmosphere; she felt under her arm the rude spoils of savage animals, and amid a horrible silence the pale face of Albert bent towards her like that of a spectre.

"Co: suclo thought she had descended living to the tomb; she closed her eyes, and fell back upon the bed of dried leaves with a deep groan. It was some minutes before she could remember where she was, and to what gloomy host she was confided. Terror, which the enthusiasm of her devotion had hitherto combated and snbdued, seized upon her, so that she feared to open her eyes lest she should see some horrible spectacle—the paraphernalia of at night, and are seen to act without connexion and death-a sepulchre-open before her. She felt

something upon her brow, and raised her hand to it. It was a garland of leaves with which Albert had crowned her. She took it off to look at it, and

saw a branch of cypress.

"'I believed you dead, O my soul, O my consolation!' said Albert, kneeling beside her: 'and before following you to the tomb, I wished to adorn you with the emblems of marriage, Flowers do not grow around mc, Consuelo. The black eypress of-fered the only branches from which my hand could gather your ooronet of betrothal. There it is: do not despise it. If we must die here, let me swear to you that, if restored to life, I would never have had any other spouse than you; that I die united with you by an indissoluble oath.'

"'Bethrothed! united!' eried Consuclo, easting terrified glauces around her; 'who has pro-nounced that decree? who has celebrated that mar-

riage?'
''It is destiny, my angel,' replied Albert, with an inexpressible gentleness and sadness. 'Think not to escape from it. It is a strange destiny for you, and even more so for me. You forbade me a short time since to search into the past; you prohibited to me the remembrance of those bygone days which are called the night of ages. My being has obeyed you, and henceforth I know nothing of my antorior life. But my present life, I have questioned it, I know it. I have seen it entire with one glance; it appeared to me during the instant in which you reposed in the arms of death. Your destiny, Consuelo, is to belong to me, and yet you will never be mine. You do not love me, you will never love me, as I love you. Your love for me is only charity, your devotion only hero-ism. You are a saint whom God sends, but you wil be my wife as you are now my betrotlied, whether we perish now, and your pity consents to give me that title of husband which no kiss will ever confirm, or whether we again see the sun, and your conscience commands you to accomplish the designs of God towards me.

"I cannot love you,' Consuelo replied, 'otherwise than as a brother; but do not say that it is charity, pity alone, which influences me. If humanity and compassion have given me courage to come here, sympathy and a heartfelt esteem for your virtues gave me also the courage and the right to speak to you as I do. Banish, therefore, from this moment and for ever, the illusion under which you labour respecting your own feelings. Do not speak of love, do not speak of marriage. My past life, my recollections make the first impossible; the difference in our condition would render the second humiliating and insupportable to me. By indulging in such dreams you will render my devotion to you rash, perbaps culpable. Let us seal by a sacred premise the engagement which I make, to be your sister, your friend, your consoler, whenever you are disposed to open your heart to me; your nurse, when suffering renders you glosiny and taciturn. Swear that you will not look on me in any other light, and that you will never love me otherwise.

" Generous woman!' said Albert, turning pale, vou reckon largely on my courage, and you know well the extent of my love, in asking of mc such a promise. I should be capable of lying for the first time in my life-I could even debaso myself so far as to prenounce a false eath-if you required it of me. But you will not require it of me, Consuelo; you know that this would be to introduce a new source of agitation into my life, and into my conscience a remorse which has not yet stained it. Do not be uneasy at the manner in which I love you. First of all I am ignorant of it; I only know that to deprive this affection of the name of love would be to utter a blaspliemy. I sul mit myself to all the rest. Do not ask of me more; I will neither be indiscrect nor importunate. It is sufficient for me that you know you can command me and govern me despetically-not as you would govern a

brother, but as you would dispose of a being who has given himself to you entirely for ever.

This language reassured Consucle for the present, but did not leave her without apprehension for the future. That Albert's fanatical self-denial had its source in a deep and unconquerable passion, the serious nature of his character and the solumnity of his countenance could leave no doubt, Consuelo, perplexed, though, at the same time, moved with compassion, asked herself if she could continue to consecrate her cares to this man so unreservedly and unchangeably in love with her. She had never treated this sort of relation lightly in her thoughts, and she saw that with Albert no woman could enter upon it without serious censequences. She did not doubt his devotedness; but the calmness which she had flattered herself she should restore to him must be irreconcilable with the existence of so ardent a love and the impossibility she felt of responding to it."

Consuelo persuades Albert to return with her to

the Chatcau. They set out on their journey.
""Here, Cynabre,' cried Albert to his faithful hound, giving him a lantorn of better construction than that with which Consuelo was furnished, and better suited to the journey they were about to undertake. The intelligent animal seized the lamp with an appearance of pride and satisfaction, and preceded them at a measured pace, stopping when his master stopped, increasing or slackening his speed as he did, and sagaciously keeping the middle of the path, in order to preserve his precious charge from injury by contact with the rocks or brushwood.

"Consucto walked with great difficulty, and would have fallen twenty times but for Albert's arm, which every moment supported and raised They once more descended together the course of the stream, keeping along its fresh and verdant margin."

On their way Albert narrates the following ad-

venture:-

"'I was about fifteen, when, returning late one evening by one of the paths which border on the Schreckenstein, and which winds through the direction of the eastle. I saw before me a tall thin woman, miserably clad, who carried a burthen on her shoulders, and who paused occasionally to scat her-sclf, and to recover breath. I accosted her. She was beautiful, though embrowned by the sun and withered hy misery and care. Still there was in her bearing, mean as was her attire, a sort of pride and dignity, mingled, it is true, with an air of melancholy. When she held out her hand to me, she rather commanded pity than implored it. My purse was empty. I entreated her to accompany me to the cestle, where she could have help, food, and shelter for the night.

"'I would prefer remaining here,' replied she, with a foreign accent, which I conceived to be that of the wandering Egyptians, for I was not at that time acquainted with the various languages which I afterwards learned in my travels. you,' she added, 'for the hospitality you offer, by singing songs of the different countries which I have traversed. I rarely ask alms unless compelled

to do so by extreme distress.'

"Poor creature, said I, 'you bear a very heavy burden; your feet are wounded and almost naked. Entrust your bundle to me; I will earry it to my abode, and you will thus be able to walk with more case.'

" 'This burden daily becomes heavier,' she replied, with a mclaneholy smile, which imparted a charm to her features; 'but I do not complain of it, I have borne it without repining for years, and over hundreds of leagues. I never trust it to any one besides myself; but you appear so good and so innocent, that I shall lend it to you until we reach your home.'

" 'She then unloosed the clasp of her mantle, which entirely covered her, the handle of her guitar alone being visible. The movement discovered to me a child of five or six years old, pale and wea-

ther-beaten like its mother, but with a countenance so sweet and ealm that it filled my heart with tenderness. It was a little girl, quite in tatters, lean, but hale and strong, and who slept tranquilly as a slumbering cherub on the bruised and wearied back of the wandering songstress. I took her in my arms, but had some trouble in keeping herthere; for waking up and finding herself with a stranger, she struggled and wept. Her mother, to soothe her, spoke to her in her own language; my earesses and attentions comforted her, and on arriving at the eastle we were the best friends in the world. When the poor woman had supped, she put her infant in a bed which I had prepared, attired herself in a strange dress, sadder still than her rags, and came into the hall, where she sang Spanish, French, and German ballads, with a clearness and delicacy of voice, a firmness of intonation, united to a frankness and absence of reserve in her manner, which charmed us all. My good aunt paid her every attention, which the Zingara appeared to feel; but she did not lay aside her pride, and only gave evasive answers to our questions. The child interested me even more than its mother; and I carnestly wished to see her again, to amuse her, and even to keep her altogether. I know not what tender solicitude awoke in my bosom for this little being, poor, and a wanderer on the earth. I dreamt of her all night long, and in the morning I ran to see her. But already the Zingara had departed, and I traversid the whole mountain around without being able to discover her. She had risen before the dawn, and, with her child, had taken the way towards the south, carrying with her my guitar, which I had made her a present of, her her own, to her great sorrow, being broken.

"'Albert! Albert!' exclaimed Consuelo, with extraordinary emotion; 'that guitar is at Venice with Master Porpora, who keeps it for me, and from whom I shall reclaim it, never to part with it again. It is of ebony, with a cypher chased on silver—a cypher which I well remember, 'A. R.' My mother whose memory was defective, from having seen so many things neither remembered your name nor that of your castle, nor even the country where this adventure had happened; but she often spoke of the hospitality she had received from the owner. of the guitar, of the touching charity of the young and handsome signor, who had carried me in his arms for half a league, chatting with her the while as with an equal. Oh, my dear Albert, all that is fresh in my memory also. At each word of your recital, these long-slumbering images were awakened one by one; and this is the reason why your mountains did not appear absolutely unknown to me, and why I endeavoured in vain to discover the cause of the confused recollections which forced themselves upon me during my journey, and especially why, when I first saw you, my heart palpitated and my head bowel down respectfully, as if I had just found a friend and protector, long lost and re-

gretted.

proach,

"'Do you think, then, Consuelo,' said Albertpressing her to his heart, 'that I did not recognise you at the first glance? In vain have years changed and improved the lineaments of childhood. I have a memory wonderfully retentive, though often confused and dreamy, which needs not the aid of sight or speech to traverse the space of days and of ages. I did not know that you were my cherished Zingarella, but I felt assured I had already known you, loved you, and pressed you to my heart-a heart which, although unwittingly; was from that instaut bound to yours for ever.

"Thus conversing, they arrived at the point where the two paths divided, and where Consnelo had met Zdenko. They perceived at a distance the light of his lantern which was placed on the ground beside him. Consuclo having learned by experience the dangerous whims, and almost incredible strength, of the idiot involuntarily pressed close to Albert, on perceiving the indication of his ap-

(To be Continued.)

Labour Record Co-operative Chronicle.

Secretaries, or other active members of Trades Unions, Labour Associations, Co-operative Societies, &c., will oblige by forwarding intelligence of "Strikes," the formation and proceedings of their Unions, & &c., to the Editor of "The Friend of the People."

Miners' National Association.—The following are the objects and rules of the Miners' Association adopted at the late Conference of del gates representing this important section of the working classes:—

Objects.—The General National Association being only for general purposes, it will be necessary to specify what may be so considered, that is to say—the regulation of the miner's day's work; the wages to be earned per week' the state of the coal trade in each district; how many days per week has been the average for the last half-vear: what per week has been the average for the last half-year; what quantity of coals are worked in the district, and how many quantity of coals are worked in the district, and how many tons per week each man works; what are the number of men employed in getting or hewing coal; also, as before stated, to take cognizance of the operation of "The Mines' Inspection Bill;" to take any necessary steps to prevent strikes of an imprudent character; in short, to do all in its power to make themselves, and the members generally, acquainted with the real state and condition of their brother miners, and to bring about as speedily as possible, a harmoulous and brotherly feeling among all miners, to promote their mutual benefit and advantage, and to endeavour to prove to their employers and the miners, to promote their mutual benefit and advantage, and to endeavour to prove to their employers, and the community at large, that while our objects are to procure a fair day's wage for our health-destroying labour, yet we are also desirous that the capitalist shall be remunerated for his risk, and that each party has but to understand each other to ensure to both that mutual relief so desirable and so necessary to the healthy existence of the coal trade. Also to encourage the co-operative principle, and endeavour to work for ourselves instead of for others.

Laws.—That all rules and regulations shall receive the sanction of the representatives of the Miners of each district in Conference assembled, and shall be adopted by the ballot (any delegate having power to demand the same on any question before the Conference) of the majority so represented, who shall have paid their levies due at the meeting of such Conference. Also all officers shall be

any question before the Conference) of the majority so represented, who shall have paid their levies due at the meeting of such Conference. Also all officers shall be chosen by ballot, if more than one person be nominated to any office. The Conference to decide all motions for altering the rate of wages and for limiting the hours of Iabour by the same plan; but any district or locality may, if they see fit, restrict their labour below such fixed sum, but not on any account to go above it. That every person joining the Miners' National Association, pay Sixpence as entrance fee; the same to include a copy of the General Laws and a card of membership. That two or more individuals be selected to go out as missionaries, to enrol members into the Miners' National Association, and that a levy of one penny (districts may pay this levy in two instalments,) be paid to raise a fund towards sending out these missionaries in the first iustance, after which the enrolment fee of Sixpence shall furnish the means of supporting such missionaries, until it be exhausted; if it should be so before the meeting of another Conference, then the members may call in the said missionaries, or order the contrary, if they deem it best. The delegate meeting of Northumberland and Durham to be the acknowledged managers of the Association, until the meeting of the next Conference. All monies connected with this movement, to come through the officers of the Morthumberland and Durham branch. The remeinder of this movement, to come through the officers of the Mor-thumberland and Durham branch. [The remainder of the rales are not of general importance.]

thumberland and Durham branch. [The remainder of the rules are not of general importance.]

THE SAILORS' STRIKE.

The great "turn-out" of Seamen in the north, and along the north-east coast of England, is fast assuming a serious aspect. With the exception of some vessels that have left the Tyne guarded by the police, the entire shipping trade of the north-eastern ports is stopped. Two war-steamers have been desputched to the north to maintain "order." One—the Hecate—occupies the mouth of the Tyne; the other—the Trident, that of the River Wear. The crew of a vessel named "The Peruvian" have been sent to Tynemouth Gaol for 30 days, on a charge of deserting their vessel after signing articles. Both at Shlelds and Sunderland there has been some mobbing of sailors who have shown a disposition to play false to their fellow-mariners. Some "crimps," too, who have made themselves busy, andeavouring to enlist seamen in opposition to the Strike,—have been Haynau-hunted by assemblages of women. Delegate meetings and public meetings are continually taking place, and the men seem firmly resolved to continue the struggle. At a general meeting of the seamen of the district held on Shields' Sands the following resolution was adopted unanimously:—"That in the opinion of this meeting the new articles, provided by the Mercantile Marine and Merchant Seamen's Acts are unconstitutional and unjust; and that the seamen of the north-east ports of England are determined to oppose them by all the moral power they possess, and that no new ships proceed to be under the new articles; and that the men refuse to sign articles, either coasting or foreign, countenancing the above-mentioned acts." The "strike" has extended to Yarmouth and Liverpool. At Hull the seamen have heen most brutally treated by the ruffianly police. Several of the Hull seamen are in prison. the Hull seamen are in prison.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.
PADIHAM — Co-operative Factory.—Co-operation is

"going ahead" in Padiham. The co-operators have the largest grocery and drapery establishments in the town. On Saturday, February 1st, an aunouncement was issued to the public by the Padiham Working Men's Redemption Society, stating their intention of renting a power-loom shed, containing one hundred looms. A second announcement sets forth that "The society has increased its working the society has a society ha capital to £2,000, in 80 shares, at £25 each. The society is not yet above a week old, and already 47 shares have been not yet above a week old, and already 47 shares have been taken up, and the society has some more shares in prospective. The society meets twice a week at the Co-operative Butcher's Shon, Guy-street, on Monday and Thursday evenings, at eight o'clock. Further information may be had of Mr. James Knowles, Co-operative Store, Guy-street; and new shares may be taken on application to Mr. Thomas Hull, Secretary, Shoe Warehouse, Burnley Road, Padiham.'

Mr. LLOYD JONES.—The Christian Socialist announces that Mr. Lloyd Jones, manager of the London Co-

MR. LLOYD JONES.—The Christian Socialist announces that Mr. Lloyd Jones, manager of the London Cooperative stores, has proceeded to the country on a business tour, and will visit the chief manufacturing towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

INVESTMENTS AND PARTNEASHIPS.—Mr. Slaney, M.P., has given notice in the House of Commons, that he will bring forward a motion for a committee to consider of the best means of providing investments for the savings of the middle and working classes, and also of improving the law of partnership. of partnership.

of partnership.

FRANCE.

THE FAUBOURG SAINT ANTOINE.—That busy hive of working men may truly be called the temple of all true worshippers, if "work be worship," as the old monks taught us. "Here," says Giland, "are to be found the famous paperstaining establishments, a few cotton manufactories, breweries, and machinists; but the greater part of the population is occupied in those trades which are connected with the furnishing and interior decoration of houses." It population is occupied in those trades which are connected with the furnishing and interier decoration of houses." It is a strange place, this Faubourg Saint Antoine. I have been through many of its streets, teeming with life and activity; fine sturdy men and lusty women, busily engaged at their various occupations, are there, but scarcely a single idler; not a serjeant de ville is to be seen, yet you can walk about with the greatest safety. There is a vagabond class, it is true, but they are confined to one street, and seldom mingle with the rest of the inhabitants, who are perhaps, as a class, the most moral, industrious street, and seldom mingle with the rest of the inhabitants, who are perhaps, as a class, the most moral, industrious, and honest people in Paris. Among themselves there is a perfect equality of condition—none is the servant or hireling of another; but each gains his bread by labour, and none waste their hours and days at the *staminet*, the dance, the gambling table, or the other resorts of the idle and profligate; for such houses are not be found in the quarter—they are all removed to the barrieres. 'Twere well if some more fashionable fanbourgs were equally free from immoral contagion. Such is the real character of the inhabitants of this terrible faubourg, who may be seen every day, at stated hours, going peaceably to their ateliers, and returning quietly home when their work is finished. After traversing various narrow streets of this famous quarter, where women might be seen at their usual nnished. After traversing various narrow streets of this famous quarter, where women might be seen at their usual domestic employments, we entered the Rue de Charonne, and at No. 7 turned into a spacious court—it is the Court of St. Joseph (the carpenter, and father of Him who first preached the great doctrines of equality and fraternity)—the din of saws, hammers, planes, &c., mingling with the hum of human voices, and songs in chorus from every side soluted our core. mingling with the hum of human voices, and songs in chorus, from every side saluted our ears. On looking round more attentively, we observed that the sounds proceeded from an extensive range of huldings five stories ceeded from an extensive range of huildings five stories high, nearly surrounding the court, and occupied by three fraternal associations of working men-the cabinetmakers, the chairmakers, the upholsterers. The cabinetmakers are situated in that wing which immediately faces the entrance to the court, and may be recognised by a painting over their door of the society's emblem and the medal they obtained at the last exhibition of national industry, for their truly magnificent book-case, which we examined and admired at their warehouse in the Grand Rue, 50, where it still remains for inspection. This association, now ranking as one of the first establishments of its kind in Paris, had, like the others, to struggle through difficulties at the beginning, but it was aided by a part of the government grant, and has grown up under a skilful and enlightened management. The members are paid by the piece, elect their own officers annually, and live togother affection which arises from the intercourse of enlightened and well-regulated minds.—From the Leader.

"THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST."* WE have received Parts 1, 2, and 3, of this publication. Although the politics of the Christian Socialist-a strange compound of Socialism and Toryism-are not to our liking, we nevertheless appreciate its value as a "Journal of Association." As such it has incontestable claims upon all co-operative bodies and all friends to co-operation. Strongly dissenting from many of the opinions of the Editor of the Christian Socialist and his literary friends, we respect his and their evident sincerity; and so far as their labours in the field of Co-operation are concerned, we wish them Good Speed.

* Published by Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

Poetry for the People.

Extracts from a Poem, entitled

WRONGS OF MAN." "THE (First published in the year 1819.) BY HOWARD FISH.

BY HOWARD FISH.

How long, how long, shall lojured man forbear,
And fall the prey of torture and despair;
How long shall plaudits crown the wealthy knave;
How long shall Virtue be Oppression's slave,
Be lull'd by opiates frothy words impart,
Balm to the ear—not comfort to the heart!
Let's ask of Reason—let us turn and see
How practice and how proud pretence agree;
Explore the source from whence those murmurs flow Explore the source from whence those murmurs flow, So fraught with omens, so o'crcharged with woe. See whether blessings God, our parent, gave To comfort man, have link'd but slave to slave; If what omnipotence ordain'd for all. The whole partakes of, or on parts but fall.

Of Nature's rights, and Nature's bane I sing,-Unwelcome themes to this complaisant age, Whish hates the manly, independent page: Where Indignation, in portentous strains, Exhorts her countrymen to rend their chains; To wake, nor more alternately be sold To harpies, panting for accursed gold; Which sues long-exiled Liberty to bring Peace in her palm, and Freedom on her wing.

. Now floods of nonsense roll in floods of rhyme,
And madmen's eulogies around us chime:
"Joy glads the smiling land."—"Abundance reigns
Through all the towns, the cities, and the plains;"
"All that we wish we have"—how well we fare!—
"The gods protect us!"—"Heaven's peculiar care!"
Alas! my fellow slaves! can you believe
You all those boasted benefits receive?
Say, while yourselves or children want a meal,
Can you chant pagns for the joys you feel Can you chant pæans for the joys you feel, With grateful hearts exalt the voice of praise, And wish your governors a length of days?

O worse than rattle-snake, that dare profane The minds of millions for a little gain; May conscience good ye till your latest breath. And rack ye in the agonies of death! Nor mercy ask, should less corrupted times Demand your lives, the forfeit of your crimes.

k of the haggard forms that crawl the street. Without a home, without a crust to cat, If wantonness excites them to relate Without a home, without a crust to cat, If wantonness excites them to relate
That all their anguish issues from the state?
Wealth, like the oak, fixt firmly in the ground,
Defended from the blast by all around,
May well unmoved behold the tragic scene,
And cry, when storms assail—the sky's serene.
To her, indeed, the sky is ever clear,
Thy sun, Prosperity, gilds all the year;
Eternal smiles illumine every face,
And all is beauty, harmony, and grace.
But those who yield, all toil and talent give,
With scarcely e'en the liberty to live,
May sure, without offence their lot bemoan,
And wail their sufferings in a mournful tone!
Yes, whilst we writhe beneath unequal laws,
Eternal wrath shall reprobate the vause.
Curse, curse the wretch, and brand his name with scorn,
Who thinks, if satisfied his own desires,
Tis all that Naturc and his God requires;
And dreams, because possest of wealth, forsooth,
He teems with virtue, wisdom, and with truth!
That none but Fortune's favour'd sons have right
Or sense enough to tell the day from night;
But must, at every step they take, be led But must, at every step they take, be led By those who know not how to carn their bread. Gods! though by tyranny and want opprest, Say, must we next become a standing jest, Become the plaything and the sport of those Whom all the world denominates her foes? At needy guilt blend pity with your frown? Let lightnings strike the wealthy villain down,—Jove, let thy thunders to his heart be hurl'd, And fix the wretch, a warning to the world!

Wonderful if True. -At the Queen's printing-office, in New-street-square, London, is a middle-aged woman with a wonderful head. She recollects the year and the chapter of every act of Parliament upon any subject. Though she is only the forewoman of the bookfolders, many shrewd attorneys are very much indebted to her for information as to the last acts bearing upon any question.

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OR THE PROPERTY. RRIEND

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 12.7

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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ion Suppres	sion Bill .	" Agricultu	ral Distress	

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"The	English .	Republ	ic.''			

Robert Owen and the Exhibition
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	The Chartist Convention
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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—Milron.

PARLIAMENTARY PERFORMANCES.

PARTY Palaver, Botheration, and "Bosh" bid fair to be the principal, if not the only, fruits of the session of 1851.

The ministerial measure to repel "the Papal Aggression" has excited a storm of opposition and ridicule. Zealous Protestants denounce it as inadequate to the end poposed, and utterly contemptible viewed as the fruit of the monster-agitation so largely stimulated by the Prime Minister. By Roman Catholics it is stigmatised as a tyrannical attempt to coerce their church, and subvert religious liberty. The Tories scoff at the bill as a ridiculous abortion; and the Radicals repudiate it as a mischievous scheme, calculated to promote sectarian feuds, and arrest the progress of "reform."

The bill may be briefly described as intended to prohibit the assumption by Roman Catholic ecclesiastics of titles derived from any place in the United Kingdom, under pain of incurring a penalty of £100 fine. Deeds executed by, and bequests made to, persons assuming the prohibited titles will be void; and all property so bequeathed will be at the disposal of the crown. As it is proposed to extend the operation of the Act to Ireland, that country is already being agitated by the champions of the Papal Church. On the other hand the Orangemen are again in the field; and sectarian strife and religions rancour bid fair to resume their old empire over the much-abused, long-deluded inhabitants of that unfortunate country

In the event of the bill becoming law, and the Roman Catholic prelates resolving to set it at defiance, they will find no difficulty in procuring money from "the faithful" to pay the fines; and the "persecution will add mightily to their moral influence. Priests mightily to their moral influence. are, to say the least, as cunning as lawyers, and the holy pastors will find the means to evade those clauses of the bill affecting the all important question of "bequests." Possibly the Romish priesthood will bow to the

stain from calling themselves "Archbishop of Westminster," "Bishop of Northampton," &c., but "the faithful" will not the less regard them, and speak of them as the Archbishop and Bishop aforesaid. The proposed law will do nothing to weaken the real power of the Roman Catholic Church; on the contrary, the semblance even of "persecution" will tend to augment that power.

If the bill is to apply to Ireland, why not apply it to the colonies? Are they not integral portions of the British empire? And if "the royal supremacy" must be maintained in one part of the empire, why not throughout the empire? Moreover, what about Maynooth? What about the Episcopal Church of Scotland—the prelates of which Church assume titles unauthorized by law?

Ministers are in a fix. It is true that the minority who voted against "leave to bring in the bill" was but small; but it must not be inferred that therefore the bill, as it at present stands, will receive the support of a great—or even a small—majority of the House of Commons. The bill is, of course, satisfactory to the present occupiers of place and possessors of power, and their hangerson, but satisfies no one else; and it is not at all improbable that on the first, second. or third reading, it may be thrown out by a coalition of ultra-Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Radical Latitudinarians. Even should it escape that peril, its succes in the "Upper House" is exceedingly doubtful. It is understood that the Tory majority in that house, headed by "Lord" STANLEY, are greatly dissatisfied with, and likely to throw out the bill Under these circumstances, the overthrow of the ministry, and a general election in the course of the spring, are by no means unlikely events. The Tories have long been in want of "a good cry;" and the cry of "No Popery!" would go far to ensure them the victory in the strife of a general election.

Mr. D'ISRAELI'S motion on Agricultural Distress is chiefly noticeable on account of the narrow escape of the Ministry. On the occasion of a similar debate last year, the

law, in which case they will only have to ab- | jority of twenty-one; their influence growing "small by degrees, and beautifully less," they this year owed their safety to a majority of only fourteen. The Protectionist leader delivered himself of two powerful orationspowerful so far as force of words went; but contemptible as regards the measures therein indicated. Professing to advocate the cause of the entire "Agricultural Interest"-Landlords, Farmers, and Labourers; his schemes are evidently designed chiefly to benefit the land-robbers, at the expense of the rest of the community. It is questionable if the Farmers would be any gainers, while it is certain the Labourers would find their condition not one whit improved by Mr. D'ISRAELI'S legislation. The rural labourers will enjoy real protection only when, in conjunction with the rest of the working classes, they will be in a position to protect themselves. For all sections of the wealth-producing and useful classes, there is but one means of salvation—the means embodied in The

The "Budget" for 1851 exhibits Whiggery in all its glory. With some two millions sterling of a "Surplus," an opportunity was offered to "Sir" CHARLES WOOD to sweep away at least one obnoxious tax, utterly and entirely. Whatever tax had been selected. its total repeal would have been some satisfaction to the people in general, and, at the same time, would have given complete satisfaction to some particular class or interest.

The total repeal of either the window tax, the soap duty, the duty on hops, the taxes on knowledge, &c., would have been more or less satisfactory. But, no-that would have been a plain, straightforward course-a thing utterly abhorrent to the nature of Whiggery. The peddling, paltering, pettifoggers who (for our sins) are at present permitted to reign over this empire, must always do things by halves. Accordingly the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to repeal the window tax, but along with the repeal to re-impose twothirds of the obnoxious import in the shape of a house tax; in effect only repealing onethird of the window tax! The duty on foreign and colonial coffee is to be reduced to a uniform. level of 3d. per lb. The reduction of the duty Whigs were able to command only a ma- on foreign timber is a sop to ship and house

builders. The reduction of the duty on foreign seeds, and the transfer of a portion of the expense of maintaining pauper lunatics to the consolidated fund, will, it is hoped by "Sir" CHARLES, conciliate "the agricultural interest." But in truth no one will be satisfied; no "interest," no party, nor class will be conciliated by this despicable "Budget." To add to the general discontent, the Chanceller's financial statement concluded with the modest proposal to renew the Income Tax for three years in its present oppressive and iniquitous form. The Whigs have a

talent for acquiring unpopularity. The anti-window-tax reformers are furious. At "a special meeting of the delegates of the various metropolitan parishes," which was attended by a considerable number of the metropolitan M. P.'s, the chairman declared that "their assembly was in fact a council of war; and they meant to show the Chancellor of the Exchequer that they meant war and no mistake." This was received with "great cheering." Mention of the Chancellor's cheering." Mention of the Chancellor's "Budget" excited "hisses," "groans," and cries of "We'll make him budge-it." The "Financial Statement" of the Government was christened with the opprobius names of "downright swindle," and "unexampled humbug." "Sir" CHARLES was entitled "Her Majesty's Thimblerigger-General;" and it was declared that his house tax should be "flung back in his face with the contempt it Resolutions pledging the metropolis to resist the proposed house-tax, and calling upon the metropolitan M. P.'s to obstruct the Government in every possible way until they had obtained the unconditional repeal of the window-tax, were unanimously adopted amidst thundering applause. An allusion to the probability of a Tory administration taking the place of the Whigs clicited cries of "we can't have a worse." An fact the "steam's up." "Total and unconditional repeal" is the cry. Marylebone is in arms! The Lambeth levies arc on their march! Finsbury is in the field! The city is convulsed! The Tower has need to be ready to meet the shock of the insurgent Hamlets! The tocsin is sounding in Westminster! Kensington, and Kennington, Islington and Notting Hill, are eoming to the rescue! Bravo! Forward! ye Southwark shopocrats, and Paddington profit-mongers. Forward! ye "special" heroes of "the 10th of April." Forward! profit-mongers. under the leadership of your Parish Bumbles. Forward! to the cry of "Untaxed Light; and down with the Whigs!"

"Charge, charge will all your chivalry!" The only measure proposed by the Whigs for which the public owe them any thanks is the bill introduced by Mr BAINES, "for the Protection of Young Servants and Apprentices." The new bill extends the protection of the criminal law (for the first time) to all young persons under eighteen, who are under the control of others as apprentices, or servants. Neglect or refusal by a master to provide necessary food for the young person, or subjecting him or her to blows, violence, or other cruel treatment will render the offender liable to imprisonment, with hard labour, for any period less than three years. The Court may allow the costs of the prosecutions. At present when a child is apprenticed, or hired from a workhouse, the guardians take no thought as to the welfare of the friendless being. The new bill requires

that so long as the apprentice or servant resides within the union, in the service of the original master, and is under eighteen, he or she shall be visited by an officer of the union at least four times a year, who shall report to the guardians, if there is any reason to believe that the young person is subjected to any cruel or illegal treatment. The guardians are authorised and enjoined to prosecute offenders on the certificate of a magistrate. have intimated that Ministers deserve thanks for this bill; but I am not very sure whether they do not rather deserve censure for neglect of duty in not having proposed such a law years ago. The case of JANE WILLBRED shews the absolute necessity for some enactment for the protection of orphans and other friendless young persons. Much will depend upou the vigilance and humanity of the inspecting officer. DROUET'S "Do-the-boys" den and Juvenile Slaughter-house, was visited (regularly or irregularly) by poor-law officials who were conveniently blind to the real state of the unhappy creatures; until the cholera, brought on by hunger and neglect, mercifully came, and swept away the victims by hundreds. The guardians must look after their officers, and the rate-payers must look after the guardiaus. The new law inflicts the punishment and shame of hard labour upon offenders. The SLOANES were not sentenced to hard labour, and so are kept in Newgate, where the he-brute has a cell, or private apartment to himself, and the she-beast is indulged in a course of nursing in the Infirmary. Compare their treatment with that of SHARP and WILLIAMS, done to death for the crime of thinking for themselves, feeling for the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, and demanding franchises which of right belong to all.

Ministers have assented to Mr. Slaney's motion for the appointment of "a select committee to consider the law of partnership, and the expediency of facilitating the limitation of liability, with the view to encourage useful enterprise, and the additional employment of labour." In a clear and very temperate speech, Mr. Slaner pointed out the evils of the existing law affecting the questions cmbodied in his motion, and the advantages to be anticipated from the amendment of the law. Mr. LABOUCHERE, speaking in behalf of the Government, while assenting to the motion, took care to inform the House that he did not concur in all the opinions expressed by Mr. Slaney. Probably a report favourable-more or less-to the views of Mr. SLANEY may emanate from the Committee some months hence, but any legislative measure founded thereon is not likely to bo enacted this session.

"Sir" Joshua Walmsley having enquired whether the Government intended to introduce any measure to extend the Suffrage, or amend the deficiencies of the Reform Act, was answered by "Lord" John to the effect that Her Majesty's Ministers "had no intention to take any steps in the present session to extend the right of voting." With respect to the Reform Bill "his lordship" graciously observed that he had admitted on previous occasions that the Reform Bill needed amendment. He added "I still retain that opinion, and I shall certainly carry it out when I think the proper time has arrived for doing so." The insolence of this declaration is quite refreshing. "Lord" John will begin the work of Parliamentary Reform

when he thinks the proper time has arrived! Need we say when that will be? Whenever the people determine to take the question into their own hands.

But "Lord" John has already abated his insolent tone. In July last Mr. LOCKE KING asked leave to bring in a bill to make the franchise in counties in England and Wales the same as that in boroughs; by giving the right of voting to all occupiers of tenements of the sunual value of £16. "Hord" John fully admitted the value of the proposed measure, but opposed it on the ground that there was not time at the end of the session to discuss so important a measure. argument had the intended effect, and Mr. KING was out-voted by 159 to 100 votes. This year he has renewed his motion at the beginning of the session, and finds himself still backed by his hundred supporters. "Lord" John, on the other hand, could only muster fifty-two votes. Ministers were defeated by a majority of two to one! Mr. LOCKE KING'S scheme is of no interest to the mass of the people, excepting so far as it is calculated to strengthen the already dominant power of the trading classes. Those who in country localities occupy houses, paying a rental of £10 a year, and upwards, do not belong to the working class; and if Mr. King's measure becomes law it will confer not one vote upon the veritable people. The interest attached to Mr. King's motion is derived from the declaration forced from "Lord" JOHN as to the time he really will proceed to carry out his intentions of reforming the Reform Act. I have not space for the amusing occupation of dissecting "his lordship's" speech; and can quote only the follow. ing "I can see no reason why, after this session. has passed, there should not be laid before the House at the commencement of next session a proposal on the subject of the extension of the suffrage (loud cries of "Hear, hear"); and, if I should then be a member of the government, I should feel it my duty to present my views on the question to the House." Let the public be not too sanguine. At present "Lord" John "can see no reason why, &c.;" but it does not follow that, if still Primo Minister, he will not see sufficient reason next session to again postpone "reform." Moreover, "his lordship" bases his half-promise on the contingency implied in the words—"If I should then be a member of the government " The Times observes, "As to the promise of a measure next session, who can pretend to say how we shall all stand by that time? The announcement is like that of the Newgate Ordinary, who promised to take the second part of his text next Sunday, though the persons he was addressing were to be hanged next morning. The only difference is, that in the present instance it is the preacher, rather than the congregation, that is in danger of losing his position." Comparisous are proverbially odious. Surely the Times does not contemplate the elevation of "Lord" John to the Newgate drop! In truth, however, "Lord" John and his colleagues are in a bad way. A Ministerial crisis would seem to be at hand; and rumours of a dissolution are widely circu-The Democrats should be up and active, and every exertion made to resuscitate the former power and influence of Chartism.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

"THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC."

A (Member of Joseph Mazzini the Ranam Tri-single is given in this number of Mr. Linton's Magazine. Also a number of manifestoes, &c., from the central European Democratic Committee.
The most interesting of its contents is Mr. Linton's plan of ". Republican Organization addressed to all Englishmen who call themselves republicans. We extract the most important portions of this

PLAN OF REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION.

In whatever place any one of you who hold our republican faith may be, look directly for such of your townsmen or neighbours as you know may be depended on to join you. If you know of none, begin the work of propagandism alone!—labour ing like some zealous, indefatigable missionary, till you shall have won some one of those within your reach to a necognition of your creed; not a mere formal recognition, nor the poor assent of one over-persuaded to allow himself to be called a Republican, -but the valuable recognition of the convert, who, having thoroughly examined and maturely weighed the principles of Republicanism, finds himself convinced of their truth; and who, being a true man (one who acts as he thinks, whose life is built upon his conscience), is consequently anxious to carry his principles into practice.

"So soon as you can meet with one such man, whether of your converting, or only waiting your inquiry—consider yourselves as the nucleus and Provisional Committee of a Republican Associat on to be formed by you in that town or neighbourhood,—and set zealously to work to add to your number. Be careful that none associate with you except on those on whose private character you can depend. A bad man can not make a good republican. Better work slowly and surely than enlist the unfit. But be as persevering as careful, lest the sometime discouragement of great carefulness unduly retard your progress. Take three qualities as essential to the making of good republicans, — sobriety — honesty — self-reliance. If your proposed associate is a man, be sure that he is honest towards women as well as with his fellowmen: if a woman be sure that she is sufficiently self-reliant to act in virtue of her own humanity, not merely as the creature of another.

"When your numbers in any place are such as to require erganization,—and the sooner that is set about the better, even se soon as you number ten or twelve,-then let your committee call a meeting of all its members, and constitute yourselves an Association for your locality, with some

such rules as these here following.

NAME.

"The Plymouth Republicans, or Plymouth Republican Association.

OBJECT.

"To teach the Principles of Republicanism. MEMBERS.

"All persons (men, or women) desirous of promoting the object of the Association shall be eligible as members, upon signifying their adhesion to the subjoined profession of faith,+—provided they are well known to some one of the members who will answer for their sobriety, honesty, and self-reliance. ‡

ELECTIONS.

"Open, and by a simple majority. DUTIES OF MEMBERS.

"I.—Teach themselves the Principle of Republicanism, in order to render their own lives there-

*The English Republic.—Edited by W. J. Linton, No. 2., February, London; J. Watson, Queen's Head Passage. Paternoster Row.
† The profession of faith would be that given at pages 8-9 of the English Republic: commencing with—'We be-

lieve in the progressive development of human faculties and forces, and ending with 'the example of those peoples, most loving and most devoted for encouragement on the

way.

1 Meaning, of course, general integrity. The seducer or the profigate, is not how st.

unto conformable; to teach one another as the best aid they can render; and by precept and practice unceasingly to endeavour to win prose-

"II .- To regard the members of the Association as brethren in the closest bond, closer than even the brotherbood of blood, *- and to rule their conduct towards each other by this principle.

Regular, frequent, and friendly communication between the members (perfect equality being observed among them, however different their station in society), the publication of a periodical openly advocating the republican principles of the Association, + the dissemination of tracts as opportunities occur, and such other means of constant or occasional propagandism as time and circumstances may afford.

GOVERNMENT.

"A President and Sceretary (either of whom might also be Treasurer), and a Committee (when the Association has so many members as to require it), chosen annually by open voting tof the Members present at the place of election.

"The course of proceeding in the Associations might, be much as follows.

" Eirst,—The formation of the Association would by no means exenerate any member from active exertion as an individual. As to having 'nothing to do' except when at the meetings, or when appointed on some special Committee of the Association, that is impossible so long as a man has the use of his limbs to carry him among his fellows, and the use of his tongue to preach to and converse with them. One may lecture; another may write tracts; fa third may distribute them; another go out with bills; another collect subscriptions; another, evening after evening, unweariedly endeavour to gain the ear of this or that friend or shopmate; another, less advanced, less able to teach, may be studying in his chamber some vet not thoroughly mastered principle, and another be even better employed, discussing the point of difficulty alongside of some fellow-republican, so helping, and being helped at once. 'Nothing to do' will be impossible if men are in earnest. If they are not in earnest they had better cease talk ing about the English Republic.

"An account of the proceedings of all general and special meetings should be published for the information and encouragement of the Republicans of other places, in the 'English Republic's or any other journal which may advocate the prin-

ciples of the Associations.

"For matters to be avoided,-beyond the general caution, on which too much stress cannot be laid, of associating only with the trustworthy (those of good character), -all that need be pointed out as dangerous will be, firstly, the corresponding of one association with another, which is an offence

"I would have this fully carried out. Let the Republican aid, associate with, trade with, work for and with, the brother Republican in decided preference to any other, even to the brother of his blood.

† By this I of course do not intend that each society shall publish a periodical; but that each shall do its utmost to maintain at least one avowed Republican Journal in England. If, however, one could be established in every town, so much the better.

1: The worth of the ballot is as a protection. But in a Republican Association no protection could be needed; and the education of frankness and moral courage would be desirable.

An error into which associated men so frequently fall, thinking foolishly that because they are combined they need no longer be self-reliant.

§ For this purpose, so soon as any associations are formed, reports may be sent to me, at Miteride, near Ravenglass, Cumberland: such reports to reach me not later than the 17th or 18th of every month.

T Private individuals acting in their private capacity may of course correspond with whomsoever they please. But the officers of a society, as such, or any persons in the name of a society, are forbidden to correspond with the officers of any other society, or any persons acting for it. But it is not illegal to publish the resolutions of associations; nor for me, or any other, as an individual, to make proposals based upon those resolutions.

against the law, involving ever u member of the offending association; and secondly, any action, overt or secret, or recommendation of action, against the Royal Authority. Of this last there can be no fear, if the Associations will constantly boar in mind their object, which is not to act, but TO TEACH REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES. The Associations are for mutual instruction and propagandism. That will be the business of the Association I am anxious to form. Their aim is not to conspire or rebel for the Republic, but TO MAKE REPUBLICANS.

"Action will not depend on them. Of course as independent bodies, they will be able to attempt any kind of action for which they have a mind, without caring to consult similar bodies of their brethren throughout the country; but they will have learned very little of republican devotion (in which word discipline is included), have very poorly comprehended the necessity of republican unity and organisation, to be guilty of so gross a blunder. Action should only be determined by a Central Committee chosen by all the Republicans throughout the country. Any partial action is a

treason against the whole.

"Does all this seem a work of so much time and difficulty that you are disheartened. Take away your hand from the plough! Do not lay hold of it, to halt in mid-furrow, Time!—the veriest weed must have time to grow. Difficulty !-no great work was ever done without it. Difficulty is the seed of triumph, and time its necessary fructifier. Mazzini and his compatriots, and how many of them exiles, wait patiently for twenty years. Recollect again what has already been effected 'by some young men without great means, without the influence of rank, without material force!' In Italy they are keeping the Eve of the When shall we do so in England? When we are as brave and as devoted. Three herdsmen made Switzerland a Republic. Twelve poor fisherman and mechanics, unlearned despised, by the energy of their faith revolutionised the world. Twelve apostolic men in England, be they never so poor in station, one for each of as many of our English towns, working as apostolic men do, without fear, without ceasing, and without counting their own sacrifice, —and in twelve months we would have the strongest party in the country; the strongest because the most zealous and the best organised. Which of you who have declared your readiness to join me, which of you wbo now read these words, will be the twelve founders of the English Republic?'

The propriety of forming a new association is questionable; seeing that there are already more associations in existence than can be properly sustained. Mr. Linton's plan, however, contains many hints towards the amendment of existing organizations, which hints Chartists and Demo-erats would do wisely to consider. Whether through the operation of the old Societies, or any new Association, the advance of Republican principles will be hailed with delight by all true

democrats.

EVILS OF A CORRUPT PRESS .- "The liberty of the press," is a phrase which has become almost proverbial, but do Englishmen recollect, that while they extolits virtues, there lurks beneath its leaves a thorn, more inimical to the liberties of themselves and their posterity, than the virtue of its fruits are beneficial to either? Do they recollect, that the printing press in the hands of tyrants is the most powerful engine of oppression that the world ever produced, and that, but for the boasted "Liberty of the British Press," we should never have suffered from the many evils of which we now complain? The fact is-The rich have the power, and find it their interest to discountenance and suppress all writings containing important and salutary truths; and from the same motives, and by the same means, namely, money, are enabled to encourage and disseminate sophistry and delusion, in whatever quantity and place they please.

ROBERT OWEN AND THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

Ar a miceting of the Committee, letters were read from Edinburgh, Coventry, Hull, Aberdeen, &c., stating that Committees were being formed to assist the Central Committee in raising funds. The following letter, addressed to the Secretary from Mr. Owen, was also read:-

Spring Grove, Hounslow. Feb. 18th. 1851.

DEAR SIR, -I approve the plan hy the Committee, and I hope they will succeed in their object. The opportunity to disseminate important truths to nations in a short period has never before occurred under such favourable auspices. ever I can do to promote this object will be most willingly done; and I will, with pleasure, write the tracts requested by the Committee. My kind regards to each of the members, and I remain,

My dear Sir, yours truly,

ROBERT OWEN.
Mr. Kenny, late President of the John Street Institution, has been unanimously elected Trea-

All communications to be sent to the Secretary, Henry A. Ivory, 52, College Place, Camden Town.

POLISH REFUGEES.

ABOUT four months since there arrived in London from the Continent, more than 80 Refugees, many of whom were in good positions in their native land, and took part as officers and soldiers under the noble-minded Patriots, Kossuth, Bem. Dembinski, and others, in the great and unequal struggle for the Independance of Hungary.

Others gave their aid under the brave Garibaldi and Mazzini in defence of the rights of the Roman Citizens. Adverse circumstances compelled these patriotic men to take refuge in Switzerland, from which place, while enjoying the rights of hospitality so justly due to them for their exertions in the cause of Universal Liberty; they were, hy the machinations of the Northern Powers, forced to leave their temporary home, and take refuge in England.

Here have they hithertoeked out a truly miserable existence, scarce fit for malefactors expiating the penalties of their crimes, much less for men who lett their homes and every endearing tie in the cause of freedom.

A Committee of Operatives, at the wish of the Refugees, endeavoured to alleviate the misery in which they were placed, and by dint of great exertions they succeeded in renting a temporary building capable of containing 60 persons, the situation is not such as the Committee could wish, but the most rigid economy has necessarily been studied, owing to the small amount of money at their disposal; for the support has been much more limited than could have been expected, considering the sympathy these noble, but unfortunate men deserve at our hands in consideration of their devotion to the cause of Liberty.

But the haggard looks, miserable accommodation, scanty clothing and insufficient food which they silently endure, and the fact staring us in the face of one officer recently dead and several others ill, it would be culpable in us to longer defer this appeal to those who cheered the offorts of Kossuth, Bem, and Klapka, and admired the

energies of Garibaldi and Mazzini.

Trusting this appeal to your assistance will not he made in vain, the smallest contribution will be thankfully received, to aid us in our endeavour to improve their condition until they are acquainted with our language and can do something to maintain themselves, or are enabled to return to their native land, doubly dear to the exile.

Subscriptions received by T. Brown, Sec., 41, Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell. Announcements will be given in the press, if required. A few Refugees who speak the English language take part to any friend who may please to pay a visit to the Fraternal Home.

On behalf of the Committee.

WILLIAM LUNN, Chairman. THOMAS BROWN, Secretary. 41, Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

An English "Red."—Vive la Pais is "Live Peace!" or, as an Englishman would say, "Peace for ever!" Vive la Guerre is "Live War!" or, "Hurrah for War!" J. Gisson, Kilbarchan.—There is no portrait of Ledru Rollin on sale in London that we are aware of, nor any good portrait of Mazzini. The only portrait of the Editor of this publication ever published was the wood engraving in Reynolds's Political Instructor.

E. JACOBSON.—Received—thanks.—No received.

E. JACOBSON.—Received—thanks. No room.
THE FORTHCOMING CONVENTION.—We have received 1s.
for the Convention Fund from W. B., Rochester. [Please

to send full address.]
"Servo."—If possible the article shall appear in our next number.

**Continuations of "Consuelo," and "The Crimes and Frauds of Priests" are in type, but through want of room must stand over, along with several communications from correspondents.

requests us to state that he has received 3s. 6d. for the Polish Refugees from a few engineers, Darlington.

A. Bate objects, and with reason, to the puffing system employed by the Chartists in convening their meetings; and thinks that instead of announcing Mr. Such-a-one, and So-and-so, Esq., it would be in better taste to a the ease might be. Our correspondent adds-"Lears the stuff about 'eloquent advocates of the people's rights,' sterling and uncompromising democrat.' 'champion of the people's cause,' &c., &c.; cease this humbug (1 say) and so compress of the people's cause,' &c., &c.; cease this humbug (1 say) and so compress of the people's cause,' &c., &c.; cease this humbug (1 say) and so compress on the objects. 'sterling and uncompromising democrat,'-'champ'on of the people's cause,' &c., &c., cease this humbug (I say) managing committees of localities, select committees for festivals, and all others who take an active part in the management of these things—let it he at an end. And you, Chartists of the North, no more 'coaches-and-four,' if you desire the co-operation of the thoughtful. All these things should for the future be known only as things of the next. So long against the gentle for the second. of the past. So long as we continue to make gods of men, so long will some of them, at least, continue to make fools

so long will some of them, at least, continue to make fools of us."

John Cameron, writing in the name of a number of friends at Manchester, respecting Mr. O'Connor's weekly denunciation of "trafficking politicians," observes—"We must raise our voices against his vague manner of arraigning men. We do not know who he means; but we helieve he means somebody, and we wish the Executive Committee to use every means in their power to compel him to speak out." Mr. Cameron adds:—"I know Mantle—he is the only one of the English leaders that I am well acquainted with, and he is no mercenary leader. He is a carver by trade, and a very superior workman; and in order to pay off dehts contracted by his wife whilst he was in prison. solitary and neglected by those for whose cause he suffered, and at the same time to support himself and partner, he has made and does make when he has work, sixteen hours per day; and moreover his hand (like that of all who will pay to push forward the people's cause) is never out of his pockets. Then, I say, let the 'schemers' he exposed, or no more mentioned. Mr. O'Connor's present course splits us up, and spoils ins."

ADVANCE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE SANDWICH IS. LANDS.—The right of suffrage having been granted to the people residing in the Sandwich Islands, an election was to take place the first Monday in January, for members of a Legislative body, termed the Parliament. The Honolulu Times congratulates its citizens upon the attainment of this great privilege, and hails the event as auspicious for the future growth and prosperity of the country. We have not seen the law prescribing the right of Suffrage, and do not precisely know how far it extends, but believe that it embraces all, both native and foreign, who have resided in the Island for a specified period. An adopted Hawaiian writing upon the subject, says that this is the long wished for opportunity to engraft a vigorous shoot of Anglo-Saxon energy upon the less thrifty tree of Hawaiian Legislation, and that it is sincercly to be hoped that the friends of progress will not supinely suffer the precious time to pass without taking some vigorous steps in the matter. Twenty-three persons are to be elected, and a vigorous effort will be made to secure as many in the Committee, and the whole business is open of this number out of the "universal Yankeo nation" as possible. New York Tribune.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1851.

MINISTERIAL CRISIS! DOWNFALL OF THE WHIGS!

At the moment this number of the Friend of the People was completed and ready for the press,* came the startling intelligence of the resignation of the Whig Ministry. By withdrawing other matter we are enabled to briefly notice an event not yet fully developed, but which probably will be, ere the publication of our next number.

The downfall of the Whigs, although not altogether unexpected, has nevertheless taken the country by surprise. From the moment the Chancellor of the Exchequer opened his ridiculous "Budget" it was seen that either Ministers must recast the policy determined on for the Session, or, otherwise, Sir Charles Wood and his colleagues would have to "budge-it." Still it was not imagined the catastrophe was so near at hand. How fair seemed the prospects of "Lord" John and his friends only some two or three weeks since. Rulers of a land enjoying, according to their own unimpeachable (?) authority, a high degree of prosperity; masters of an overflowing treasury, with two millions of pounds sterling in the shape of "surplus revenue" to dispose of; leaders of un unquestioned majority in the Sovereign branch of the Legislature, who could have imagined that within the little term of some two weeks from the opening of Parliament, these "statesmen" could have so managed to damage themselves as to be glad to make a pitiful retreat from the responsibilities of office!

What is the meaning of this "resignation of Ministers?" As this number of the Friend must be published before "Lord" JOHN gives utterance to the official explanation of the step he has thought well to take, we can only "guess his meaning by his mumping," as expressed through the journals in his interest. So far as there are materials for judging, it seems to us that "Lord" John has no serious intention of retiring from office. That, on the contrary, his policy is to make himself appear indispensable to both the Queen and the "liberal" majority of the House of Commons. It is true that "Lord" STANLEY has been "sent for;" but such a step was a matter of course. It does not follow that the Tory leader will take office. However unworkable the existing House of Commons may have been during the last fortnight, it would be still worse during the next fortnight in the event of the immediate formation of a Tory Ministry. Thus situated, a STANLEY administration would be compelled to at once dissolve the present Parliament. Would a dissolution enable the Protectionists to command a majority in the new Parliament? It is doubtful. But one thing is sure, that if a Parliament was elected containing a majority favourable to either the restoration of a bread-tax, or to any scheme designed to favour the Agricultural Interest at the expense of the rest of the community, such a Parliament would be of short dura-

* Saturday morning, February 22nd.

tion. Rather than yield to its decisions, the money-mongers and trading classes generally would try their hands at a REVOLUTION.

A Tory ministry is certainly within the limits of possibility; but probability points to a coalition of Whigs and Peelites. Lord JOHN might with great advantage free himself from two or three of his colleagues, particularly the unlucky Chancellor of the Exchequer; and he could not but be a gainer by obtaining the co-operation of such men as "Sir" JAMES GRAHAM, and the "Duke" of NEWCASTLE, (late Lord Lincoln.) The last named would make an admirable "leader" in the House of Lords, in place of the super-annuated "Marquis" of Lansdowne. In the lower house the services of "Sir" James GRAHAM would be invaluable to his old colabourer. A Russell-and-Graham Ministry is the most probable solution of the present crisis. Of course "Sir" CHARLES WOOD is doomed, and his "Budget" along with himself. The anti-window-tax men may make merry. A new Budget, and a re-shaping of the Papal Aggression Suppression Bill, will be the necessary consequences of a re-constructed Whig administration.

On hearing of a Ministerial Crisis, people at once jump to the conclusion that there will necessarily be a dissolution of Parliament. That is by no means certain at the present moment. An immediate dissolution of Parliament would be anything but agreeable to "Prince" ALBERT and the promoters of the Great Exhibition, and for that reason, if for no other, will if possible be avoided. In the event of the Tories taking office they must "dissolve." But a re-constructed "Liberal" Cabinet, with or without the introduction of the Peelites, will, in all probability, try to tide over the present Session without having recourse to an appeal to the constituencies.

Dissolution or no dissolution, Lord John has again resumed his old and favourite character of "the artful dodger." To prolong the reign of humbug, and prevent the progress of real reform, the Whig leader has again assumed the title of "Reformer." Having successfully jewed the Jews during the last two or three sessions, Lord John, in anticipation of having to make his bow to the "independent electors" of the City, placed on the books of the house, a few nights ago, a motion to re-consider the question of Jewish Disabilities. The intimation that in the next session of Parliament he might be disposed to support a proposition for an Extension of the Suffrage was craftily thrown out to enable his partisans to raise "a good cry" in the event of a general election. For what could be more taking—at least amongst the gullible—than the cry of "Russell and Reform!"

How far the people will resign themselves to be humbugged by faithless Whiggery remains to be seen. "Lord" John will have announced his resignation of office on that day ominous to anti-popular rulers—the 24th of February. Unlike Guizor he tries to break his fall by suddenly re-raising the cry of "Reform." But his "reform" is a mockery and a lie. And if the people of Great Britain and Ireland are not the most gullible and contemptible slaves, they will answer the hypocrite with the thunder-cry of up-risen Democracy :- "IT IS TOO LATE!"

CAM HOBHOUSE.

THIS Radical Renegade who once advocated Universal Suffrage and nearly all the "points" of the People's Charter; and who next to "Sir" FRANCIS BURDETT was the most popular of all the "respectable" Radicals, has, at length, received the reward of his recreancy; being called to the peerage by the style and title of "Baron BROUGHTON DE GYFFORD in the county of Wilts." Once he shared with BURDETT the title of "Westminster's Pride and England's Glory; but having ratted from Radicalism to Whiggery he got the dirty kick out, and flying from Westminster, took refuge at Nottingham, from whence he was returned on "the liberal interest." Having disgusted even many of his "liberal" friends he was expelled from the representation of that borough. Since then he has been scarcely heard of. Once more his name turns up; this time emblazoned on the scroll of corruption. The Radical denouncer of the aristocracy is elevated to the "Hospital of Incurables"-not exactly the sort of elevation his merits entitled him to. Let us hope that in "the good time coming" renegades will meet with a much fitter reward.

THE CHARTIST CONVENTION.

FROM a notice in the Glasgow Sentinel, we learn that the Chartists of the West of Scotland are once more in movement. At a large meeting of Trades' delegates, a number of men whose names are identified with the Chartist movement, and who, though differing on many questions, all agree in supporting the Charter, united in urging "the necessity of union and energetic action amongst all shades of democrats, and the importance of improving the opportunity afforded by the Industrial Exhibition of spreading their principles, and helping forward the Great European struggle for liberty." The report in the Sentinel states, that "a strong feeling prevails" in the West of Scotland "in favour of supporting the measures of the present Executive Committee in London, who seem to possess a greater amount of public confidence than any similar body, for many years past." We have seen letters from Edinburgh and the North of Scotland, holding out equally favourable hopes of the future; but expressing the inability of the Chartists of those districts to send delegates to the Convention if held in

The following resolution has been adopted

by the Executive Committee.

"Mr. REYNOLDS moved, and Mr. HARNEY seconded, the following resolution:—'That the date for the assembling of the Convention be postponed until the first Monday in June, unless a dissolution of parliament, or any other incident of great political importance should render it expedient to summon the Convention to meet at an earlier period.' After a lengthened discussion the resolution was adopted, Mr. Jones being the only dissentient.

The subjoined reasons were also agreed to, Mr. Jones dissenting. 'The Executive Committee are induced to pass the above resolution, for the following reasons:-1. As, from the mass of correspondence received, it appears evident that numerous localities require more time to collect funds, tion. 2 Because, after mature deliberation, it has been deemed advisable that the Convention should be held at a period when most members of the class

especially interested in the cause of Chartism will be in London, so that a good spirit may be inspired amongst them, and the work of proselytism may receive an impulse. 3. Because the postponement will afford ample time for the whole Chartist public to discuss the programme of business to be submitted for the consideration of the Convention. And, 4, Because, during the interval, it is proposed that one or two members of the Executive shall visit the provinces, attend meetings, and assist in arousing the democratio spirit.'

Mr. O'CONNOR in the exercise of his modesty and good sense has thought proper to de-nounce the resolution of the Executive after this fashion, "I really do not think that if all the fools in the world had clubbed their brains together, they could have adopted a more foolish, ridiculous, and absurd resolution." Very complimentary to his colleagues! But why was he absent from the Executive? Why did he not favour the Committee with the benefit of that wisdom which he alone possesses? His "Parlimentary duties" could not have caused his absence, seeing that the House, on Wednesday, Feb. 19th, adjourned at two o'clock in the afternoon. Mr. O'Con-NOR argees that the Conference should be held in March to "develope the popular mind," and exercise "a powerful influence upon Parliament." The answer is, that at the present time * the popular mind is not sufficiently developed to give birth to a Convention having the least chance of influencing Parliament. Hold the Convention in March, and it would consist of ten, perhaps even twenty, delegates representing London and a few of the Midland and Northern towns; all the rest of the country being unrepresented. Even the ten or twenty delegates would be unprovided with the necessary funds, and the result would be that the Convention would dissolve with a printer's bill and other bills unpaid; while some of the delegates would be without the means of returning home, and being reduced to the level of paupers would find their pauperism duly chronicled and abundantly trumpeted in the Northern Star. And yet the proprietor of that paper pretends that such a Convention would exercise a wonderful influence upon Parliament! The very reverse would be the case. Impotent both in numbers and funds it is precisely such a mock Convention, such an exhibition of popular "folly;" that would excite the laughter and. scorn of "Lord John Russell, the Free Traders, and Financial Reformers."

Mr. O'CONNOR graciously informs hisreaders that "It is really enough to make a Quaker kick his mother to see the absurd. and ridiculous manner in which the popular mind is now governed." Would it not be nearer the truth to confess that the wrath of the ill-bred and fifth-commandment-breaking Broadbrim is excited in consequence of the "popular mind" rejecting "the absurd and ridiculous" government, or leadership, heretofore accepted?

The member for Nottingham takes care to ignore that part of the Executive's resolution which provides that the Convention may be summoned earlier than June (in March if necessary), in the event of "any incident of great political importance" occuring to render such a step advisable.

The Ministerial Crisis may render it advi-

sable for the Executive to consider whether it would be judicious to summon the Convention for a day earlier than June. We care not what the date, so long as the Convention shall be an adequate representation of the Chartist party-strong in Men and Money.

The mission of the Convention will be to lay the foundation of a movement calculated to have an effect upon the Parliament and Government — a real effect, not a flash in the pan. There have been too many sham "effects;" it is time to inaugurate the reign of realities.

There are two kinds of "demonstrations"demonstrations of strength, and demonstrations of weakness. Let us avoid the latter. The Convention should be a demonstration of reviving vigour and growing strength, capable of creating a movement which, if not misdirected, or betrayed by "trafficking politicians," will gradually but surely acquire influence with the country, and ultimately result in THE VICTORY OF LABOUR, AND THE TRIUMPH OF CHARTISM.

TO THE CHARTISTS.

I am very unwilling to occupy the columns of this publication with a personal matter; but after the contradictory versions of Mr. O'Connor's sayings at Manchester in relation to myself, I think it necessary to state, as briefly as possible, the veritable facts connected with my retirement from the editorship of the Northern Star.

In the report of the proceedings of the "Man ehester Conference," published in Reynolds's Newspaper of February 2nd, appeared the following:—
"Mr. Hurst said that Mr. O'Connor dismissed

Mr. Harney for recommending private assassina-

"Mr. Mantle asked Mr. O'Connor whether that statement was true?

"Mr. O'Connor said that Mr. Harney put forth in the Northern Star certain abuse of himself and others. He believed he had also recommended the thing imputed to him by Mr. Hurst. He gave Mr. Harney three months' notice in consequence; and when he had filled up the situation, Mr. Harncy intimated his desire to retain his situation, but it was too late.'

The statement ascribed to Mr. O'Connor excited disgust far and wide; the more so that the followhad appeared in the Northern Star only a week previous:

"Mr. O'Connor: 'I will say what I have a hundred times to Mr. Jones, that I always regarded Mr. Harney as one of the most honest, consistent and disinterested, of Chartists. Mr. Jones, have I not said so?'

"Mr. Jones, 'You have.'

"Mr. O'Connor: I greatly regretted when we parted. I was sorry to lose Mr. Harney. I believe a better, or a more honest man does not exist, and I only wish there were a good many like him.'"

The large public meeting at the John Street Institution, on the 4th of February, agreed unanimously to a resolution demanding of the Executive to investigate the affair. A similar demand was made by the United Council of the Tower Hamlets. The Executive resolved to institute an inquiry at their meeting on the 12th ult. At that meeting Mr. O'Connor attended, but having an engagement re lating to the Land Company, the matter was very hastily disposed of. I take the following from the official report :-

"Mr. O'Connor, at some length, stated what he did say relative to Mr. G. Julian Harney at Manchester. He emphatically denied the correctness of the report in Reynolds's Newspaper. He had not said a word detrimental to Mr. Harney's character, on the contrary, he had said that ing that he Mr. Harney was the most honest democrat that he performed?

knew; and added that he would publish in the Northern Star of next Saturday a full statement of what he had then said, and as he (Mr. O'Connor) had te attend to a most important engagement relative to the Land Company, he begged leave to retire."

Before Mr. O'Connor quitted the room a letter was read by the secretary from the person who furnished the report to Reynolds's Newspaper,; affirming, in the most positive manner, the correctness of the report. Mr. O'Connor having again asserted the contrary, the Executive Committee

eame to the following decision:

"On the motion of Messrs. Jones and Grassby, the following was unanimously agreed to:- 'That Mr. O'Connor having pledged his word that the report in Reynolds's Newspaper relative to what he said of Mr. Harney at the recent 'Conference at 'Manohester' is utterly incorrect; and Mr. O'Connor having further explained that he then and there denied Mr. Harney's ever having to his knowledge freoommended private assassination,' as also that he had stated that he dis-. charged Mr. Harney, the truth being that Mr Harney voluntarily relinquished the Editorship of the Northern Star, this committee feels that Mr. Harney is fully exonerated from the imputations cast upon him in the speech ascribed to Mr. O'Connor; and finally resolves that the matter now wholly rests between Mr. O'Connor and the reporter of Reynotds's Newspaper.'"

"It was also agreed :- 'That the use of the hall in John-street be applied for, to hold a public meeting on Tuesday evening, February 25th, in order

to report on the above question.'

Mr. O'Connor promised the Executive Committee that he would himself state in the ensuing number of the Star the words he used at Manchester. Instead of so doing, he published a letter from his friend M'Grath. The letter was received by the secretary to the Executive at the moment of Mr. O'Connor's departure from the committee, he refusing to wait and hear it read, but requesting that it might be forwarded to him. When read, it was felt by all present that M'Grath's testimony materially differed from the statement given but a few minutes before by Mr. O'Connor. Here is M'Grath's "version" of Mr. O'Connor's Manchester speech :-

"Mr. Mantle asked Mr. O'Connor whether it was true that Mr. Harney was discharged from the Star office for recommending private assassination? Mr. O'Connor, in reply, said 'Harney came to me in 1843, I employed him at a salary of one pound a week, which salary was ultimately increased to four pounds a week. The eause of his discharge was simply this: he was continually abusing everybody, and permitting everybody to abuse me in the *Star*, which I resolved to have no more of. As regards the charge of advocating private assassination, something was said about it, but I am not sure that

Harney was correctly represented.'

If the above is the true "version" of Mr. O'Connor's speech, it but ill accords, as the members of the Executive very well know, with the other true "version" givou to the Committe by Mr. O'Connor himself. Taking M'Grath's version for what it may be worth, let me ask what had the salary paid by Mr. O'Connor to the ex-editor of his paper to do with the business of the Manchester Conference? Was the matter introduced by Mr. O'Connor to enable him to trumpet his own generosity? That which he paid me I earned. It may be presumed that Mr. O'Connor would not employ any one at even a pound a week, [the sum is inaccurately stated] unless he considered the labour of the person employed worth that remuneration. It is still less likely that ho would go on increasing the salary from one to four pounds weekly, if he did not think the recipient of that amount worth his money. Why then should he parade his generosity, by publishing that he gave well earned wages for work

M'Grath reports Mr. O'Connor to have said. The eause of his (Harney's) discharge was sim ply this," &c., &c. If he really made use of thosewords, he could only have done so to convey the false impression that he had discharged me; in stead of the fact that I discharged myself, and voluntarily relinquished the editorship of his paper. If he did not use the words ascribed to him by M'Grath, why has he published M'Grath's report as the true "version" of his speech in opposition to the "version" given in Reynolds's paper alleged to be false?

According to M'Grath, his report, gives "Mr. O'Connor's exact words." In the same paper, Mr. O'Connor says, "as to charging him, (Harney,) with assassination, or anything of the kind, it is not only a falsehood, but a RANK LIE."

But the report in Reynolds's Newspaper does not represent Mr. O'Connor as having charged me with assassination, but as having countenanced those whose slander was to the effect that I had "recommended assassination." The words ascribed to Mr. O'Conner are, "He believed he had recommended the thing imputed to him by Mr. Hurst. He gave Mr. Harney three month's notice in consequence."

This last sentence accords with that portion of M'Grath's "version" in which Mr. O'Connor is made to declare that I was dismissed or "discharged" from the Star office. The reporter for Reynolds's Newspaper has published the following

in that paper of Feb. 16th:

"TO THE EDITOR OF REYNOLDS'S NEWSPAPER,

"Sir,-Some remarks having appeared in the Northern Star of Saturday last, impugning my veracity as the reporter of the late Manchester Conference, you will perhaps allow me to say that the report in question was a transcript of my notes taken at the moment, and that every essential paragraph is substantially correct, as I am prepared to prove by the mouths of many witnesses.

"I am, sir, yours truly, "THE REPORTER OF THE LATE MANCHES-TER CONFERENCE.

"Manchester, Feb. 10, 1851."

Materially varying from his "exact words" as reported by M'Grath, Mr. O'Connor gives a statement of "the exact facts" connected with my re-

tirement from the Star. He says:-

"When Mr. Harney abused me most in the Star, I told him that he should not write such letters again. He gave me three months' notice that he would leave; and when a month or five weeks had expired, I told him to reflect upon it, and as I never wished to discharge a servant, he might retain his office. He gave me no answer until one week before his own notice would have expired, and therefore I had very naturally engaged another person to fill his situation. A week before his time had expired, he told me he would remain in his office; but having engaged another person, I told him that his proposal was too late."

The "exact" of Mr. O'Connor not only disagrees with the "exact" of M'Grath, but also with the exact truth, as I shall now proceed to shew. Here is a copy of the letter addressed to the proprietor of the Star giving him three month's notiee of my intention to withdraw from that journal:-

"TO FEARGUS O'CONNOR, ESQ., M.P.

"SIR.—During nearly seven years I have been in your employment, first as Sub-Editor, and subsequently as Editor, of the Northern Star. Previous to joining the Star office, I was, during a term of more than two years, in your employ-ment as "the Sheffield Corrospondent" for that

paper.
"The connexion which has existed between us for nine consecutive years, must now termi-

nate.
"I am sorry that this separation should have

on your part.
"In last week's Northern Star, you subjected me to the ruffianly insults of your friend Tom Clark; also to abuse from some contemptible fellow, who shrunk behind the covering of an anonymous letter.

"You also allowed Clark to insult and calumnniate other men-men who had not written one word in the Star, or any other paper, against or

concerning their calumniator.

"Worse still, you sanctioned Clark's most foul and treasonable attack on the character of the en-

tiro Chartist party.

"In my letter, written for publication in this day's Star, but which you have burked, I passed over every provocation addressed to myself by Clark, and confined my comments to a defence of the Chartist party, with the addition of a few words in favour of the other persons calumniated by Clark, and a passing notice of the anonymous letter above alluded to.

"You forbade the insertion of my letter in the You allowed Clark to caluminate and insult the entire Chartist party, and you have closed the Star against an answer to his insults and

calumnies.

"In announcing your refusal to publish my letter, you misrepresented the character thereof. Aware of this, I wrote a second letter, briefly and calmly correcting your misrepresentation; adding thereto, certain comments on the infamous conspiracy of the French Order-mongers to destroy Universal Suffrage, and concluding with the fewest possible words of farewell to the readers of the Star.

"That letter, too, you have burked. You have refused to allow me to bid a kindly adieu to the readers of the Northern Star, although in that adicu there was not mixed up one word of angry reflection on the unfair treatment I had received

at your hands.

"In virtue of my office, I, on Thursday (May 16), placed in the hands of the printer, a letter from Mr. John West, in reply to Clark's foul and filthy libel. I also "gave out" resolutions, &c., adopted at meetings at Halifax, Edinburgh, Nottingham, Greenwich, &c.; which rosolutions, together with Mr. West's letter, you have also burked.

"Were the readers of your paper informed of this burking process, they would appreciate at its true worth your assurance of my unlimited "liberty to write on politics of every descrip-

tion !!!"

"Such liberty I beg to reject. I will not accept

any such mockery.

"The course I must take is no longer a matter of doubt. Self-respect, and a due regard for my own public character, command me to quit your employment.

"I therefore give you notice of my intention and determination to do so, at the expiration of three months from this date, May 18, 1850.

"There is no agreement between us; but as I should have required three months notice had you taken the initiative in this separation, I give you the like notice.

"I must add, that it is my fixed resolution not to write another letter, or any editorial matter for the Star. At the same time, should circumstances offer, I shall avail myself of some other channel

through which to address the people.

"With these intentions, I beg to state, that as it would be repugnant to my sense of justice to accept your money during three months without giving an adequate return, I am quite ready and willing to sever our connexion at once, if you think proper to dispense with the three mouths notice.

"I am, Sir, yours respectfully,

"G. JULIAN HARNEY."

Mr. O'Connor pretends that I abused him in the Northern Star. Let him produce proof of his together in harmony, for any considerable period,

been induced by acts of unfairness and injustice assertion. The facts set forth in my letter giving notice to leave the Star are well known to the readers of that paper; and they know that Mr. O'Connor's "exact facts" are inexact-so far, at least, as the cause of my retirement from the Star is in question. It only remains for me to state the facts connected with Mr. O'Conner's request to me to withdraw the notice to resign, and my answer thereto.

Nine or ten (not four or five) weeks after I had given notice to leave the Star, meeting Mr. O'Connor at the office, a conversation on general topics was brought to a conclusion by Mr. O'Connor saying, "Well, Harney, you may resume your letters in the Star." He added other words to the effect that he wished me to withdraw the notice I had given to leave. My answer was, that I must take time to consider his proposal. I consulted my friends, and by them generally I was advised to renew my engagement on the Star. This was the advice given by Ernest Joues, and many others - less on personal than on public grounds. It was said to me, "As long as you remain at the Star, the true democrats will have a guarantee for the representation and defence of their cause: if you retire, that guarantee will be lost." I appreciated the force of this argument I appreciated the force of this argument; still I hesitated, and it was not until two days after (not one week before) the expiration of the notice that I wrote on the subject to Mr. O'Connor. The first portion of the letter I need not reprint; as it relates to the non-publication of a few lines from Ernest Jones, which subsequently appeared in the Star. Here is word for word all that had relation to the Editorship of that paper.

"4, Brunswick-row, Queen-square, "August 19, 1850.

"The three months' notice I gave to leave the Northern Star expired on Saturday, the 17th instant.

"I mention this circumstance, because three or four weeks ago you intimated to me that I might resume my letters in the Star whenever I thought proper to do so.

"I understood by that intimation that you wished me to not to quit my employment on your

newspaper.

"I now beg to state that I am willing to resume that employment, on the understanding that I am to be as unfettered by restrictions of any kind as I was previous to the rupture occasioned by the affair with Clark.

"A letter will teach me as above, or at the Star office. I shall call at the office to-morrow morning and Wednesday morning, for letters.

"An early answer will oblige.

"Yours very respectfully, "G. JULIAN HARNEY."

Mr. O'Connor's particular friends have represented that after I was "discharged," I "begged and prayed" to be allowed to remain at the Star Let the reader say whether there is anvoffice, Let the reader say water, the thing like begging or praying in the above straightforward letter. The assertion that I was "dis-charged" is a falsehood; and that I "begged" or "prayed" to be allowed to remain at the Star is equally false. Not a step would I have taken-not a word would I have spoken or written tending to bring about a renewal of my engagement, had not Mr. O'Connor solicited mo to remain. Even then I so little desired to continue at the Star, that I allowed three or four weeks to pass over, and the notice to fully expire before I responded to Mr. O'Connor's request. When I did so, I was not surprised to receive for answer, that he had "made new arrangements, which could not be set aside.

I can truly say that I felt no regret; nor have I since, even for a moment, or under any circumstances, regretted that I then withdrew from the Northern Star. The difference of opinion on political quostions botween Mr. O'Connor and myself had become too marked to admit of our working

in the columns of the same journal. I am wellsatisfied that my retirement took place in August last. Had it been otherwise, had I renenewed my engagement, Mr. O'Connor's course in relation to the London Democratic Conference, the Manchester Conference, &c., would have caused another explosion; as conscience and bonour would have commanded my opposition to Mr. O'Conner's policy.

It is not true that I was "discharged" from the Editorship of the Northern Star either for "recommending private assassination," or for "abusing" the proprietor. On the contrary, I voluntarily relinquished that employment because Mr. O'Connor attempted to subject mc to restrictions which neither in conscience nor honour could I submit to. It is not true that I "begged" and "prayed" to be allowed to remain at the Star Offic. I only consented to negotiate the question of a renewed engagement on the ground of perfect freedom from the afore-said. restrictions, and I did so in consequence of Mr. O'Connor having first requested me to withdraw my notice. Looking back upon all the circumstances connected with my retirement from the Star, I can say in all truth and sincerity, that there is no event in the whole of my political career on which I can reflect with more thorough satisfaction and unalloyed self-approval. Forthe sake of principle I made a sacrifice such as but few men could be found to make, and which certainly not one of the corrupt gang by whom I am slandered would think of making, were they occupying any similar position to that which L held as Editor of the Northern Stor. The people will judge between us.

Before I conclude, I will say a few words on the assassination calumny. Here is the matter on which my slanderers base their villanous accusation. The two paragraphs formed portion of a letter of mine under the signature of L'AMI DU PEUPLE, published in the Northern Star of September the 15th, 1849. The subject of the letter was Swiss affairs, Switzerland being at that moment threatened with a "Holy Alliance" invasion, as she is again at this moment. Looking forward to the probability of a general attack of the European tyrants upon Switzerland, I-

"Notwithstanding its limited population, Switzerland could very speedily bring a hundred thousand troops into the field. It is true that, as regards numbers, this force—though enormous—could be soon outmatched by the numberless hordes of Russia, Austria. and Prussia-to say nothing of France. But over and above the regular troops, the male adults generally are well versed in the use of the riffe, and the natural features of the country give its defenders advantages over every other nation in Europe. I anticipate that the tools of the tyrants will meet with warm work, should they attempt the conquest of Switzerland; yet, I must add my conviction, that in the event of a struggle, the Swiss will be crushed. In these days mere physical bravery does not avail to save a people from destruction. Not Miltiades, nor Themistocles, nor even Leonidas, were they living now, could save their countrymen from slavery had they to contend against the physical force of the modern tyrants of the world. The science (?) of war has now reached a perfection which ensures to those who can command the necessary strength in men and metal the triumph, however vilc their cause. In these days a Wallaco could not exi-t for a week, and a Tyler would be crushed the moment he raised the standard of revolt. Were Switzerland again enslaved, I doubt if even a Tell could redeem her.

"Most probably it will not be on the barricade, nor in the deadly breach, nor on the tented field, that the defenders of justice will henceforth combat the slaves of blood-reeking Tyranny. If they would succeed they must fall upon the employers of the assassin-soldiery in their own households, and combat the enemies of Freedom on their own, hearths. The universal rising of the Proletarians.

-the holy war of the Labourers against all their oppressors-the combat, not against the tools of tyrants, but the tyrants themselves, is the good work which must next be wrought; and to prepare the people for which, is the sacred mission of all

true Reformers.'

No amount of abuse, no kind of persecution, no pains nor penalties could induce me to retract or modify one word of the above. It is one of the worst features of all past revolutions that the victims on both sides, with a comparatively few exceptions, have belonged to the eternally victimised people. Military proletarians and industrial proletarians have met in deadly conflict and destroyed each other to the extent of numberless multitudes. All the while the miscreants, whose crimes occasioned those conflicts, safely awaited the issue. Generally the military have been victorious, and as long as princes, aristocrats, and usurers found themselves protected from popular justice, the destruction of the lives of some hundreds or thousands of their wretched instruments never cost them a pang; as to the people, the greater their destruction the greater the exultation of the usurpers and oppressors. I am no lover of violence and bloodshed, hut I say that if violence is done to a people; if their vampire-enemies thirst for their blood, and have recourse to murderous means to perpetuate the slavery and misery of the millions, those millions ought, if possible, to turn their physical strength, not against the miserable tools of tyranny, but against the tyrants themselves. Assassination is horrible; but to prevent wholesale murder, by waging "war to the knife" against those miscreants who train and pay their human machines to massacre multitudes and "mow down in masses," so far from being "assassination," is for the people an act of self-defence and public safety.

Never in the whole course of my existence have I been guilty of an act of cruelty; and as regards all the offices of humanity, I dare to challenge comparison with my accusers. It is my horror of that organised system of assassination which prevails at present that prompts me to give utterance to the sentiments above expressed. By reiterating the foul calumny of having "recommended private assassination" my unscrupulous enemies hope to deprive me of public sympathy and popular confidence preparatory to hunting me down by a government prosecution. They may succeed in the latter; they have already failed in the former of these designs. They may do their worst, I defy them.

G. JULLAN HARNEY.

Monarchy.-- "If you should see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn, and if (instead of each picking where and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted and no more,) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they could get into a heap; reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and refuse, keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps, and worst pigeon of the flock; sitting round and looking on all the winter, whilst this one was devouring, throwing about and wasting it; and if a pigeon, more hardy or hungry than the rest, touched a grain of the hoard, all the others instantly flying upon it and tearing it to pieces; if you should see this, you would see nothing more than what is every day practised and established among men."—Paley's Principles of Philosophy, b. iii. ch. 1.

ROMANISM.—Some who pretend to see further than their neighbours entertain a singular hope; they observe what is going on among the dissenting persuasions, and persuade themselves that England, Prussia, Germany, and even Russia, are secretly inclining towards them, and will some day, with their eyes shut, pass over to Catholicism as they understand it. Nothing, however, can be more puerile than such a belief. To believe that schism is nothing but a faney of ninety millions of men, which can be put an end to by a new fancy of orthodoxy, is a sort of madness common with those who appear to be alone in the confidence of Providence in its government of history, -Michelet on Jesuitism.

Labour Record Co-operative Chronicle.

THE MARINERS' STRIKE.
Captain Beechey, R.N., has visited Hull on behalf of the Board of Trade, to confer with the seamen. His explanations and promises failed to satisfy them. The secretary to the strike declared that, rather than abandon the "strike," he would go over to Liverpool, and work his way to the United States. The sailors loudly applauded this declaration. Reports having been received from the seamen of Hull and other ports, of their resolution to continue the "strike," the sailors of South and North Shields have resolved to remain on shore. There have been some serious "lynchings" at Shields and Sunderland.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

Todmorden—Equitable Co-operative Tradino Society.

—The committee of this society have reported that the profits far the last quarter amount to 1s. for every 20s. expended by the members at the store during the quarter, which profit has been divided accordingly. The largest sum expended by a single member was £21, consequently his share of the profits was £1 1s. The others ranged from that sum down to 3d., according to the sum they each had xpended.
London.—The Christian Socialist reports that there are

now thirty-four subscribers to the Marylebone Co-operative Store, which is about to commence dealing with the Central Store in Charlotte-street; and that the Working Shoemakers' Association of 151, High Holborn, are about to open a bronch in Lemberg.

to open a branch in Lambeth.

Shoemakers' Association of 151, High Holborn, are about to open a branch in Lambeth.

FRANCE.

Paris Chairmakers.—This association is decidedly one of the most flourishing and extensive in Paris. It is difficult to know which to admire most—the skill and industry of the nien, or the excellent good feeling that reigns among them; which is truly the characteristic of all the associations in this court, where real fraternity may be seen in daily practice. We were conducted over the extensive workshops, and explained the various steps in making chairs and seats of every kind, and we found every department as well defined and arranged as in the largest establishments of our own country; the division of labour was carried on in every branch; all were hard at work, with cheerful countenances. We were greeted at every step with the welcome bon jour, citoyen, and many a shake of the hand, while above and below the court outside resounded with the songs of these brave pioneers in the industrial army of progress, songs which, we understood, were all composed by members of the establishment. The gerant, citizen Auguste Antoine, explained to us with great clearness and eloquence the principles upon which the association was founded; that the members were on a perfect footing of equality, obeying only the laws agreed to at the general assembly, and executed by the gerant and other officers elected annually by the whole s-ciety; all are paid according to the work in respect of quantity and quality, and the profits are divided in proportion to the amount of wages gained by each member. This method he insisted upon as being necessary, under existing circumstances, for the real prosperity and success of any similar undertaking. I explained to him that they wanted but one thing to make them the first business in France, and that was Taylor and Jordan's steam-lathe for copying any pattern of carving on wood or stone. The association commenced in November. 1848, with six members subscribing what funds they even and which have been

OUR SOCIAL SYSTEM. If the underkept human labour-machine be a woman, she has one last resource left, one prerogative of her sex. She may sell herself. She may work at policemen's great coats all day, and because they are not paid for at living prices, she can spend the night in endeavouring to wring the odd shilling or two from the pockets of the profligate or the drunkard. derful superiority of the human labour-machine! Who ever heard of a steam-engine, when slack of steam, hiring itself out for a few hours to the devil, for the sole sake of making cheap cottons for its first employer! Yet this, is what human labour machines do, every night, every hour of the night, in this vast London of ours. Women who might he our mothers, our sisters, sell themselves to the passers-by, in order to make cheap clothes for soldiers, postmen, policemen, ande onvicts. Christian Socialist.

Poetry for the People.

LIBERTY'S TREE.

BY A PAISLEY POET.

(First published in the "Radical Time.")

The deluge of carnage at length has subsided, And peace found her way to this ark on the sea;
But a bramble she brought, and our fond hopes derided,
Not a branch being left on fair Liberty's Tree:
For kings have resolved that in Europe for ever
The toesin of Freedom shall sound again never,
But power shall be law, and the flaming sword sever
'Twixt man and the path to fair Liberty's Tree.

From slavery's long slumber, when Gallia up-springing, Bade a crown-scourged world be equal and free; Then hail'd we the dawn, the bright summer-day bringing Of brotherly love beneath Liberty's Tree: But soon seeptred locusts, congressing together, In the first spring of bliss bent their blasting march thither, While budding in glory, alas! we saw wither The goodliest blossom on Liberty's Tree.

Where's the land that hath seen not Britannia's flag flying, The meteor of murder, and "justice" the plea? Has the blood of her sons in her thousand wars dying Been the soft showers to nourish fair Liberty's Tree? Yes! if placemen, and poor men, in myriads increasing, If nations degraded, exactions uneasing,
If scorn with oppression be reckoned a blessing,
Then Britain has nourished fair Liberty's Tree.

Wby lingers the blow-which, with vengeanee deserved,
Deseends that whole millions may sparkle with glee?
Far better that life, than to woe still reserved,
Expire with a grasp of fair Liberty's Tree.
Let, then, those disturbers of this social world,
Prince, Potentate, l'ope, in one vast ruin whirl'd,
From the neeks of mankind to the trodden dust hurl'd,
Manure the blest soil where stands Liberty's Tree.

Too long has the palace with sighs fill'd the cottage;
Too long to proud despots man bended the knee;
Let their old guilty empires, already in dotage, Yield the verdure immortal of Liberty's Tree.

May the time soon arrive when the monarch and minion. Shall be heard of no more save in tales of the e'ening, When freemen, from labour, in circle convening,

Tell them o'er in the shade of fair Liberty's fre.

LINES.

BY CHARLES MACKAY. A TRAVELLER through a dusty road,

Strewed acorns on the lea,
And one took root, and sprouted up,

And one took root, and sprouted up,
And grew into a tree.
Love sought its shade at evening time,
To breathe its early vows,
And Age was pleased, in heats of noon,
To bask beneath its boughs:
The dormouse loved its dangling twigs,
The birds sweet music bore,
It stood a glory in its place,
A blessing evermore!
A little spring had lost its way
Amid the grass and fern,
A passing stranger scoop'd a well,
Where weary men might turn;
He wall'd it in, and hung with care
A ladle at the brink—
He thought not of the deed he did,
But judged that toil might drink;
Hc passed again, and lo! the well,
By Summers never dried,
Had cooled ten thousand parching tongth He passed again, and lo! the well,
By Summers never dried,
Had cooled ten thousand parching tongues,
And saved a life beside!
A dreamer drop'd a random thought;
'Twas old, and yet was new—
A simple faney of the brain,
But strong in being true;
It shone upon a genial mind,
And lo! its light became
A lamp of life, a beacon ray,
A monitory flame.
The thought was small—its issue great,
A watch-fire on the hill,
It sheds its radiance far adown,
And cheers the valley still!
A nameless man, amid a crowd
That throng'd the daily mart,
Let fall a word of Hope and Love,
Unstudied, from the heart;
A whisper on the tumult thrown—
A transitory breath—
It raised a brother from the dust,
It saved a soul from theth It raised a brother from the dust,
It saved a soul from death.
O germ! O fount! O world of love!
O thought at random cast! Ye were but little at the first, But mighty at the last!

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HR RND R THE DE C

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 13.7

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

i"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—

THE EMPIRE WITHOUT A GOV-ERNMENT.

An entire week has been cousumed in attempts to form a new administration; all of which have failed. First, "Lord" John having advised the Queen to send for "Lord" STANLEY, "her Majesty" did as advised. The Tory chief thereupon essayed his hand at the formation of a Conservative Ministry; and consequently the Suuday papers of Feb. 23rd sounded the tocsin of alarm. They might have spared themselves the trouble. When Parliament assembled on the '24th, to hear the promised explana-tions' of the "outs" and the "ins," it was found that the latter for the time being had no existence. "Lord" STANLEY had failed to form an administration, and the QUEEN had therefore sent again for "Lord" John. Once more the House adjourned. In the eourse of a few hours it became known that "his lordship," having failed to enlist "Sir" JAMES GRAHAM and the Peclites nnder his banner, had relinquished the task of resuscitating his administration. Again, in the Carlton Club especially, and the aristocratic circles generally, "STANLEY was the cry." The Tory leader now tried to unite some of the half-and-half Free Traders with his own particular crew; but the hopeful project was put an end to by the refusal of "Viscount" Canning, and Gladstone to concur in support of any measure affecting the "Papal Aggression." The "Earl" of Aber-DEEN then received "Her Majesty's gracious commands" to try his hand, but begged lcave to decline the honour. So things remain at present. "Her Majesty" has sent for the Duke of Wellington not to form an administration, but to consult with the hoary swordsman on the important question,—
"How is the Queen's Government to be carried on ?"

That question may concern the Queen-or rather the place-hunters and political adventurers to whom the Queen's name "is a

tower of strength." It is of small momeut | COMMEMORATION OF THE FRENCH to the people, who know that the "three estates" by whom they are governed—the tax-gatherer, the policeman, and the soldier, will suffice to preserve our "glorious institutions." Indeed, so far as the bulk of the people are concerned, it matters little whether Cabinet or Parliament, as at present

constituted, have any existence.

For the people, the grand question is, "How shall the Nation's Government be carried on?" That the State should be bandied like a shuttle-cock between a few titled pretenders to statesmanship, uo one being allowed to interfere with their monopoly of mis-governinig the country, for their own personal advantage and party-interests, is a disgrace to the British people. The shopkeepers are bawling against the threatcned House-tax, at a time when by energetic action, they might force a bourgeois administration into power, and deal with the general taxation a la Cobden. Now is their time to "go in and win." Will they seize the golden opportunity,—or will they be coutent to clamour against a Budget already consigned to perdition, when they might make them-selves (through their chiefs) the directors, as they are already the masters, of the State?

If the Middle Classes pluck up courage to face the present crisis they will have to come forth from their shops and appeal to the masses. In that case the course of the unrepresented millions will be clear. "Measures, not men," must be the motto of the people. No Government, no party aspiring to the Government, can have the support of the Working Classes, that will not accede to the principles of the People's Charter.

Aristocratic government has come to a dead lock, and whatever may be the immediate result of the present crisis, it is highly improbable that any kind of arrangement, on the part either of the liberal or the conservative aristocrats, can be of more than temporary duration. The avowed, absolute, acknowledged reign of the Bourgeoisie approaches. Next will come the turn of the Proletaires. Men of the People, the prize is before youup and onward!

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

March 1, 1851,

REVOLUTION.

THAT the French Republicans should be hiudered from celebrating the foundation of the Republic-that the victors of February should be prevented, by military despotism, from commemorating the revolution of 1848, is a contradiction and an outrage almost surpassing belief. Yet such has been the fact. Wherever a whisper was breathed of an intention to make any kind of manifestation, even in the simple form of an in-door banquet, down came a despotic ukase from the police authorities, forbidding any kind of assemblage under pain of military violence and arbitrary arrest. And so strong is the usurers' tyranny at this moment in France, that nowhere, save in Paris, was there any attempt to contravenc the edict of the police. Even in Paris, the exception just alluded to consisted of a banquet, confined exclusively to the Mountain section of the Assembly. If, in spite of their temerity, the Montagnards cscape a prosecution, they will owe their good fortune less to the privileges with which they are invested as representatives of the people, than to the circumstauce of the ordermongering majority being at war with the President and his ministers. But for the division in "the party of order," Citizen CREMIEUX and his friends would probably be handed over to the public prosecutor for daring to eelebrate the revolution of February.

Ou the other hand, the partizans of the contemptible individual nicknamed the Count de Chambord, alias the Duke de Bor-DEAUX, and who has a fancy for masquerading iu the character of "HENRY THE FIFTH, have been permitted to publish a treasouable document, directed against the Republic, unchallenged and uncensured by the appointed guardians of the commonwealth. It is true the Bourbon pretender's manifesto is rather ridiculous than dangerous. His would-be "Majesty" graciously intimates that, while he regards himself "as the depository of the fundamental principle of the monarchy," that is, the inheritor of the "divine right" of a particular family to usurp the sovereignty which, by natural right and reason, belongs inalienably to the nation—he will respect those maxims "which France has so much

at heart"-namely, "equality before the law, liberty of conscience, the free access of all species of merit to public offices," &c. That is to say, he will respect the existing system, which guarantees "equality before the law," "liberty of conscience," &c., to the rich and idle minority, to the total exclusion of the poor and working majority of Frenchmen. To the vampires of society he will guarantee the liberty of using up the blood, sinews, and brains of the proletaines; and to "all species of merit,"—that is, to all pros-titutes and charlatans of the THIERS stamp, who will devote their mental power and moral audacity to the service of the wealthy and the privileged, the pretender will guarantee "free access to public offices." This is not all—the day on which France shall be convinced of the necessity to return to the bosom of the ancient monarchy, she will find in her royal wooer "a Frenchman devoted and anxious to rally round him all the capacities, all the talents, all the glory, all the men who, by their services, have merited the gratitude of their country." In plain English, he will reward his friends and bribe his foes, all round the compass. CHANGARNIER and LOUIS NAPOLEON shall both be cared for. JOINVILLE shall still be prince, and CAVIAGNAC be conciliated-say, with the government of Algeria. Guizon and Thiers, as well as Berryer, will find their merits appreciated; and as for Lamar-rine, as he commenced his poetical career by singing the praises of legitimacy, why should he not end both his poetical and political career as literary flunkey, or "poet laureate" to "HENRY THE FIFTH"? There is hope even for the Mountain. Is there any needy patriot, who is devoted to the Republic principally on account of the five franc pieces he draws from the national exchequer, let him not despair; Citoyen CAPET is above all prejudices, and has pledged himself to "rally around him all the capacities," &c., and he who will betray the Republic, even though he be denominated montagnard, shall not pass unrewarded.

O! miserable legitimacy is this thy shame! Thou vauntest thy "divine right," yet descends to huxter with the usurers of the Bourse, and to bargain with the epiciers of politics! "For the Heart and for the Cross!" was the battle-cry of La Vendèe. "For the Pocket and the Portfolio!" is the cry with which the descendant of St. Louis would rally his friends to accomplish the econd Restoration. Vain hope! Louis Philippe could not reign by corruption, and prospective bribery will not re-create the throne consumed to ashes at the foot of the

column of July.

The refugees in London celebrated the 24th of February, by banquets at the John Street Institution, and at Highbury Barn. It is not to be concealed that political and personal differences caused the exhibition of two banquets where one would have been more desirable. A number of English democrats were present at each assembly, and a few consided it their duty to participate in the proceedings of both. The divisions existing among the continental democrats are doubtless as serious and well-founded as those which exist amongst the English; but on occasions like the anniversary of the 24th of February, it is the duty of the English to pay their homage to the cause, irrespective

of the men who may be the exponents of that cause. Either the English people must absolutely eschew "foreign politics," or they must absolve themselves from personal considerations, and have regard only for principles. To eschew "foreign politics" would be at once a folly and a crime—a folly because nations, like individuals depend upon each other for their intellectual and moral development, and that nation which isolates itself must retrograde and perish; a crime because nations like individuals, owe to each other mutual assistance, and in the general struggle for the overthrow of the existing order of things, the democrats of all nations are bound to aid each other "like citizens of the same state."

It is the duty of British democrats to seize upon all occasions like that of the anniversary of the February Revolution to declare by their presence:—

Their admiration of the heroes and martyrs.

of the (European) Revolution:

Their sympathy for the multitude of victims suffering in the dungeons of Tyranny:

Their protest against the calumniating journalists of this country unceasingly engaged in slandering the principles and the men of the Revolution:

Their hostility to the criminal league of tyrants, and the dishonest and cowardly policy of "non-intervention;" and therewith their conviction of the duty of the British Nation to combat on the side of the Peoples against their oppressors:

And, lastly,-

Their adherence to the principles of the Revolution, and their determination to labour and struggle for the definitive triumph of Equality by and through Universal Suffrage—the Republic—the Abolition of Classes, and THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LABOUR.

L' AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE SOCIETY OF FRATERNAL DE-MOCRATS.

TO THEIR FRENCH BRETHREN ASSEMBLED* TO COMMEMORATE

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF THE 24TH OF FEBRUARY, 1848.

CITIZEN BROTHERS,—We the "Fraternal Democrats" of Britain, address you on this the anniversary of the ever memorable revolution of 1848, memorable for the clemency, no less than for the heroism, of the people who accomplished it, we address you in the spirit of the principle, evinced by our name: Brothers in the holy cause of Democratic Progression, our sympathies arc with you in your exile, as our hopes were with you in the day of your triumph over cowardly Kingeraft. Sufferers for down-trodden humanity, wherever a thought of Freedom lives, humanity sorrows over the past reverses sustained by that Nation,—which claims you as her Children; First, in her love of Freedom, foremost in her Bravery and Magnanimity renowned alike for Art and Literature in Peace, for Chivalry and devoted Courage in WAR: Her greatest glory, is yet to be named, it is—that she has BARED acr BOSOM TO THE STORM; when the strife between the oppressors and their victims raged most fiercely. Her greatest honour is yet to be named, it is—that—mother of the world's PATRIOTS. from the lips of her sous, the first words of hope for humanity were spoken, the first defiance to despotism was hurled, tyranny trembled and the nations glowed with hope when FRANCE SPOKE

* At the John-street Institution.

ALOUD, "Let the Banded Despots ravage and lay waste OUR COUNTRY with the Horrors of War: We will bear back the blessings of Liberty to THEIR'S:" In those words—were spoken the destiny of France, her glorious Mission and her Career of living Martyrdom; but in those words' also were contained the hope of man's future. To you Citizens, exiled from the land for whose honour you have striven, and whose true glory was so dear to your hearts, to your future is linked the future of your country. That that future may be as glorious as you wish, is our hope: That your's may be as triumphant, as your heroism, and devotion to your country deserve is our prayer. On this anniversary which marks "the beginning of the end" we salute you for ourselves and brothers. Strong in the faith that the end approaches, for which you have struggled and suffered, that end in which our common hopes are centered. The Establishment of the Universal Republic Democratic and Social.

In the name of the Society,
Signed,
JOHN PETTIE,
DANIEL W. RUFFY,
G. JULIAN HARNEY.

London, February 24, 1851.

THE SOCIETY OF FRATERNAL DE-MOCRATS.

TO THEIR BRETHREN OF VARIOUS NATIONS ASSEM-BLED* TO COMMEMORATE

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF THE 24TH OF FEBRUARY, 1848.

CITIZEN-BROTHERS,—In the name of the triune principles of our common faith—EQUALITY, LIBERTY, and FRATERNITY—we have accepted your invitation to take part in this festival.

With you we recognise the mighty importance of the great day on which the heroic people of Paris, ever foremost in the path of republican heroism—overthrew the shameful dynasty of falsehood and corruption. Honoured be the martyrs who repose beneath the column of July! Glory to their memories, for they poured out their blood, and laid down their lives, not merely for the freedom of their own land, but for the emancipation of the world. Let us add the testimony of our homage to those martyrs who fell in the after-throes of the Revolution, struggling to establish the true Republic; the Republic of the Future, in which the distinction of master and bondman, usurer and proletaire shall have no existence; in which all shall be equally subject to the institutions of regenerated society, but no one be subject to his fellowman.

The heroes and martyrs of other lands also claim our homage. Honoured and immortal be the memories of our brothers of Germany, Italy, Poland, and Hungary, who fought and fell in the Holy War of Right against Might, of Freedom

against Oppression.

For our brothers in captivity—those living martyrs walled up in the dungeons of continental Europe—we desire to express our heartfelt sympathy; accompanied by the hope that the hour of their liberation is not distant. Lastly, to you, Brethren, Exiles from the homes of your fathers, and to the thousands who share with you the proscription hurled against the soldiers of Liberty by the banded despots of the continent, we declare our condolence; not in the language of lamentation, but of hope. In this is your consolation, that the Revolution is not finished; that the necessities of the age command the full development of the Revolution, and guarantee your ultimate victory.

Because the frightful despotism of the sword and the still more terrible tyranny of Capital yet reign,—because slavery and misery abound,—because the people have been betrayed, de-

* At Highbury Barn.

ceived, and cheated out of the fruits of their victories,-because Destiny decrees the realization of the triune principles of our political and social creed—therefore the Revolution is not finished; therefore the Revolution must advance until the nations achieve the full fruition of

Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity.

The labouring millions of this country must participate in the general progress of Humanity. Although less used to formulas than to facts, and more accustomed to peaceful than to physical contests, the Democrats of Britain look to the same end as yourselves. They seek through Universal Suffrage the abolition of all political and social inequalities, the annihilation of wagesslavery, and the establishment of the Sovereignty of Labour. They believe in the solidarity of the peoples; and in the struggles of the Future their motto will be "Fraternity with all Nations and War to all Tyrants."

Brothers, our cause is one and indivisible. Inspired by the same hope let us advance together for the same end :- THE UNIVERSAL REPUBLIC,

DEMORATIC AND SOCIAL.

In the name of the Society-

JOHN PETTIE. Signed:-DANIEL W. RUFFY. G. JULIAN HARNEY.

London, Feb. 24, 1851.

The speech of Louis Blanc delivered at Highbury Barn, and other speeches and documents connected with the commemoration, will appear in No. 14.

THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1848.

How beautiful! to see a company of high intelligence and virtue, whose hearts of sympathy feel

for each other's woes.

Men united by the most sacred bond of moral integrity: whose noble deeds and self-sacrifice are divested of every sinister motive:-men who dare look tyrants in the face, and tell them they are the world's destroyers :- men who could not barter the innate chastity of their pure souls, not even to become the possessors of robes and ermine :--men whose furrowed cheeks bespeak their undying zeal for suffering humanity :- men whose eyes can scan the rottenness of principalities, and discover the black specks which like a canker-worm infest society.

Such were the men assembled on the memorable twenty-fourth of February :- such are the men who seek for fellowship with every honest heart:such are the men who will shake the dynasties of mighty Europe, and scatter universal blessings

throughout the earth.

And will my countrymen, who profess to have liberty engraven on their brow, withhold their sympathies from these proscribed brave men? Impossible! Prejudice may blind you for a time, but a gleam of sunshine will come, and dispel the mist which now envelopes you. You will spurn the task-masters whom you now willingly obey-and despise the false gods you now ignorantly worship.

CAROLINE H. DEXTER.

SHAM DEMOCRATS.—It has been said that some men would rather 'rule in hell than serve in heaven,' and it would certainly appear as if the same spirit animated some of our Chartist leaders-democrats in theory, but despots in practice—recognising the principle of being guided hy majorities when it suits their purpose, but trampling the same principle. ple under foot when the majority happens to disagree with their favourite dogmas. The late Manchester Conference was a striking illustration of this. And we only hope that the delegates who may assemble in London will exhibit a very different respect for Democracy than was shown on that occasion. - Glasgow Sentinel.

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS, [decessors, and "employs the elergy to root out the DECLINE AND FALL OF THE PAPAL CHURCH IN ENG-LAND.

AFTER noticing the contests between King John and the church, and describing in a few words the real character of Magna Charta, Ernest Jones in his admirable lectures proceeds to tell of the decline and fall of the Papal power in this country

"After this, the Anglo-papal Church rolled downward to its dissolution in one torrent of iniquity. Under Henry the Third, Italians, beneficed here, drew from England more than three king's revenues; alien priests "fleeced the flocks they never fed"—native priests do it now. The church first introduced usury; Lombards settled here, lending moncy at interest on sums due to the Pope. Lomhard-street still commemorates the fact. But more terrible wrongs were inflicted, than any yet per-

petrated by this accursed power.

"With Wickeliffe came the first dawn of the Reformation-it was the dawn of freedom, for Christianity and Democracy are inseparables. Alas! It has been a long Aurora, that has not brightened Wickcliffe preached what Souvet into full day. they calls "most dangerous moral and political opinions." They were indeed: they were the old gospel of Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity. He was the source from which the Lollards, the Puritans, the Nonconformists and the Dissenters have successively flowed. I wish to guard against the false impression that from him arose the royal church of England, commonly known as the "State Church." When the democratic Lollards were subverting tyranny, both spiritual and temporal, the state church was formed by a compromise between the royalists and Papists-the two foes united in spirit to crush their mutual enemy-the state church was established to keep down the very doctrine which Christ had taught, and Wickliffe was again propounding. The state church prevented the Reformation, though it supplanted the

"The Reformer himself was saved from the fiery death Archbishop Courtney and the church intended, by King Richard the second, who, being anxious to appropriate the treasure about to be shipped as the Pope's tribute, consulted Wickeliffe on the subject, and found an excuse for retaining it, in embracing some of the doctrines of the new apostle. The Lollards, too, as Wickeliffe's followers were named from their psalmodies, were too numerous, and too well armed, to permit of his arrest in Oxford, when commanded by the Primate. But no sooner was Richard dead, than the church had a law enacted, condemning all the disciples of Wickeliffe to the flames. Then began the fiery scourge, continued through three entire dynastics. Then Soutre, Thorpe, and Badby were burned alive, and the famous Henry the Fifth, gloated in person over the agonies of the martyrs. Then the church lent itself as a cloak to cover the tyranny of the King, and the democrat was destroyed under the name of a heretic. King Henry marked his victims-he wished to strike terror by an unexpected blow. On a cold Christmas night he suddenly calls his followers to arms, and sallies from his Palace of Westminster, telling them the heretics are assembling from all quarters in Ficketfields, St. Giles's, to burn London, and murder all its rich and great. Arrived there, they found a few shivering wretches in the sleet and darkness, who had thus met to hear a sermon on that desolate spot, in hopes of escaping the observation and fires of the church. Henry had these seized-his emissaries go about everywhere-he fills the prisons in and about London—he had 39 suspended by iron chains over fires in Ficket-fields, and roasted to death, and with them perished the good Lord Cobham, committed to the flames with limbs broken in his chivalric struggle against his pur-The Bishop of Lincoln digs up the bones of Wickliffe from his grave, burns them, and has his very ashes cast into the river Swift.

"Fierce and more fierce the persecution raged.

democratic Lollards"—but in vain! Then perished in the flames Joan Boughton, an old woman of 80. and her child, Lady Young. The only daughter of of william Tylsworth was compelled to set fire to her father; and when John Serivener was burned at Liucoln, his own children were forced to kindle the faggots. Those who recanted suffered a lingering torture, for they were obliged, on pain of death, to wear a faggot embroidered on their sleeves, and the man who wore it, was the doomed outcast of society, so that it became a proverb, "put it off and be burned, keep it on and be starved." Then the infamous Bishop Nix of Norwich prowled about for prey, calling those whom he suspected "men savouring of the frying-pan, —and consecrated his "fiery Lollards' pit," filled with blood and ashes of his victims. All England became a holecaust. The smell of burning luman bodies floated from county to county. The "great" Erasmus writes from Cambridge to a friend in London, "he hates the heretics more than ever, because the price of wood is raised this winter on their account." His friend replies, "he does not wonder at it, for so many are burned; and yet they increase."

"Yes! they increase! they have been increasing ever-persecution cannot strangle truth. The cternal gospel of equality, liberty, fraternity, that was only whispered then, is rolling in thun-

der now.

"And once more arose a glorious giant in the cause of truth. Luther was born to preach down tyranny. * * * * * Then the fires were Then the fires were rekindled from one end of England to the other; then the glorious Tindal was betrayed and burnt at Antwerp; then his friend Frith perished at the stake, tied back to back, with Andrew Hewitt, a young working man, praying for his encinies, and thanking God that his companion's sufferings were less than his.

"For his double answer to Luther by the pen and pyrc, Henry, our sovereign, received and transmitted the title of "Defender of the Faith." Harry's court-fool wisely observed, "Oh, Harry! let's you and I defend each other, and leave the faith to defend itself." But Harry, who wanted to have two wives at the same time, an arrangement to which both Pope and Emperor consented, but not fast enough to suit his temper, and who had long cast greedy eyes at the enormous wealth of the clergy, suddenly bethought himself he would be pope for England on his own account, at one fiat abjured the Pontiff's supremacy, and declared himself head of the English hierarchy.

"Down fell the fabric of ages. Though long gradually curtailed of its proportions it lay a gigantic ruin, attesting its former magnificence and The following will give an idea of its colossal rapine: during several centuries the church had given hush-money to the King, to win impunity for its crimes and wealth. As far back as Henry the Fourth it had made large grants, alarmed for the safety of the church lands. Under Henry the Fifth a bill was brought forward for taking some of its temporal possessions, that would maintain 15 earls, 1,500 knights, 6,200 esquires, 100 almshouses, and give the King a surplus of £20,000 per annum, a sum enormous then. Wolsey got bills and bulls to suppress forty lesser monasteries, to erect colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. Then came the suppression of the Franciscais. Voluntary surrenders and continual grants to the King were showered like sops to Cerberus. followed the lesser monasteries in the wake of ruintill, at last, the almost final crash took place in the seizure of the greater monastic establishments, the confiscation of which, it was pretended, would so greatly enrich the King and his successors, that the people would never again have to pay taxes, for the revenue thus obtained would suffice for the support of 40 earls, 60 barons, 3,000 knights, 40,000 soldiers, with their captains; make better provision for the poor, and salary Henry the Seventh follows the example of his pre- ministers to go about the country preaching the gospel, while the King himsolf received £130,000. Not yet contented, Henry's executors passed an act conferring on the King all chantries, free-chapels, and colleges, to pay his debts—and, after all, the episcopal lands and revenues were still

reserved.
This is some of the chronicled wealth of the church. The treasures in gold, velvets, and precious stones that were collected surpassed belief. From A'Beckett's shrine alone were taken two chests of solid gold that eight strong men could hardly carry. Every church yielded in proportion. And how had this vast wealth been employed? In iniquity, as the bill justifying the confiscation proves. After alluding to the cearnal and abominable living commonly used by the clergy, 'to the waste of property, scandal of religion, and great infamy of the King and realm,' the document proceeds to say: 'In order that the possessions of these religious houses, instead of being wasted for the exercise of sin, be converted to better use, and the unthrifty religious persons. spending the same be compelled to reform their lives, Parliament humbly begs the King to'—what do you think?—'take all such monasteries to himself and his heirs for ever.' Thus, what the one thief had stolen from the people, Parliament humbly begs the other thief to take and keep.

"Then, in those foul nests, was discovered crime so black that humanity recoils. Nunneries and friaries, receptacles of debauchery so dreadful that history's self forbears to mention. Then abbots and monks, priests and nuns crawled trembling to their gates, and implored to be suppressed at once, sooner than be examined and have their crimes exposed. They oried to the mountains to cover them, and to the hills to fall on them-but in vain. Thus, in shame and ruin, sunk the great tyrant of ten centuries of wrong.

"Such was the rise and such the fall of Papacy in England; and, looking back through its rule of a thousand years, its millenium of infamy, again I ask for one redeeming feature!

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Convention Fund.—We have received and paid over to Mr. Arnold 2s, from Wm. Raine and John Hunt, Watford; and 1s from Emily D. and friends, Bury, for the Convention Fund. E. D. suggests that boxes be placed at the entrance of each democratic place of meeting, for the receipt of contributions; also, that concerts &c. be got up towards raising the necessary funds.

MABY ANNE HEATH.—We have received the stamps—six for the Fraternal Democrats, and six for the Poles, at Turnmill-street.

at Turnmill-street.

Deptford and Greenwich.—We are informed that the Chartists of these localities have wanted to send a delegate to the forthcoming Convention. The members have resolved to subscribe not less than a penny weekly towards the Convention Fund. Collecting books have been issued, and meetings will he held to raise money; and it is earnestly hoped that the Chartists of Kent generally will correspond with, and send subscriptions to the general secretary, Mr. A. Cooper, bookseller, 6, Trafalgarroad, East Greenwich; or the treasurer. Mr. A. Floyd, baker, Church-street, Deptford. A meeting is held every Wednesday evening, at the Earl Grey, Straightsmouth, Greenwich.

Greenwich.

ROBERT OWEN AND THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.—The committee have received communications from Bradferd, Dundee, &c. An address explanatory of the objects of the committee has been agreed to; also, a subscription-list, to be sent to various friends and local committees throughout the country.

Henry A. Ivory, Secretary,

52, College-place, Camden Town.

Polisu Refugees. - We have received 2s. 6d. for the Refugees from G. Smith, news-agent, Salford.

"No SMOKING ALLOWED."—The following announcement will be exhibited in the interior of the Glass Palace :-

Das Rauchen wird nicht erlaubt. Il n'est pas permis de Fumer. Non e permisso di Fumare. No es permittido Fumar. Nao he permittido Fumar.

And lastly, in plain English-No smoking allowed. THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE

SATURDAY, MARCH 8, 1851.

THE CONVENTION FUND.

THAT the ministerial crisis will give birth to an immediate dissolution of Parliament is not likely. It is hardly possible for a dissolution to take place before Easter at the earliest.; while probability points to the autumn as the most likely period for an appeal to the constituencies, should the new government find that appeal necessary. (With the present limited franchise it is a farce to talk of an "Appeal to the country.")

But as a dissolution may take place not only in the course of the present year, but possibly within a few weeks' time, it becomes desirable that the Convention should assemble earlier than the month of June. To pretend that a Convention assembled at this moment would have a wonderful influence upon Parliament and the Government, is humbug. The principal business of the Convention will be to agree to a line of policy. and a plan of operations calculated to reinvigorate Chartism, and make the movement powerful enough to have an effect upon the reigning classes hereafter—we trust at no very distant date. At the same time regard must be had to existing circumstances, and any event like a dissolution of Parliament must, notwithstanding present weakness, be turned to the best possible account. To prepare for a general election, to determine upon the policy to be pursued in that election, to enquire as to the places best fitted to be contested by Chartist candidates, to take measures for the formation of an election fund, are certainly important points for the consideration of the Convention.

But before there can be a Convention, there must be a "Convention Fund." That the Convention has been postponed from the 3rd of March is not the fault of the Executive. Had there been a prospect of assembling anything like a general delegation, possessed of the necessary funds, by that date, there would have been no postponement. It is easy to elect delegates, but the first thing to be done is to see that the pecuniary means are collected to enable those delegates to do their work with credit to themselves and advantage to the cause. A few localities have condemned the vote of the Executive, but these and other localities would have done much better if they had provided the necessary funds, and thereby removed the sole obstacle to the meeting of the Convention on the 3rd of March.

They are enemies in disguise, wolves in sheep's clothing, who under pretence of making a demonstration of Chartist power would, if they could have their way, demonstrate only Chartist weakness. Collect a dozen or twenty delegates in London, with funds sufficient to enable them to reach the metropolis, but not to return home again; add thereto a printer's bill, with no means to discharge it, and you have an exhibition not more "foolish and ridiculous" than mischievous and suicidal; but just the sort of exhibition desired by those whose aim is to perpetuate their hold upon popular gullibility. Sham agitations consti-

tute the political capital of sham patriots—as DAN O'CONNELL very well understood. The crime of the majority of the Executive is, that they have set their faces against shams of every description, and are resolved to do their best to have, not a sham, but a real Convention.

The members of the Executive are not paid for their services. They derive no profit from the Chartist agitation. They have no object in view but to make that agitation powerful. effective, and equal to the end proposed to be achieved. They give their time and labour freely and ungrudgingly, and we believe most of them have contributed something to the funds. Can their revilers say as much? The Editor of the Northern Star, for instance. Is he a member of the National Charter Association? Has he taken out his card? Has he contributed a shilling to the funds? Has he even written a line intended to strengthen the Executive, or pave the way for an effective, because really national, Conventionstrong in Men and Money?

With considerable audacity the Editor of the Northern Star complains of the disunion of leaders, affecting to ignore the fact that the late Executive, principally composed of the members of the present, made an attempt to effect a combination not merely of Chartist leaders, but of the chiefs of all sections of the Democratic movement, which attempt failed principally through the hostility of the Northern Star. Again, jeremiads over the disunion of leaders, look well by the side of those sneaking denunciations of "professing leaders," "trafficking politicians," &c., which every week find a place in that journal. But so it is:—your preachers of "union" are always the last to unite; your denunciators of division are invariably the masked promoters of dis-

The Editor of the Northern Star, arguing that "there are many valuable measures which could be carried before the Charter is written in the Statute Book," asks why the Chartists should not support "the abolition of the paper, stamp, and advertisement duties?" putting the question in a manuer intended to imply that the Executive are opposed to the agitation against the taxes on knowledge. So far is this from being the case, that the Executive are pledged to support, and desire to give every assistance in their power to that agitation.

To return to the question of the Convention Fund-it is of vital importance that the work of collecting subscriptions becommenced without delay. In consequence of the Ministerial Crisis, and the prospect of a dissolution in the course of the year, it is likely that the Executive will summon the Convention to meet in the course of the last week in March, or the beginning of April. No doubt the money can be collected as well in three weeks as in three months—provided the Chartists earnestly desire the meeting of a General Convention. The local councils should immediately set about the necessary work. Let us hope, too, that the Editor of the Northern Star will favour the Executive with something more valuable than his criticism. Half the space devoted to misrepresentation of the Committee might be well appropriated to an appeal in favour of the Convention Fund; particularly if backed up by a handsome donation.

CONDEMNATION OF CALUMNIATORS.

To the Editor of the Friend of the People.

Dear Sir,—Your readers will, I am sure, be delighted to learn that at the meeting held at the John Street Institution, on Tuesday, the 25th of February, to receive the report of the Executive Committee of the National Charter Association, relative to the charges said to have been made at the Manchester Conference hy Feargus O'Connor, M.P., against G. Julian Harney, the hall was densely crowded in every part with a most attentive audience. Mr. Robert Lo Blond presided, and read a letter, (which was listened to with breathless attention), from the reporter to Reynolds's Newspaper, declaring his report of the Manchester Conference to be true in every particular. The Report of the Executive, exenerating Mr. Harney, was also read, and adopted, without a single dissentient voice.

Mr. Harney then came forward, and was received with the most rapturous applause, waving of hats, handkerchiefs, &c., &c., which lasted a considerable time. Mr. Harney's reception, which fully equalled, if not exceeded, anything of the kind I ever witnessed, was the more striking considering of the villanous attempt to prejudice the meeting against him. A scandalous placard (to which both author and printer were too cowardly to put their names), grossly libelling Mr. Harney, was circulated amongst all who entered the Institution. The mean wretch by whom they were distributed, admitted that he was to be paid for the job, but refused to tell the name of his employer. His own name he gave as "Bailey, No. 5, Fetter Lane." Any oue wanting the services of a miscreant, capable of performing any vile deed, short of risking the gallows, will know where to apply. When the cheering had subsided, Mr. Harney read, amidst profound attention, the statement addressed "To the Chartists." in No. 12 of the Friend of the People; at the con-clusion of which he was hailed with another burst of enthusiasm.

Mr. D. W. Ruffy, in a speech delivered with much feeling, eulogised the public and private virtues of Mr. Harney, and moved the following resolution:—

"This meeting, having heard the report of the Executive Committee, and Mr. Harney's explanation, resolves that Mr. Harney is completely exonerated from all charges and imputations said to have been made by Mr. O'Connor against him at the Manchester Conference; and that the conduct of Mr. Harney, through all the circumstances connected with his secession from the Northern Star, was that of a true and honourable democrat, worthy of the people's love, nobly contrasting with the servile baseness too often characteristic of journalists; furthermore, this meeting, having considered the scntiments of Mr. Harney, on which his enemies have grounded their charge of his having recommended 'private assassination,' hereby repudiates the accusation as a vile calning, and denounces the accusers as slanderers and moral assassins, worthy of the execration of all honest nten."

Mr. Gerald Massey, in a speech of much eloquence, contrasted the consistency and manly conduct of Mr. Harncy with the baseness and villany of his slanderers. Mr. Massey's speech excited enthusiastic applause.

Mr. Holyoake, most unwisely, and, as several were neard to say, most "genteelly"—moved the

following half-and-half amendment:—
"This meeting, having heard Mr. Harney's defence, in reply to the accusations brought against him, hereby expresses its satisfaction thereat, and re-assures Mr. Harney of its confidence."

The amendment was seconded by a Mr. Reid. The old readers of the Northern Stan will think this amendment strange, remembering, as they must, how vigorously Mr. Harncy always vindicated Mr. Holyeake and his friends, when editor of that paper.

Ernest Jones denounced the "namby pamby" amendment, and eloquently supported the resolution; he severely lashed the "dastardly ruffians" who had issued the anonymous libel above alluded to. His speech elicited immense applause.

Mr. Swift followed. He protested against Mr. Holyoake's speech, and earnestly supported the original resolution. (Mr. Holyoake explained that he thought his amendment a more dignified expression of opinion.)

The original resolution was carried by a vast majority; and, but for Mr. Holyoake's amendment, would have been carried unanimously. The result was hailed with prolonged cheers.

Mr. Bezer, in a telling speech, then moved:—
"That this meeting is further of opinion that
the people's cause requires that their acknowledged leaders should be protected from insidious
and indirect attacks and denunciations; and that
it holds as despicable the conduct of any man and
every man, whose practice it is to vaguely and
treacherously arraigh and denounce those leaders,
and yet shrink from the responsibility of proof."

The resolution, which was ably supported by Messrs. Shaw and Pettie, (who, with Mr. Bezer, were loudly applauded), was carried unanimously. A vote of thanks to both chairmen—Mr. Le Blond having had to retire, and been succeeded by Mr. Ruffy—terminated the proceedings.

It is to be hoped that the effect of this meeting will be to put a stop to lying and slandering, than which nothing has done so much to arrest the progress of democracy.

I am, yours fraternally,
EDMUND STALLWOOD.

The above letter renders anything more than the fewest words from me unnecessary. The calumniators are disposed of. Publicly branded as mendacious slanderers and moral assassins, they are henceforth powerless for mischief. If it pleases them, they may conspire and lie to the end of the chapter. I defy their worst malignity. Their hatred is my passport to public confidence and popular esteem.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

TYRANNICIDE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,—On many considerations I admire and respect Mr. Holyoake, as a public man. His argumentative eloquence, his logical reasoning, and his general practical knowledge, command the first of these feelings. The characteristic mildness of his-nature, the persuasive quality of his appeals, and the snavity of his manner, demand and merit the other.

I must acknowledge myself susceptible to the influence of oratorical appeals, and am therefore liable to have my judgment swayed to the prejudice of my reason. Such was likely to have been the result on Tuesday night last, when at Johnstreet Institution, I listened to Mr. Holyoake's speech. A little reflection, however, served to convince me that, in the remarks I am about to particularise, he fell, no doubt unconsciously, into the meshes of transparent sophistry.

In contending against the humanitarian doctrine, as I hold it, of destroying tyrants, rather than combating against their tools, Mr. Holyoake averred that its inculcation was impolitic, inasmuch as the Peoples' oppressors would be too ready to act upon such a lesson, by making reprisals upon the leaders of the People. But this is arguing upon assumed premises. It is the setting up of a proposition which is contrary to fact. It is supposing that the People and their oppressors are upon equal terms, possess equal means, and are engaged upon an equal and acknowledged contest; the object of which is the same to both parties. If this position be true, then the sooner the People

withdraw from the contest the better, seeing that they cannot lay claim to motives superior to those of the other belligerents. But it is manifestly untenable. As just would it be to contend that the footpad, the bandit, and the pirate, are entitled to considerate treatment, and the recognised usages of warfare. The assumption of such a position is the abjuration of truth, justice, love, and all the other virtues that give character and dignity to humanity. It is confounding the distinctions between right and wrong.

But what is the real and true character of the

But what is the real and true character of the contest between the People and their oppressors? Is it not such as outrages the principles of truth, of justice, and of love, implanted in the throbbing heart of humanity? Yes, it is all this, and more than I have pen or patience to enumerate. The tyrants of society are ever robbing and murdering, and plotting how best to perpetuate their power of robbing and murdering the People, whose government they have impiously usurped;—I repeat that the tyrant drones of society are hourly starving and killing the industrious bees, whom their hellish arrangements have enslaved.

Out, then, on the doctrine that would hold any torms with such monsters! Humanity demands that they be destroyed by any and by every means; and truth and justice will glorify and sanctify the deed. Let those who, on the plea of mercy, repudiate this humanitarian doctrine, study the lesson suggested by the results of the forbearance manifested by the People of France, in the revolution of '48. When that People became the sole possessors and executors of power, allowed their tyrants to escape with their worthless lives, how was their magnanimity rewarded? By a wholesale butchering of that People, as a means of re-establishing the tyrants' power and privilege of murdering and robbing in detail.

To contend that the People should hold any conventional terms with their oppressors in struggling for their emancipation, is a false philosophy, and a morbid morality. To pretend that, as a matter of policy, the People should pursue the struggle as if the combatants were equal, is un sound in reasoning, and illusive in practice.

That you may speedily possess a more adequate means for promulgating the doctrine for which some of your friends philosophically reproach you, and your enemies revile you, is the hope of,

Citizen Editor,
Yours fraternally,
UBIQUITARY.

February 28, 1851.

THEY WHO ALLOW OPPRESSION SHARE THE CRIME.

How plainly applicable is this axiom to those who permit themselves to be made the active tools of tyrants. They are at once classed with tyrants, and as tyrants. With the unerring instinct of justice the People make them share the edium, as they share the crime. Without the tools of tyranny, the oppressor would be as powerless as the serpent deprived of its fangs.

The above axiom is of great significance and wide application. It makes a fine climax to an oration. Each man hears it with great guste and yields it vociferous applause. It is significantly applicable to all, is therefore never applied by an applauding individual to himself. It is as easily forgotten as accepted by him. He has a sure insight into his neighbours' incapacity, but is as blind as a bat to his own. He sees what his neighbour does not do; but has a memory only for what himself does.

Truly, but who are they? They are those who are reformers in name, never reformers in act; who neither reform themselves nor their homes, and whose children and friends are taught by the practices of such reformers to despise both them and their principles. They are those who expend thoir time and energy in expressing their indigna-

case and the issue of the cistern, so that even. hatred did not inspire him, he would obey this ne cessary precaution from habit. 'It is accomplished then,' thought Consuelo, making vain attempts to

drag herself forward on her knees. 'I am the victim of a pitiless destiny. I shall never escape from this cavern—my eyes will never again behold the

light of day.

"Already a thicker veil than that of the outward darkness spread itself over her sight; her hands became numh, and an apathy, which resembled the sleep of death, suspended her terror. Suddenly she felt herself caught and raised hy a powerful arm, which drew her towards the cistern. A burning bosom heats against hers, and warms it; a friendly and caressing voice addresses her with tender words; Cynabre bounds hefore her, shaking the light. It is Alhert, who, restored to himself, seizes and saves her, with the passionate tenderness of a mother who has lost and found her child. In three minutes they arrived at the caual which the water of the fountain had left dry, and reached the archway and the staircase. Cynabre, accustomed to this dangerous ascent, leaped forward first, as if he feared to encumber his master's steps by remaining too near him.

"Albert, carrying Consuelo on one arm, and clinging with the other to the chain, ascended the spiral staircase, at the foot of which the water began to mount also. This was not the least of the dangers which Consuelo had encountered; but she felt no fear. Alhert was endowed with a herculean strength, in comparison with which Zdenko's was as a child's, and at this moment he was animated' with supernatural power. When he had deposited his precious hurden upon the margin of the well in the light of the breaking dawn, Consuelo, at last breathing freely, and rising from his panting breast, wiped with her veil his hroad forehead hathed in perspiration. 'My friend,' said she, tenderly, without you I should have died, and you have repaid all that I have done for you: but I now feel your fatigue more than you do yourself, and it seems to me that in your place I should sink under

"The family began to awake in the castle. Already from the lower story a dry and piercing cough, the signal of her rising, was heard from the canoness. Consuelo was fortunate enough not to seen or heard by any one. Fear gave her wings to regain the shelter of her apartment. With a tremhling hand she freed herself from her soiled and torn clothes, and hid them in a trunk, from which she removed the key. She retained sufficient strength and recollection to conceal every trace of her mysterious journey; but hardly had she let her wearied head fall upon the pillow, when a heavy yet troubled sleep, full of fanciful dreams and horrible adventures, chained it there, under the weight of an overpowering and raging fever.

ALBERT's family arc overcome with joy at his re-His own new-born happiness is dashed by not finding Consuelo at the breakfast table. In answer to his inquiries, his aunt informs him that Consuelo is unwell, but likely to join them at the dinner hour. Consuelo, however, does not appear. In the meantime, the fever she is suffering under having advanced to an alarming height, a messenger is despatched for a physician, and the

family separate for the night,-"Albert tried in vain to sleep. A burning anxiety and the fearful noises of the storm kept him awake all night. He dare not come down, fearing again to scandalize his aunt, who had lectured him in the morning on the impropriety of his continual presence near the apartment of the two young ladies. He left his door open, and heard frequent He ran to the staircase; steps in the lower story. but seeing no one, and hearing nothing more, he tried to take courage and to place to the account of the wind and the rain, the deceitful noises which had terrified him. Since Consuelo had requested it, he nursed his reason and his moral health with patience and firmness. He repelled

tion, and their money in the purchase of stimulants to fire their already over-heated brains, but who never give either money, time, or ability, to aid in the overthrow of their oppressors. They are those who, incapable of being leaders, are not content to be followers, and cannot perceive the worth and necessity of being constant, valourous, and humble soldiers in the great army of democracy. They are those who, knowing the enormous forces, organized and disciplined, that are opposed to us, both intellectually and physically; yet neglect to discipline themselves, and hold aloof from, and by their incapacity prevent, an effective organization that would enable us to cope with our antagonists. They are those who, tying themselves to the apron strings of some political conjurer, can see no virtue, no wisdom or effectiveness in any one else. They are those who, while preaching democracy "pure and simple," allow its principles to be outraged in practice, and while calling for more freedom, make little or no effective use of what they have forgetting that they who make no use of the advantages they possess, may shrewdly be suspected of not being worthy of more. Such as these are the passive but unknowing tools of oppresion, and working men, you and I, inasmuch as we neglect the opportunities that offer to strengthen the good cause; inasmuch as we love repose better than action, our own ease better than truth and justice. or despise the minor duties of reformers, allowing all the drudgery to fall upon a few devoted men, in so much are we the tools and abettors of oppres-The active tools of tyranny are but the stings, that goad us to action. The passive tools are the incubus that weighs us down, stultifying our efforts for freedom. They look upon freedom as a good thing, would it but drop from the sky. Such men are the bulwarks of tyranny. The execrations of the oppressed and injured are as justly due to them as to the government spies, Edwards and Powell, or the wholesale butchers of Austria, Haynau and Windischgratz. SERVO.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE. HONOURED AND EXCELLENT FRIEND, -The noble thoughts breathing through thy "Friend of the People," in No. 9, its first article, embolden me to address these few lines and papers on the immense blessing of Universal Suffrage, and its crying want among us, to send to the right about the Greys and Russells, that they may no more harass the world by their insolent defiance of the But my friend, let as see what People's claims. is the people, what is universal? Is it only half and that the smallest half, or is it the entire human family, all the adult burden - bearers, tax payers? Yes it or is it not? You ought with your strong pen to declare the truth, the whole truth, and demand the right of all; with this motto the rights of all human beings are equal. Will you do this, or not? Will you still remain in the half-way house, still do as the poor French have done, and failed in the old revolution and perhaps as bad now? Leave the Charter; it is now a dead letter; the poor, superannuated upholders of it have gone to sleep or almost as bad, or in almost twenty years their doings would have told for something, never mind the points one. two, three, four, five, or six, possessing the first in its true logic, in its real meaning, the others would be at our beck and fell like nine-pins every refuge of lies, our taxes, seven-eights for war, would soon melt away with the expelled 300 slaughter-men from our houses of law making, and the People would breathe from their nightmare. Insert this in thy "Friend" if it please thee and, conform with thy views of justice and give me at early leisure thy sympathies with the views of thy sincere and cordial friend, ANNE KNIGHT.

The Charter is not, nor can it become a "dead

particular individuals the Chartists generally are anything but "superannuated." Our correspondent underrates the importance of the minor "points" of the Charter. Universal Suffrage without the other five points would be valueless to the working classes; in fact Universal Suffrage could not continue to exist wanting those " points. Had the French Constitution prescribed annual, instead of triennial elections, the Ordermongers would not have dared to have cut down the franchise. As regards the political rights of women the first necessary step is for women to show that they share the anxiety of our correspondent for the enjoyment of those rights. Political formulas must be the fruit of generally accepted ideas, otherwise they are premature and non-effective. In our opinion, the time has not yet come to rc-shape or add to the points of "the Charter." That document was the result of sixty years discussion: and a considerable term of discussion-we do not say whether sixty or six years-must elapse before the public mind will be ripe for the acceptance of Women's Charter," or the adoption of Universal Suffrage in the sense advocated by our correspondent. Mrs. Knight has presented us with a number of printed papers bearing on the question under notice. We will republish selections from these papers as soon as we can afford space for that purpose in the Friend of the People.—EDITOR. 7

Traves from our Tibrary.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 11.)

"Cynahre stopped hefore Zdenko, and looked at him affectionately, expecting some caresses, which his friend did not deign to hestow upon him. He sat with his head huried in his hands, in the same attitude and on the same spot as when Consuelo left him. Alhert addressed him in Bohemian, but he hardly answered. He shook his head with a disconsolate air; his cheeks were hathed in tears, and he would not even look at Consuelo. Alhert raised his voice and aderessed him with a determined air: hut there was more of exhortation and tenderness than of command and reproach, in the tones of his voice. Zdenko rose at last, and offered his hand to Consuelo, who clasped it, tremhling.

"'From henceforward,' said he in German, looking at her kindly, though sadly, 'you must no longer fear me; but you have done me a great injury, and I feel that your hand is full of misfortune for us.' * *

"Albert did not heed her, and seemed absent. He forgot to support her, and did not perceive that she faltered and stumbled at every step. He was absorbed by the idea of the dangers she had incurred for his sake; and in his terror at picturing them to himself, in his ardent solicitude and excited gratitude, he walked rapidly, making the gallery resound with his hnrried exclamations, and leaving her to drag herself after him with efforts which became every moment more painful. In this cruel situation, Consuelo thought of Zdenko who was behind her, and who might follow them; of the torrent which he always held, as it were, in his hand, and which he could again unchain at the moment when she was ascending the well alone, deprived of Alhert's assistance; for the latter, a prey to new fancy, though he saw her hefore him, and followed a deceitful phantom, while he ahandoned her to darkness. This was too much for a woman, and even for Consuelo herself. Cynabre trotted on as fast as his master, and bounded before him carrying the Consuelo had left hers in the cell. The road made numerous turns behind which the light disappeared every instant. Consuelo struck against one of those angles, fell, and could not rise again. The chill of death ran through all her limbs. A last apprehension presented itself to her mind. Zdenko had probably received orders to open the sluice-gate letter;" and whatever may be the case with after a certain time, in order to conceal the stair- his agitations and fears, and strove to raise him-

self above his love by the strength of that love itself. But suddenly, in the midst of the rattling of the thunder and the creaking of the old timbers of the chateau, which groaned under the force of the hurricane, a long, heart-rending cry ascended even to him, and pierced his bosom like the stroke of a poignard. Albert, who had thrown himself all dressed upon his bed with the resolution of going to sleep, bounds up, rushes forward, clears the staircase with the speed of lightning, and knooks at Consuelo's door. Silence once more reigned. No one came to open it. Albert thought he had dreamed again; but a second cry, more dreadful, more piercing than the first, rent his heart. He hesitates no longer, rushes down a dark corridor, reaches the door of Amelia's chamber, shakes it, and announces himself by name. He hears the bolt shot, and Amelia's voice imperiously orders him to begone. Still the cries and shrieks redouble. It is the voice of Consuelo, who is suffering intolerable agony. He hears his own name breathed with despair by those adored lips. He pushes the door with rage, makes latch and lock fly, and thrusting aside Amelia, who plays the part of outraged modesty on being surprised in a damask dressing-gown and lace cap, pushes her back upon her sofa, and rushes into Consuelo's apartment, pale as a spectre, his hair erect with terror,

"Consuelo, a prey to violent delirium, was struggling in the arms of two of the most vigorous maid-servants of the house, who could hardly prcvent her from throwing herself out of bcd. Haunted, as happens in certain cases of brain fever, by phantoms, the unhappy girl endeavoured to fly from the visions by which she was assailed, and imagined she saw, in the persons who endeavoured to restrain and relieve her, savage enemics, or monsters bent upon her destruction. The terrified chaplain, who every moment feared to see her sink under her sufferings, was already repeating by her side the prayers for the departing, but she took him for Zdenko chaunting his mysterious psalms, while he built up the wall which was to enclose her. The trembling canoness, who joined her feeble efforts with those of the other women to hold her in bed, seemed to her the phantom of the two Wandas, the sister of Ziska and the mother of Albert, appearing by turns in the grotto of the recluse, and reproaching her with usurping their rights and invading their domain. Her delirions exclamations, her shrieks, and her prayers, incomprehensible to those about her, had all a direct relation to the thoughts and objects which had so violently agitated and affected her the night before. She heard the roaring of the torrent, and imitated with her arms the motion of swimming. She shook her dark, dishevelled tresses over her shoulders, and imagined she saw floods of foam falling about her. She continually saw Zdenko behind her, engaged in opening the sluice, or before her, making frantic efforts to close the path.
"Inst as Albert entered her room, aghast,

Consuelo, exhausted by fatigue, was uttering only inarticulate sounds terminating at intervals in wild shrieks. The frightful adventures she had undergone, being no longer restrained by the power of her will, recurred to her mind with frightful intensity. In her delirium she called on Albert with a voice so full and so vibrating that it seemed to shake the whole house to its foundations; then her cries died away in long-drawn sobs which seemed to suffocate her, although her haggard eyes were dry and absolutely blazing with fever.

"'I am herè! I am here!' cried Albert, rushing towards the bed. Consuelo heard him, re-covered all her energy, and imagining that he fled before her, with that rapidity of movement and muscular force which the delirium of fever gives to the weakest beings. She bounded into the middle of the room, her hair dishevelled, her feet bare, her form wrapped in a thin white night. dress, which gave her the appearance of a spectre escaped from the tomb; and just as they thought to seize heragain, she leaped with the agility of a.

wild-cat upon the spinet which was before her, reached the window, which she took for the opening of the fatal cistern, placed one foot upon it, extended her arms, and again calling on the namo of Albert, in accents which floated out on the dark and stormy night, was about to dash herself down, when Albert, even more strong and agile than she, encireled her in his arms, and carried her back to her bcd. She did not recognize him, but she made no resistance, and ceased to utter his name. Albert lavished upon her in Spanish the tenderest names and the most fervent prayers. She heard him with her oyes fixed, and without seeing or answering him; but suddenly rising and throwing herself on her knees in the bed, she began to sing a stanza of Haudel's Te Deum, which she had recently read and admired. Never had her voice possessed more expression and brilliancy: never had she been more beautiful than in that ecstatic attitude, her hair flowing, her cheeks lighted up with the fire of fever, and ber eyes seeming to pierce the heavens opened for them alone. The canoness was so much moved that she knelt at the foot of the bed and burst into tears; and the ohaplain, notwithstanding his want of sympathy, bent his head and felt penetrated with a sentiment of pious respect. Hardly had Consuelo finished the stanza, when she uttered a deep sigh, and a holy rapture shone in her countenance. cried she, and she fell, backwards, pale and cold as marble, her eyes still open, but fixed and motionless, her lips blue and her arms rigid. A momentary silence and stupor succeeded to this scene. Amclia, who, erect and motionless at the door of her chamber, had witnessed the frightful spectacle without daring to move a step, fainted away with terror. The canoness and the two women ran to help her. Consuelo remained pale and motionless, resting upon Albert's arm, who had let his head fall upon the bosom of the dying girl, and appeared searcely more alive than herself The canoness had no sooner seen Amelia laid upon her bed, than she returned to the threshold of Consuelo's chamber. 'Well, Mr. Chaplain?' said

she, dejectedly.
"'Madam, it is death!' replied the chaplain,
in a hollow voice, letting fall Consuelo's arm, the pulse of which he had been examining attentively.

"'No, it is not death! no! a thousand times no!' cried Albert, raising himself impetuously. 'I have consulted her heart better than you have consulted her arm. It still beats; she breathesshe lives. Oh! she will live! It is not thus, it is not now that her life is to end. Who is bold and rash enough to believe that God had decreed her death? Now is the time to apply the nncessary remedies. Chaplain, give me your box of medicines. I know what is required, and you do not. Wretch that you are, obey me! You have not assisted her: you might have prevented this horrible crisis, and you did not do it; you have concealed her illness from me: you have all deceived me. Did you wish to destroy her? Your cowardly prudence, your hideous apathy, have tied your tongue and your hands! Give me your box, I say, and let me act.'

"And as the chaplain hesitated to trust him with medicines, which, in the hand of an excited and half frantic man, might become poisons, he wrested it from him violently. Deaf to the observations of his aunt, he selected and himself poured out doses of the most powerful and active medicines. Albert was more learned on many subjects than they supposed, and had practised upon himself at a period of his life when he had studied carefully the frequent disorders which affected his brain, and he knew the effects of the most energetic stimulants. Actuated by a prompt judgment, inspired by a courageous and resolute zeal, he administered a dose which the chaplain would never have dared to recommend. He succeeded, with incredible patience and gentleness, in unclosing the teeth of the sufferer, and making her swallow some drops of this powerful remedy. At the end of an hour, during which he several times repeated the dose,

Consuelo breathed freely; her hands had recovered their warmth, and her features their elasticity. She neither beard nor felt anything yet; but her prostration seemed gradually to partake more of the nature of sleep, and a slight colour returned to her lips. The physician arrived, and seeing that the case was a serious one; declared that be had heen called very late, and that he would not be answerable for the result. The patient ought to have been bled the day before; now the crisis was no longer favourable. Bleeding would certainly bring back the paroxysm. That was embaras-

Albert bids both priest and physician to be gone, and takes the case into his own hand. He bleeds his patient. After some hours the paroxysm returns and is successfully overcome. Then Albert knows that the worst is past. He continues day after day, and night after night, to nurse Consuelo with all the devotion and tenderness of a mother

for her infant.

"Albert was happy for the first time in his life; and as if his soul was strong in joy as it had been in grief, he deemed himself, at this period of intoxicating delight, the most fortunate man on earth. This chamber where he constantly saw his beloved one, became his world. At night, after he was supposed to have retired, and every one was thought asleep in the house, he returned with stealthy steps; and while the nurse in charge slept soundly, he glided behind the bed of his dear Consuelo, and watched her sleeping, pale and drooping, like a flower after the storm. settled himself in a large arm-chair, which he took care to leave there when he went away, and thus passed the night, sleeping so lightly that at the least movement of Consuelo, he awoke and bent towards her to catch her faint words; or his ready hand received hers when, a prey to some unhappy dream, she was restless and disquieted. If the nurse chanced to awake, Albert declared he had just come in, and she rested satisfied that he merely visited his patient once or twice during the night, while in reality he did not waste half an hour in his own chamber. Consuelo shared this feeling, and although discovering the presence of her guardian much more frequently than that of the nurse, she was still so weak as to be easily deceived both as to the number and duration of his visits. Often when, after midnight, she found him watching over her, and besought him to retire and take a few hours repose, he would evade her desire by saving that it was now near daybreak, and that he had just risen. These innocent deceptions excited no suspicion in the mind of Consuelo of the fatigue to which her lover was subjecting himself: and to them it was owing that she seldom suffered from the absence of Albert. This fatigue, strange as it may appear, was unperceived by the young count himself; so true is it that love imparts strength to the weakest. He possessed, however, a powerful organization; and he was animated besides, by a love as ardent and devoted as ever fired a human breast.'

Consuelo gradually recovers. Amelia, (Albert's cousin and betrotbed), furious with jealousy and vexation, quits the castle, and in company with her father, proceeds to Prague. Albert informs Consuelo of the departure of Amelia, but in a manner that she may not suspect the cause. Horrorstruck at the idea of Albert loving one so beneath him in rank, his aunt does her utmost to check the progress of his affection; constantly spying and watching after Consuelo in her walks within the park and precincts of the castle. From a conversation on music between Consuelo and Albert we extract the following beautiful passage.

"In the dawn of religion, said he, 'the theatre and the temple were one and the same sanctuary. In the purity of their primitive ideas, religious worship took the form of popular shows. The arts have their birth at the foot of the altar; the dance itself, that art now consecrated to ideas of impure voluptuousness, was the music of the senses in the festivals of the gods. Music and

poetry were the highest expressions of faith, and a woman endowed with genius and beauty was at once a sibyl and priestess. To these severely grand forms of the past, absurd and culpable dis-tinctions succeeded. Religion proscribed beauty from its festivals, and woman from its solemnities. Instead of ennobling and directing love, it banished and condemned it. Beauty, woman, love, cannot lose their empire. Men have raised for themselves other temples which they call theatres, and where no other god presides. Is it your fault, Consuelo, if they have become dens of corruption? Nature, who perfects her prodigies without troubling herself as to how men may receive them, has formed you to shine among your sex, and to shed over the world the treasures of your power and genius. The cloister and the tomb are synonymous: you cannot, without morally committing suicide, bury the gifts of Providence. You were obliged to wing your flight to a freer atmosphere. Energy is the condition of certain natures; an irresistable impulse impels them; and the decrees of the Deity in this respect are so decided, that he takes away the faculties which he has bestowed, so soon as they are neglected. The artist perishes and becomes extinct in obscurity, just as the thinker wanders and pines in solitude, and just as all liuman intellect is deteriorated, and weakened, and enervated, by inaction and isolation. Repair to the theatre, Consuelo, if you please, and submit with resignation to the apparent degradation, as the representative for the moment of a soul destined to suffer, of a lofty mind, which vainly seeks for sympathy in the world around us, but which is forced to abjure a melaneholy that is not, the element of its life, and out of which the breath of the Holy Spirit imperiously expels it."

Labour Record

Co-operative Chronicle.

No Secretaries, or other active members of Trades Unions, Labour Associations, Co-operative Societies, &c., will oblige by forwarding intelligence of "Strikes," the formation and proceedings of their Unions, &c., to the Editor of "The Friend of the People."

THE MERCANTILE MARINE ACT.

At a large meeting of the seamen of the port of London,

At a large meeting of the seamen of the port of London, the following aecount of the grievauces of seamen under the operation of the above act of parliament, was given by Mr. Joseph Smith, chairman of the meeting:

"The act had the prominent feature of heing established, as far as they could perceive, chiefly for the purpose of creating offices and salaries for functionaries, no matter how the duties entrusted to them were discharged Under the existing statute additional powers were given to shipowners and masters to deprive sailors of certain privileges they had previously possessed, without giving them any return. Sallors were also deprived of a proper tribunal to which they might appeal, in case of any differences arising between them and their officers. Fines and penalties were also increased, and, further, they were to he enforced by the aid of shipping officers and agents. Before this act was passed, sallors could obtain redregs for their grievances by an application to the magistrate, the proceedings before whom were published by the medium of the press. He deuted that a shipping master was a competent person to decide eases which involved a question of the relative duties hetween sallors and masters, and contended that it was a flagrant injustice that the party who prepared the ships' articles should be made the judge as to whether or no these articles had been properly framed. The mode of proceeding with reference to sailors was the most repugnant to their feelings as Englishmen, inasmuch as it excluded their body, which, of all others contributed most largely to extend the national glory, from the benefit of open trial, when disputes arose hetween them and their officers. There was a further grievance inflicted on them under the present system, namely, that there was no allowance made for lime juide, the necessity for which must be admitted by every one acquainted with what sailors suffered from secury on foreign voyages. Thoy were also aware that four pence or cight-pence a day was a very inadequate acquainted with what sailors suffered from secury on for-eight voyages. They were also aware that four-pence or cight-pence a day was a very inadequate remuneration for what sailors endured from being placed on short provi-sions. They further suffered great injustice from the mode in which the log book might be kept, all the offences of the sailors being carefully registered, without the least record of the proposation they might have received from

the arbitrary and tyrannical conduct of their officers. All the arbitrary and tyranneal conduct of their omeers. An these injustices were inflicted under the present system, and the effect would be that that system if persevered in, would break the hardy spirit of British seamen, or force them into foreign service, into which in 1819 no less than 20,000 of their countrymen had entered.

than 20,000 of their countrymen had entered.

Termination of the Seamen's Strike on the Tyne ann Wear.—This great Strike terminated on Saturday, Feb. 22nd. Before closing the strike, and after hearing the report of the delegates sent to Loudon, to wait upon Mr. Labourehere. the Tyne seamen came to the following resolution: "That the Board of Trade having suspended the twenty-two regulations, and given an assurance that the obnoxious clauses of the Mercantile Marine Act should be eonsidered, and it being necessary to give Parliament time to act, the seamen agree to return to their cmployment, and to sign articles at the shipping offices under protest." "That the scamen solemily pledge themselves to support the Friendly Association in every legal way, and especially to secure the support and entry of all sailors sailing from the port, who at the present moment are not members of the association; and also to aid in planting similar associations in every part of Great Britain and Ireland. The objects of the association are threefold. First, to maintain wages; secondly, to agitate the grand question of sailor's rights, and to petition Parliament for redress; and, Thirdly, in case of Parliamentary inattention, to, or rejection of the sailor's petitions, to engage in an universal system of passive resistance, through which, by suspending the whole commerce, of the country, the sailors may compel government to do tham justice." The strike has terminated also at Blyth, Hartlepook, Stockton. TERMINATION OF THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE ON THE TYNE sallors may compel government to do tham justice." The strike has terminated also at Blyth, Hartlepool, Stockton cc., put still continues at Hull, Yarmouth, &c. The last named port has been the seene of some rather serious riqting, and the military were called in from Norwich. Fortunately no lives were sacrificed. No strike has yet taken place in the port of London, but the agitation against the Mercantile Marine Act is on the increase.

THE SOUTH SHIELDS SHIPWRIGHTS remain on strike, with but little probability of an early settlement. They are reported to be strong in funds, and therefore able to continue the stringgle for some time to come.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

WORKING MEN'S WEST-END CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY.

—A society under this name is in progress for the estahment of Stores, for the sale of groceries, dried fruits, hosiery, woollen drapery, and all articles of household and general use, and such others as may be found desirable; and, Secondly, as a coftee and eating house for the sale of all articles usually sold in such places. The society meets at present once a week (Thursday) at the Black Horse, at the corner of Dean Street, Oxford Street, at half-past eight o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of enrolling memhers, and explaining the objects of the society. The shares are £1 each, 2s. 6d. to he paid at the time of entry.

Working Builder's Association.—No. 18 of the Christian Socialist, contains au interesting communication from Mr. Pickard, manager of the Builders' Association recently dissolved. From this statement it appears that the dissolution was caused not by any want of success as regarded work and profit, but hy the want of union amongst the Associates. After settling all accounts the men found that in little more than six months they had accumulated profit to the amount of £235 5s. 8d., over and above the amount of their weekly wages during that time. This sum the Associates were enabled to divide amongst themselves, instead of paying it into the pocket of a "master," as would be the case in ordinary circumstances.

CO-OPERATIVE STORES IN LANCASURE.—"Co-OPERATIVE Working Builder's Association .- No. 18 of the Chris-

CO-OPERATIVE STORES IN LANCASHIRE.—"Co-operative Stores," a correspondent writes us, "are springing up like mushrooms in this district. Two have heen opened in the neighbourhood of Ramshottom, and two others close to the village of Whitfield. We have, I think, four in Bury; so you see this makes eight within four miles of each other.—Christian Socialist.

FRANCE.

FRANCE.

PARIS UPHOLSTERERS.—This association makes up for home trade and exportation, all kinds of materials for furnishing rooms—seats, beds, eurtains, and decorations of every sort, and sends workmen to those who wish to have their rooms furnished and decorated at home. The following account is from the oflicial documents of the society:—It was formed in December 1848, in a sort of shed adjoining the house of one of the members, and its first order came from citizen Guinara, member of the Constituent Assembly, and, not having money sufficient to purchase the velvet required, the members raised 100f. by pawning their little property. From December to May, business was so dull that three-quarters of the time not a single member was employed; but, instead of losing courage, they transferred their establishment to the Cour St. Joseph, rightly judging that they would receive the courage, they transferred their establishment to the Cour St. Joseph, rightly jidging that they would receive the Sympathy and assistance of the Chairmaker's Association, whose business is intimately connected with their own. So poor were they at this time that the only furniture in their establishment was a carpenter's bench, two pair of trestles, and three ricketty stools, but not a single chair to offer to their customers. Their first employment here brought them in 35f. to each member for a fortnight, out of which they deducted 5f. as a reserve fund, making in all 100f., which, added to the 100f. arising out of their previous transactions, formed a capital of 290f. (£11 10s.) After an arduous struggle the association is now in a prosperous condition.—From the Leader.

Poetry for the People.

KINGS ARE BUT GIANTS BECAUSE WE KNEEL

Good People, put no faith in kings, nor merchant-princes

trust,
Who grind your hearts in mammon's press, your faces in the dust,
Trust to your own stout hearts to break the Tyrants dark,

dark han,
If yet one spark of freedom lives, let man be true to

man, We'll never fight again, boys, with Yankee, Pole, and

We love the French as brothers, and Frenchmen too,

But we'll join to crush those fiends who kill all love and ilherty,
Kings are but giants because we kneel, one leap and up
go we.

Trust not the priests, their tears are lies, their hearts are hard and cold

welcomest of all their flock, are fierce wolves fleeced with gold!
Rogues all! for hire they prop the laws that make us poor

men sin. Ah! though, their robes are black without, they've blacker souls within,

The Church and State are linked, and sworn to desolate

Good People, twixt these foxes tails, we'll fling a flery

Who hears the worst that they cau wreak that loveth They are but giants because we kneel, one leap and up

"Back! tramplers of the many, there, the ambush danger

Beware, or strife's red blood may run, respecta Nations eries,
Think how they taxed the People mad, that old Regime of

France,
Whose heads like poppies from Death's sythe, fell in a hloody dance!
Ah! kill not love, or tear from manhood's crown, the

jewels longer—Pluck not God's image from our hearts, because ye are

the stronger! Ye plead in vain! ye bleed in vain! ah, blind, when will

ye see, They are but giants because we kneel, one leap and up

We've hattled for earth's darlings, while they've slunk in

splendid lair, With souls that crept like earthworms in dead Beauty's golden hair, A tale of lives wept out in tears their grandeur garb re-

And the last sobs of breaking hearts sound in their chariot

whels,
But they're quaking now, and shaking now who've wrought
the hurtling sorrow,
To-day the desolators! but the desolate to-morrow.
Loud o'er their murderous menace, wakes the watchword of the free,

They are but giants because we kneel, one leap and up go we!

Some hrave and patrio, hearts are gone to break beyond the wave And some who gave their lives for love have found a prison

Some have grown grey in watching-some have fainted by

the way, But youth still cherishes within the light of a better day—
Oh! hlessings on high-dreaming youth! God's with the

dear brave band.
Their spirits hreathe of paradise, they're freshest from

his hand-And looking on the People's might who doubts they shall

Kings are but giants hecause we kneel, one leap and up GERALD MASSEY.

SIMPLE PLOT FOR A GRAND ROMAN PLAY.

Scene, Rome.—Period, 1851.

Exeunt French Troops. Enter Signor Mazzini. [Half-an-hour is supposed to elapse, when a foreign ambassador's carriage, with the Pope's cook inside—the cook bearing a strong resemblance to his Holiness himself—passes through the Flaminian

Curtain descends as the guns from St. Angela commence firing in the Republic .- Punch.

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KRIKND OF THE PROPERTY.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 14.7

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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SPEECH OF LOUIS BLANC.

Delivered at the "Banquet of the Equals," at Highbury Barn, February the 24th, 1851. (Translated from the French, expressly for this publication.)

The orator, who was received with immense applause, spoke to the toast-

"LIBERTY BASED UPON EQUALITY."

"Am I asked, what is the most abused word of modern civilization-what word has best served to mask oppression, and baffle the

despair of its victims? I answer LIBERTY.

"Take two men, both, we are told, made in the image of God: the first sells his life yes, life itself! the second buys it: don't interfere with the liberty of bargaining!

"Shylock, his bond in one hand, and a knife in the other, cuts the pound of flesh from the breast of his debtor Antonio: don't interfere with the liberty of capital!

"Competition sets up inanimate things as the rival of things which think, and feel, and suffer; and supplants, by the work of a machine, that can feel no hunger, the work of a living being, who dies if employment fails: don't interfere with the liberty of industry!

"The Stock Exchange is open: don't in-

terfere with the liberty of usury!
"But may you pale-visaged outcast appeal to the pity of the passers-by? May yon homeless proletarian sleep on the pavement, between two rows of empty palaces: do they then interfere with the liberty of misery!

"God be praised! they have not yet succeeded in monopolising the rays of the sunor they would have made us pay so much per minute for the light of day, and would have called it liberty, if we had been allowed to dwell in darkness!

"O Liberty! Liberty! goddess of high hearts! How many tyrannies have had free

scope, covered beneath thy name!
"It is time to cut short these mighty mockeries. Do you ask me what is the value of liberty? I will first define what liberty consists in.

"Robespierre, in his Declaration of Rights, has defended it in one lucid and profound sentence: 'Liberty is the Power to use your faculties according to your will: justice is her rule, the rights of others are her boundary,

nature is her guiding principle, and the law identical with the interest of all, emulation her safeguard.

"Mark well the word Power, for it con-

tains an entire school of philosophy.

"RIGHT, MIGHT! Between these two ideas the same difference exists, as between theory and practice, between the abstract | nious union of all powers and intellects; and the real, the shadow and the substance. What boots it to tell the paralytic that he has the RIGHT to rise and walk? He needs the POWER.

"The problem therefore is, to seek that state of society in which every one shall have the power to develope his faculties at his pleasure, without infringing a like right in others.

"These have objected that the principles we propound would lead to the annihilation of individual liberty—to perfect despotism. Baseless and insane accusation, born of bad faith or of the grossest ignorance.

"Let us see what liberty would be, in that

state of society to which we aspire:

"In which, thanks to universal, gratuitons, and obligatory education, every citizen would be enabled to develope his mind, and refine his feelings to the highest point his nature was capable of reaching;

"In which all vices, crimes, and misfortunes engendered by ignorance, would be

stifled at their birth;

"In which religion would consist of a sincere and philosophical application of the

eternal truth of the Gospel;
"In which, pursuant to the admitted doctrine, that all men have an equal right to the perfect development of their unequal faculties, the means of labour would be common to all as light or air;

"In which the hypocritical despotism of the usurer would yield to a system of credit,

embodying the debt of all to each;

" In which the realm of labour and mechanics, instead of being a battle-field covered with ruin and death, would be fertilized by fraternal associations, united with each other;

"In which the distribution of toil and the sharing of its fruits would be based on the principle even now recognized in families: From each according to his faculties, to each according to his wants;'

would cease to shew itself in envy, cupidity. pride, and hate;

"In which public wealth, now checked by blind and anarchical competition. would receive an indefinite increase from the harmo-

" In which that mass of parasitical agents, now rendered necessary by the severance and antagonism of interests, would no longer jostle each other to prey upon the people;

"In which brotherhood, linking nations as individuals are united now, would teach men to consider war as an atrocious folly. and lead to the abolition of armies;

"In which government would consist of a union of earnest and intelligent men, freely chosen by their equals, to act the part in society which the head performs towards the

"In which taxation would be only a portion of the common stock applied to the

common good;

"In which the wicked would be considered as persons diseased, and society would seek less to punish them than to defend itselfless to torture them than to cure;
"In which, finally, civilization, that drives

before it and destroys the wild beasts of the wilderness, would in like manner destroy the monster misery, and with it, all the vices, all the crimes, all the misfortunes it origi-

nates.
"Such is our social faith. Let us examine if it is a despotism of another kind, as our

accusers say.

"In such a state of society, the whole community being called to guard the existence of each of its members, children would grow under the parental wing, without having to suffer from parental poverty. Thence we should no more behold poor outcasts forced to work for a living at seven years of age, and to prostitute themselves at seventeen; no more infanticides of misery; no more hospitals to receive those whom maternity itself abjures; no more poisons subservient to the shame of the woman, who, in sacrificing the fruit of her womb, retains only the power to blush: thus millions of beings would receive THE LIBERTY TO LIVE, instead "In which, the interest of each being of despotic murder at the gate of life.

"Education being common, gratuitous, and obligatory for the good of the child, none would have to mourn a stunted intellect, a withered heart, whence springs the tyranny of ignorance; none would be deprived of that LIBERTY OF EDUCATION, which is to man as the fertilising water to the forest tree.

"All useful labour being considered equally honourable, and the difference of its various branches not implying a distinction that places all enjoyment on the one side, all privation on the other, no one would hesitate to choose that calling which harmonised the most with his capabilities and inclination; a man born to be, like Louis XVI., an excellent locksmith, would not be placed at the head of the state, a prey pre-doomed to the scaffold; a man born with genius would not be predestined to toil twelve heurs daily through his life in sharpening pins' points. The TYRANNY of shame would be driven from the classification of our social labours, and give way to that first of all liberties-the liberty of every man to choose the calling he likes best.

"Every man electing only those as his governors whom it was his interest to elect, government would be disinterested on the one hand, obedience voluntary on the other. Where would be the tyranny here? What greater advance could be made towards secur-

ing liberty?

"As no one would be forced to work beyond his powers, or at a calling unsuitable to his faculties, and as no one would be deprived of that which his requirements and tastes demanded (wealth being multiplied a hundred fold by the union, instead of the antagonism of all productive power), the tyranny of forcing men to work at tasks repugnant to their natures would cease, and the FREE choice of labuor, and the LIBERTY TO ENJOY PLENTY would exist, where we now behold the tyranny of hunger.

"Let no one object that this is impossible or even difficult to realise. It is not our business to prove at this moment (though we might easily do so) that our doctrines might soon be realised: what we have now to reply to, is the assertion, that our theories contain the germ of despotism. That is the only point at issue, and to that we must keepunless we would confuse our argument.

"Was ever folly equal to that of our opponents, who call a social system tyrannical, in which each would be FREE to develope all his faculties; in which each would be FREE to satisfy all his wants and tastes; in which each would be FREE to live according to the laws of his own idiosyncrasy, and to accomplish his human destiny according to the laws of nature !

"But how does our wonder grow when we reflect what a system it is these lovers of liberty prostitute their talents in defending !

[The orator then describes the actual working of the present system, in a brilliant sketch of the life of a proletarian, from the cradle to the grave; shewing that he is met and crushed by tyranny in the development of every faculty, and the exercise of every right; and proceeds thus:--]
"It is true, indeed—that, in the new social

system, no one would have:

4 The liberty to cheat his brothers, in cultivating the great domain, inherited by man from God;

"The liberty to enjoy the fruits of labour,

to the exclusion of the labourer, and the monopoly of the means of work;

"The liberty to make man the slave of capital; the living wealth subservient to the liteless gold;

"The liberty. as St. Ambrose truly said, to grow rich on misery, to coin the tears of mankind, to fatten on the hunger of the

"The liberty to arm half the poor for the

euslavement of the other half.

"If these are the liberties, the loss of which they dread, let them dare to say so! let them dare to throw the mask aside, and command our homage for the liberty to be a

"Liberty! Ah! let her be defined at least in a clear, philosophical, and comprehensive manner. Let her be no longer separated from Equality and Fraternity, her divine companions; let us recognize, at least, that she must exist for all—for all without exception, or not exist for any! but this implies-

"'LIBERTY BASED UPON EQUALITY!""

In delivering the above masterly speech, the orator was repeatedly interrupted by shouts of applause; and, at the conclusion, descended from the tribune amidst a hurricane of enthusiasm.

The following is the substance of a document issued by the Committee of the Highbury Barn Banquet previous to holding the festival. The paragraphs omitted would now be out of place because out of time; hence the omission.

BANQUET OF THE EQUALS.

(Translated expressly for this publication.)

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY.

Our political and social creed is :-

"That all men arc brethren, and all the peoples

"That Liberty, without Equality, is a lie; "That Equality cannot last, unless supported

by the spirit of Fraternity;

"That it is the duty of every one to render unto society according to his ability;

" That it is equally the duty of society to satisfy the necessary requirements of every one, both

physical and mental;

That education ought to be (in common) obligatory and by the very constitution of social

order, gratuitous :

"That its principal object should be to adopt the occupation to the character and capacity of the individual, since no man ought to exercise functions in society, unsuitable to his natural abilities;

"That all have an equal right to education, an equal right to happiness, and that it is the

equal duty of all to labour;

"That herein consists the principle of Equality; "That association is the necessary form for its

development;

"That the final object of association is to satisfy the intellectual, moral, and material requirements of all by the harmonious employment of their various faculties, and the fraternal co-operation of their united powers, as embodied in the formula: from each, according to his powers,-to each, according to his wants:

"That this great and glorious result can be effected by no state-science, other than the communisation of all the means for producduction, and of all their produce for consumption;

"That to this goal, all our institutions should be directed, according to the development of the public mind, progressing, though unswervingly;

"That such ought to be the object of all democratic power, by which we mean a power founded on universal sufferage, a power temporary, responsible, and removable, as embodied in the formula : the State, the servant of the people;

"That, accordingly, the Revolution which has commenced by authoriting the fendal aris-toeracy of title and land, and which must end by striking down the aristocracies of money and intellect, will not, in reality, be accomphished, until the monopoly of the means of labour or capitalism, shall have been abolished; until all hereditary advantages and distinctions shall be no more; and until all external privileges and prerogatives arrogated by superior mental capacity, shall have ceased to exist,—since the tyranny of intellect is fully as unjust as the tyranny of force, and far more criminal in its nature.

Signed on behalf of the German, Polish, Hungarian, Italian, and French citizens, united in the recognition of the principles enunciated as above :---

LANDOLPHE. MIHALOCEY. BARTHELEMY (EM-SCHAPPER. MANUEL). Ronchi. HURACE TEODIA. Louis Blanc. SAWASZKIEWIEZ (L. L.) WASZKOWSKI (C.) VIDIL (JULES). SIMONYI. WILLICH.

THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

HAVE ISSUED THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS IN COMMEMO-RATION OF

"THE 24TH OF FEBRUARY."

BROTHERS !-- If from the midst of punishments, of dungcon-tortures, and the miseries of proscription,-if, notwithstanding the tears of so many families in mourning .- if, notwithstanding so many oppressed populations .- we now throw you a word of hope, it is because this year which has just opened, the fourth of the Republic, cannot be other than a year of justice and of reparation.

Brothers! have confidence: nothing could hin-

der its providential mission; for the idea, which we have everywhere founded, has immeasurably increased under compression and violence.

Vainly, in France, they have redoubled the vigour of their laws; vainly has the voice of the people been stifled by the mutilation of universal suffrage; vainly, in Europe, have the peoples been trampled on more than ever, and the armies of the coalition converge toward the Alps and the Rhine: light has entered into men's souls; and every heart has become a sanctuary of the new faith.

They can no more re-make the past than they can resuscitate the dead; the Revolution of February could not be long interrupted in its formidable course, because its right of existence was in the march of time and of the buman mind.

Result as marvelious as unexpected! Three years of the Saturnalia of power have been sufficient to reduce our enemies to this avowal of their impotence: the Republic alone is possible!

Why? brothers!

It is because the Republic,—that sacred arch of the imprescriptible rights of the human race,slumbered, unknown to themselves, in the depths of the consciences of even those who blasphemed it. Striking homage rendered to the eternity of right.

To shake, to overturn thrones was easy; the inspiration of past revolts was all that was necessary for this: but this was only half the work, and see

why we have succumbed.

To do so that the People, in their triumph, should not allow their rights to be stolen, that all the freed Peoples should be consolidated, -this was the science and the secret of the future. This secret February did not find. It had to spring out of excesses and pensecution; your enemies have sufficed for the work. The destinies willed it thus, in order that the Revolution, filled with mercies, from its cradle, might live always pure.

The second half of the work is then finished. And now that the task of the persecutors is fulfilled, -that task which consisted in sprinkling the idea with blood, to render its growth more rapid, -what, henceforth, will be their part in the world. Like all God's scourges they have only to disappear. What matters, then, their apparent triumph? Like that knight of the middle-ages, of whom the legend speaks, they march, they fight still, and yet they are dend.

Adieu to kings and aristocractes: the People stands upon their rains, and will reign to-morrow. Yet again, its only thought should henceforth be that it let not itself be desperted amidst its triumph. France, that mother of revolutions, is about to utter this first cry-"GOVERNMENT DIRECT OF THE PEOPLE;" may it be heard!

To her also to lift up again the principle of the fraternity of the nations, the degma of human solidarity, so unworthily trampled underfoot by the tricksters of her government by all those sha-

dows which are conducting the funeral of the past. But if, which God forbid, France, forgetful of her glory and of her first duties, could stoop yet longer beneath the yoke, and abdicate the initiative which thrice in sixty years has gone forth from her, still liberty would not die in Europe. When ideas are ripe, they every where find instruments; and let us remember that, often, it is to the most feeble, the most overwhelmed of the Peoples, that they trust the sword and the strength.

For us, hrothers, let us not complain that we have seen mournful days, since they have served the triumph of the truth; and soon our hearts will be rejoiced by the sublimest of spectacles, -that of two hundred millions of men marching in their independence to the realization of the univeral

Republie.

As for those who found death in those festal days when victory sounded the charge for that improvised soldier, the People, let them rest in their glory, beside the martyrs who, less happy, hut not less brave, have spent in punishment their last efforts in favour of Liberty.

Humanity, closing for ever the temple of war, will recollect her debt to those heroes, whose devotion during their lives, and whose example after their death, have traced the right path for us.

Brothers in prison, brothers in exile, brothers in grief, in tears, and in misery, all of us who suffer and who confess the Republican faith, hail to the 24th of February!

Hail to the anniversary of regeneration!

May its remembrance animate the peoples in their struggle; may it serve us all for a lesson in our success !

For the Central European Democratic Committee.

LEDRU ROLLIN. J. MAZZINI, A. DARARSZ, A. RUGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE."

DEAR SIR,-At the banquet held at the Highbury Barn Tavern, in commemoration of the revolution of February, on the 24th of last month, I, and a friend of mine, were assaulted in an inconceivable manner. A set of individuals, whom I will refrain from qualifying, raised against us the cry of "spy, spy;" a numerous mob rushed upon us, and after having undergone a series of insults, we were obliged to leave the place without being able to obtain even a hearing from the meeting.

I may leave it to the public at large to judge upon the assault itself. Every political man has his enemies, and is exposed to the risk of being treated by them, in public meetings, in the same way as we have been. But I cannot allow the fact to pass that I should be treated as a spy. In my own country, I know well enough, such a charge would be met with shouts of laughter. The people of Schleswig Holstein, who saw me upon every public

platform as the defender of their rights during | 1848, and know me to have been the editor of the most advanced democratic paper in the Duchies, the governors of the gaols of twenty German States who saw me pass through their hands, the whole of the revolutionary press in Germany, could tell better. But here in England it is perhaps not generally known that I assisted and spoke, introduced by you at more than one meeting, and that I was a contribntor to two publications edited by you, viz., the Democratic Review and the Red Republican. After having stated these facts, I consider unnecessary every attempt to reply to the cry of "spy," raised against me by a set of men who enjoy my utmost contempt.

C. Schramm.

London, 4th March, 1851.

While it is to be regretted that the deplorable occurrence above complained of should be forced upon the attention of the English demograts, it is nevertheless natural and perfectly right for Mr. Schramm to appeal to those who know him against the odious charge

of being "a spy."

It is true that Mr. Schramm has taken part in meetings of English democrats, and that he has written in the Democratic Review and Red Republican; and, certainly, I would have been no party to his appearance before the British public, either on the platform, or through the press, had I not had the fullest confidence in him as a man and a democrat.

Introduced to me by Messrs. Marx and Engels-friends of long standing-I had the best guarantee for the honour of Mr. Schramm. I have not found cause to withdraw the trust reposed in him from the commencement of our acquaintance, and I do not hesitate to express my unabated confidence in his political integrity.

G. Julian Harney.

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS. THE PAPACY AS IT WAS, AND AS IT IS.

Ernest Jones concludes that portion of his lectures devoted to a review of the Decline and Fall of the Papal Church iu England, in the following stirring and el quent sentences :-

" Such was the rise and such the fall of the Papacy in England; and, looking back through its rule of a thousand years, its millenium of infamy, again I

ask for one redeeming feature!

"You have heen told, by Macaulay and others. that the church in the dark ages was the preserver of learning, the patron of scieuce, and the friend of

"The preserver of learning in the dark ages! It was the church that made those ages dark. The preserver of learning! Yes! as the wormeaten oak chest preserves a manuscript. No more thanks to them than to the rats for not devouring its pages. It was the republics of Italy and the Saracens of Spain that preserved learning—and it was the church that trod out the light of those Italian republics.

"The patron of science! What? when they burned Savonarale and Giordano, imprisoned Galileo, persecuted Columbus, and mutilated Abelard?

"The friend of freedom! What? when they crushed the republics of the south, pressed the Netherlands like the vintage in a wine-kelter, girdled Switzerland with a belt of fire and steel, banded the crowned tyrants of Europe against the reformers of Germany, and launched Claverhouse against the Covenant of Scotland?

"The friend of freedom! When they hedged kings with a divinity? Their superstitions alone upheld the rotten fabric of oppression! superstitions alone turned the indignant freeman into a willing slave, and made men bow to the Hell they created here by a hope of the Heaven they could not insure hereafter.

Such was the Papacy -and such it is. Bo not

deceived! It is still the same as ever! . . . They say they are not a political hierarchy: show me the hierarchy that has not been a political one, since the light of God was darkened by the shadow of a priest! They complain that the spirit of persecution is being appealed to against them; we have given Catholic emancipation in England, but where is the Protestant emancipation in Rome? The Pope appointed a Catholic Archbishop here, but will he let us appoint a Protestant hierarch there? They complain that prejudice and calumny are being raised against them: no! it is the ghosts of the old murders that are rising up in judgement. Those whose that are rising up in judgement. principle it is, that no faith should be holden with a man who differs in opinion-whose argument is the rack, and whose logic is the stake, place themselves beyond the pale of conventional society. It is true they come cringing in the dust, so did the old serpent. Ah! the poison of the Jesuit is distilling from their fangs! Because our state church is corrupt, they think we shall submit to a still greater corruption. See those hands, those withered hands, dripping with the gore of centuries, stretching towards the treasuries of England! The butcher of Rome-the bloodhound thirsting for the hearts of Garibaldi and Mazzini, is stalking in our midst! Haynau was only the temporal assassin -this one is far worse; he murdered the body -this one murders the mind.

"But, Democrats and Dissenters! there are many now raising this cry against the papacy, whose position little entitles them to do so. Such I bid look at the beam in their own eyes, before they point at the mote in their brother's. I do not understand onesided justice. If I stand here to oppose Papacy, it is the English Papacy, as well as the Romau, that I stand here to oppose. Canterbury is a bastard Rome. Christianity has long been crucified between two thieves—the English Church, and the Romish Church. Our royalist churchmen tell you this is a struggle on the part of Rome to get the twelve million pounds per annum; perhaps it is-and it is a struggle on the part of the church to keep them. They say that the Archbishop of Westminster should he seut across the sea: so be it—and the Archbishop of Canterbury should follow him.'

Here, for the present, we conclude our extracts from these admirable lectures. We may return to them hereafter for illustrations of the "crimes and frauds" of the Protestant Churches. In the meantime we advise those of our readers who have not yet become possessed of these orations to order them without delay. The first edition having been immediately sold out, a second edition is now in course of publication. After perusing a great number of publications on the Papal Aggression question, we are satisfied that for imparting historical knowledge, impressing the reader with unanswerable force of argument, and delighting with soul-stirring eloquence, these "Lectures" are nnrivalled. The wider their circulation, the greater will be Mr. Jones's popularity; a popularity which, being nobly deserved all but the base will rejoice to behold.

"NOT ALLOWED TO BE DRUNK ON THE PREMISES." -No spirits (with the exception, perhaps, of a glass of cherry brandy)-no wine (excepting, probably, a taste of antimonial)-no beer (saving, always the harmless ginger)—are to be served in the Great Exhibition. After a long day's journey through its many streets of counters, we can imagine a thirsty countryman rushing up to the refreshment stall, and being told that they cannot possibly let him have anything to drink stronger than a glass of water. How disappointed how enraged he will be! and we can imagine his looking round the Crystal Palace, and giving vent to the following philippic: - Dong it! I must say the building is beautiful enough; but I should have admired your glass a precious sight more, if one could have had a drop of sum-

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. F. Nicholls.—We will communicate your favour to the Committees.

the Committees.

FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS.—J. Cameron, Manchester.—
We have received and paid over to the Committee the stamps (6s. 5d). The cards will be forwarded.
POETRY.—J. A. W., London; and E. T. C., Sheffield—Received. No room for Poetry this week.

W. E. Aoams, Cheltenham.—You will observe that Mr. Linton has taken up the question commented on in your letter, the publication of which is thereby rendered unnecessary. Mr. Linton will learn with pleasure that you share his views.*

share his views."

NORTHAMPTON.—G. Rymill—We have received the Post Order for Ten Shillings and Threepence, being 6s. 11d. for the Refugees at the Fraternal Home, and 3s. 4d. for the Friend of the People; subscribed by the "Northampton Democratic Tea League,"—so called because nine or ten persons have united together to take tea every Sunday at a member's house, visiting each member in weekly rotation.

Eungarian Refugees, &c.—"I have received £1 5s. 6d.

Eungarian Refugees, &c.—"I have received £1 5s. 6d. LINGARIAN REFUGEES, &C.—"I have received £1 5s. 6d. for the Refugees, collected by Messrs. D * * * * * 6 and \$ * * * r; and 2s. per the Editor of the Friend of the People. I have also received 58 post-stamps from Howard Morton for the Hungarian Democratic Association.—E. SIMONYI."

E. SIMONYI."

THE VIENNA INSURRECTION.—We are requested to state that a Banquet to celebrate the victorious insurrection of Vienna, and therewith the popular triumphs in Berlin and Milan, in March, 1848, will take place at the Freemasons' Tavern on Tuesday the 18th of March, 1851.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1851.

NOTES EDITORIAL.

An attack of Influenza which prevented my attendance at the public meeting at John Street on the 4th of March, and the Executive meeting on the 5th, precludes me from more than the fewest possible words on topics which under more favourable circumstances might command some columns of comment.

Of these topics the first in point of general interest is

THE WHIG RESTORATION.

The anticipation expressed in No. 12 of this publication, to the effect that Lord John had no serious intention of retiring from office, but merely aimed at making himself appear indispensable to the Queen and the "liberal interest," turns out to have been correct. The "Crisis" now appears in its real character, that of an enormous "dodge." Russell knew the Tories were not in a position to take office. Probably he hoped to have obtained the assistance of the Peelites in reconstructing his administration; but those "old stagers" being too knowing to commit themselves to so damaging a connexion, Lord John is even content to start anew with his old cabinet-" one and indivisible"-with the exception of that used-up, worn-out limb of Corruption, Sir CAM, now—by the Grace of Victoria—"Baron Broughton de Gyfford." Even Wood is to be retained—if the metropolitan middle-class will submit to the insult. Any attempt to impose the Wood budget, unaltered and unamended upon the country, must hasten that catastrophe, which, in all probability will banish Lord John and his friends once more, and for ever, from the Treasury Benches, and afford the Queen an opportunity to send some of CAM's old friends to keep him company in "the Hospital of Incurables."

The promise to introduce a reform bill next session, is a bait thrown out for popular support, in the general election; which in all probability, will take place in the ensuing autumn. Surely "Russell and Reform will no longer gull the multitude. scheme which the Whig leader declares he has already, cut and dried, in preparation for the next session, instead of being designed to extend the suffrage to the unrepresented classes, is-so far as can be gathered from the explanations of its author - intended merely to increase the number of the privileged possessors of the franchise; the cunning concoctor of this new delusion hoping thereby to strengthen the defences of the existing system, and prolong, to an indefinite period, the political and social slavery of the unrepresented masses.

THE CHARTIST CONVENTION

is the next subject demanding notice. the meeting of the Executive Committee, on the 5th instant, it was resolved "That, owing to the recent change in the aspect of political affairs, and in accordance with the expressed desire of many localities, this committee summon the National Convention to assemble in London, on Monday, March 31st." This resolution accords with the anticipation expressed in last week's Friend. The address, or proclamation, of the Executive, summoning the Convention, follows this article. The programme of business to be laid before the delegates, when assembled together, with instructions, &c., relative to the election of delegates, will be found in the last page of this number. I have excluded the "Labour Record," and "Poetry," to make room for these important documents; holding it a duty to aid in giving them the widest publicity. Earnestly hoping the address will meet with a general and enthusiastic response, I will add an appeal to all who call themselves Chartists, to calmly and honestly examine the suggested programme of business. Animated by a sincere desire to serve the good cause, the Executive desire the counsel, as well as the co-operation, of all true democrats. Again I must urge the local committees to see to the collection of the necessary funds. There are parties abusing the Executive for postponing the Convention from the 3rd of March, who, up to this time, have given no proof that they will be ready with their quota to the Convention fund, even by the 3rd of April. They will do well to set about the work of collecting the necessary funds forthwith, if they would save themselves from contempt, and Chartism from degradation.

I rejoice to observe that the agitation

REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOW-LEDGE

is gaining ground. Every democrat should give the agitation his hearty support. Full space and earnest advocacy shall be given to this movement in future numbers of the Friend of the People:

Three weeks ago I announced the voyage of the

POLISH REFUGEES FROM CON-STANTINOPLE,

who, within the past week have arrived at Liverpool. These heroic, but unfortunate soldiers of Liberty appear to have met with a warm welcome from the people of Liverpool. But something more is necessary. While received in a spirit of seeming hospitality, our brothers find themselves threatened with instant transportation to America... It is announced in the daily papers that they are to be sent to the United States, early as possible." This is infamous. The refugees have sought a home in this country, and neither the British Government, nor the Liverpool "authorities" have any right to send, or to sanction the sending of these unfortunate men to America. A conspiracy exists to "purge Europe" of the Polish democrats. In that conspiracy the Polish aristocrats, and certain "friends of Poland" are taking an active part; and it would seem that the British Government, or the Liverpool authorities, or both combined are aiding this conspiracy. What a bitter mockery will be the much vaunted "hospitality of England" if these refugees are forced to proceed to America against their will. England is not yet so over-populated, but that there is room and to spare for these 262 defenders of Freedom. As for their support, a Parliamentary grant, or a general subscription might furnish the means to enable these brave men to preserve their existence at least until they were enabled, by obtaining employment, to support themselves.

I appeal to the working men of Liverpool to hold a great public meeting to protest against the transportation of the Refugees, and to take steps to ensure the success of their protest. Not a moment should be lost. The men of Liverpool should be supported by the people of other large towns-particularly the metropolis. The Fraternal Democrats should move in this matter, and rally a popular manifestation in defence of the 262 Polish and Hungarian heroes.

P. S. The doom intended for the Refugees is no longer doubtful. I learn from the daily papers that some sympathizing gentlemen wished to hold a town's meeting at Liverpool to raise a subscription, and with that view solicited the Mayor to convene a meeting and preside thereat. He declined on the ground that the intentions of "the authorities" were a bar to such an expression of his sympathy. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this. One meeting might lead to more than one, a subscription in Liverpool to subscriptions in other places, and the means might be found to enable the Refugees to remain in England. To prevent this our brothers are to be forcibly and hurriedly transported to America. People of England will you allow this? Working men of Liverpool, I again entreat you to instantly take measures to prevent the fulfilment of an act which would brand the name of England with an indelible stigma, inflict life-long suffering and despair upon a gallant band of patriots, and give satisfaction only to the tyrants of Europe, and their friends the sham-liberal, freedom hating, despicable Whigs.

There is no right which is enjoyed by man without involving, on his part, a corresponding obligation.

THE ROYAL HUMBUG. - Ferdinand, King of Spain, had the credit of being a crack violin-player. Theodore Hook relates that he was in the habit of playing in public, standing before a screen, behind which was concealed the real violinist, who performed the difficult passages, while Royalty went through the motions, and received the applause of his enraptured subjects.

THE FORTHCOMING CHARTIST CON-VENTION.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THEIR BROTHER CHARTISTS.

Events have transpired since we last addressed you, which render it imperative that, in accordance with that paragraph of the resolution passed by our committee, on Wednesday evening, the 19th ult., a Convention should be called at an earlier period than' the one therein named.

We, therefore, feel it our duty to summon a National Convention, to meet in London, on the 31st

day of March, instant.

Chartists, you have now an opportunity of recovering the ground you lost by your apathy, within the last two years. The middle classes are now stepping forward as the advocates of political and financial reform. Are they to win this battle—and theirs—alone? And while aristocracy is paralysed-while oligarchy totters-are you not prepared to take your stand in the political arena, under the banner of Chartist organisation,

for social rights?

Will you abdicate political power entirely into the hands of cotton lords, merchants, bankers, and farmers? Shall they be relieved from taxa-tion—shall the burden be shifted from their shoulders, to weigh more heavily on our own? Shall they get all they want, and you not even ask for anything? Up, Chartists! the time is You ean as easily obtain concessions as the middle class. At the very moment, when it was never more in your power to obtain a hearing, and command respect, than at present—now, of all other times, will you be anathetic? We post-poned the Convention till June—and we did so with heavy hearts-because we found that you were unprepared; because we said, better no Convention at all, than one that shall reflect discredit on the cause by the paucity of its numbers, and the poverty of its funds.

The representatives of a people must not be the pensioners on private charity,-they must not only be sent. they must be supported by their localities. The only chance a convention has of making an impression upon other classes, is when' those classes know that they are sent by the millions, and that the millions support them, watch them, look up to them, and rally round them. A failure in a convention does as much harm in public estimation that years can often not repair. Therefore, we postponed the meeting of your delegates. Now we summon it in the hope that the stirring events of the day will have revivified the heart of toil. Now we hurry it, in the trust that you are aroused at last, for if you do not now rise and fight the battle of labour, we feel convinced

you never will.

Believe us! the crisis has but begun. A ministry may be formed-but it cannot stand-it is not a cabinet, it is the very system that is in the throes of dissolution-ministry will follow ministry, dissolution dissolution, at rapid intervals, as the rotten citadel of class legislation reels to and fro before it sinks. Up, then, young democracy of England! Up, then, veterans of toil and misery! You are called to action now, not for a vague agitation-but when definite and certain progress is in view. We call on you for men and money; give us these! and without the infringement of a single law, we will guarantee the result. Three weeks are given you for preparation-it is enough if you are active and united-discuss the programme in your localities!—elect your delegates!—subscribe your funds! Be ready by the 31st of March.—Rally, Chartists! Rally once more-and then DOWN WITH CLASS LEGISLATION.

JOHN ARNOTT, Gen. Sec.

SECTABIANISM.—Little, narrow prejudices, that make you hate your neighbour, because he has eggs roasted when you have yours boiled. Bulwer.

[The following excellent address has appeared in the Glasgow Sentinel. Believing it to be worthy of more than mere local publicity, we transfer it to our columns.]

TO THE CHARTISTS OF GLASGOW.

BROTHERS, -The time is evidently now near at hand, when the long wished-for object of the political enfranchisement of the industrious millions of our country must and will be achieved. All that is now necessary is an honest, bold, and energetic, but prudent movement on the part of the toiling masses, in order to realise the sublime object of a full, fair and free representation of all. classes, and all interests of the British nation, in

the British legislature.
One thing, however, is essential as a preliminary to such a movement-that one thing, is Organisation. At present there is no efficient organisation of the Chartist mind of Glasgow to bring the influence of our principles to bear upon the electorial body, and the legislature-to make them tell with due effect in the destruction of those prejudices which have hitherto retarded the success of our efforts, and prevented the triumph of a good cause, for which millions have long and ardently struggled, and thousands have suffered and died. But now we see the dawn of a brighter day -a clear prospect of success is opening up hefore us; and shall Glasgow, which formerly, for her efforts in the cause of human freedom, earned for herself the proud distinction of being recognised as 'The Queen of Chartism'-shall Glasgow, now when we are on the very threshold of victory, be found lagging behind. Organisation is now becoming the watchword throughout the country; and we, who have hitherto shared the dangers and fatigues of the battle for liberty, must not, by our apathy and indifference, allow ourselves to be denuded of our fair share of the honours of victory.

Impressed with these convictions, and animated by these lofty aspirations, a few of your more active friends have deemed it proper to take the necessary preliminary steps towards the tormation of a locality in connection with the National Charter Association, at the head of which is now placed, by the suffrages of its members, the most active, enlightened, and disinterested body of men, as an Executive Committee, ever called to preside over and direct the movements of the people in their efforts to accomplish their political emancipation. We call upon you, therefore, to organise-to rally around your friends, and support them in their legal, peaceful, and constitutional endeavours to raise the now prostrate sons of labour to the rank

and dignity of British freemen.

Lord John Russell has admitted in the House of Commons that the period has arrived to grant an extension of the suffrago to the working-classes. Finality nostrums are now at last discarded, the necessity for representative reform is now acknowledged, and it behoves us now to prove, by our union, prudence, and determination, that the time has fully come for the enactment of she Pcople's Charter, which demands the political enfranchisement of every male adult of sound mind and unconvicted of erime, and at the same time, guarantees the most perfect security to the electors from intimidation in the exercise of the vote, and renders the representatives of the people duly respensible to those who elect them.

A public meeting will be called at an early day, for the enrolment of members, and the nomination of office-bearers, and thereby have the Chartist movement in Glasgow placed under the guidance and direction, not of self-elected, numerically limited, and irresponsible clique, but of officers duly appointed by the members of the Association, and responsible in all their proceedings to those whose business they are appointed to manage.

Brothers, we ask you in all sincerity, for the sake of our common country, as you value the welfare of yourselves and children-if you desire to see, peace, contentment, prosperity, and social in-

dependence pervade British society, rally once more around the old banner of the Charter. Organise! organise!!! and success must, at no distant day, crown our efforts.

'freedoms s battle once begun, Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son, Though baffled oft, is ever won,' Signed JAMES ADAMS, Sec., pro tem.

REPUBLICAN ORGANIZATION.

To the Editor of the Friend of the People.

MY DEAR SIR,-In your friendly notice (in No. 12 of your Journal) of the plan of organization put forth by me in No. 2, of the "English Republic," you omit (possibly from want of room) certain paragraphs. My only objection to the omission is that, in my eyes, -as well as in those of the Editor of that esteemed print, the crown and bible "John Bull,"—one of the omitted paragraphs is the most important portion of the plan. Will you allow me to call attention to it, by quoting it here; and may I add some few words with regard to your remark, that-"the propriety of forming a new association is questionable; seeing that there are already more associations in existence than can be properly sustained."

The paragraph to which I refer is as follows :-"In addition to the ordinary general meetings of Associations, it seems to me that it would be well to hold separate meetings, certainly not less often than once a week. For this purpose divide the Associations into small parties or knots of four, five, or six members (according to circumstances), which knots might be called families. Let these 'families' meet at each other's houses. The object of this method meeting is to insure a more frequent and a more friendly inter-communication of the members than would take place if there was no regular meeting except of the whole Association. Personal friendships would thus grow up between the members: even between those of different stations in society. The great expense, too, of frequent meetings would be avoided. The olassing of the 'families,' the determining how many and who of the members should compose such and such a 'family,' would depend mainly on locality. But the 'family' should never exceed six or seven members—better be only five; and it would be well to change occasionally,—that is to say that at least one old member of each 'family' should be transferred to another, and one new one be admitted in the vacant place, every month: so that the friendship thus formed and the knowledge thus acquired might, circulate as speedily as possible throughout the Association, making the whole one band of friends and brothers. The business of these weekly meetings of 'families' would be to hear the accounts of the four, or five, or six members, of how each had been bestowing himself during the week, what work he had done, what proselytes made, -as it were 'taking stock' of the republican progress of the 'family;' and discussing points of interest or difficulty, perhaps maturing some important question for the general meeting. So the four or five would act as mutual encouragers and advisers, wholesomely inciting each other to persevering action, or checking each other in any false course. At these meetings one would act as 'head'; and it would be his business to condense the individual report and the proceedings of the meetings, and to forward this condensed report to the Secretary of the Association."

Now, I quite agree that there are already more associations than can be properly sustained: but the question, as it seems to me, is not whether there are too many or too few; but whether there is any proposing to do what I propose to have done by this new one, -whether, if so, such association is efficiently organized for the purpose, -and, if the answer should he in the negative, whether a new association may not be needed (however many others there may be), if its purpose be good, and its organization suited to that purpose.

I answer the first two points. As far as I am

ware, there is no association plainly and explicity devoted to the teaching of Republicanismthere is no association with arrangements available for such teaching. The Chartist and other associations, however tending towards Republicanism, are yet not Republican associations. And to answer the third point. I believe that an avowedly Republican association is necessary-firstly, because if the Chartist movement he at an end (and I believe it to be so,-I do not think any new Executive or Convention can revive it), it is well to look beyond Chartism for the inspiration of our next move; and secondly, because even with Chartism in the ascendant, there would still be the necessity for an association within the Chartist body, to teach what ought to come of the people's

Therefore, believing the teaching of Republicanism to be requisite, and seeing no present organization for doing this, I put forth a plan for the purpose, not te oppose any existing associa-tion, but to do that which, to the best of my know-

ledge, is not yet attempted by any.

Whether or not my plan is well adapted to the occasion, is for the public to decide. I have faith in it—that of course; and my faith is assured by the coincidence of one by no means disposed to compliment me, -the before-mentioned Editor of the John Bull, who has devoted a leader to the "English Republic," in order to warn the monarely that my "plan of operation is as practical as (my) theories are the reverse." The plan is, The plan is, the good fellow says, "a kind of Methodism of Republicanism, the 'family meetings' of 'the English Republic," answering to the 'class meetings," by means of which John Wesley effected the extension and rapid spread of his principles among the multitude. By means of this system the dangerous notions which it is the object of Mr. Linton's publication to inculcate, might be propagated far and wide among the lower classes, especially among workmen or artizans, and forces collected, available for any movement determined on by their leaders, without any of those formalities of initiation and association which bring their promoters at once and expressly under the provisions of the statute law. Let monarchy take heed to itself. Forewarned is forearmed." I am, my dear sir, yours faithfully,

TO THE EARNEST AND THOUGHTFUL OF ALL CLASSES.

W. J. LINTON.

"A slow develop'd strength awaks. Completion in a painful school;"

THERE is much rhapsodical talk about the progress of the human race. Poets, Philosophers, and Divines, have surpassed each other in hyperbole on this vain glorious theme. They would persuade us that mankind progresses by inevitable gradations. That man's destiny is chalked out. That from the time of 'Adam' we have moved forward in the right direction. A doctrine that promises the fruits of labour without the exertions of labour. Easy and comfortable no doubt to those who seek a plea for shirking the sacrifice and exertion that Truth and Justice demand, ere they can triumph.

History's doubtful light shows some few tangible objects which lovers of high flown sentimentalism rarely, if ever, deign to remember. The destruction of magnificent cities and desolation of mighty nations loom ominously through the mist of ages. Of the civilization of the past we know little. The glimpses we do get prove its grandeur. The half barbarous Hun now rules where civilization was. The Red Indian hunts amid the smouldering relicts of a civilization that has died out or been crushed out. Turning to more mordern times it may be asked,—Where is the Republic of Venice? Where the ever memorable Republics of Italy? gone! Some perhaps would say, faded before the advancing step of civilization—the armed heel of Austrian despotism—the tenacious and paralyzing grasp of Priestcraft.

The civilization of to day, what is it, that we talk so grandiloquently? Science - impartial science, is made to crush the worker

"With great contrivances of nower."

Our huge cities, manufactories of every article of commerce at an unprecedented cheapness, and at the same time of felons and prostitutes with unprecedented facility. Human nature being worked up in said manufactories, no account thereof appearing in balance sheet to startle philanthropic buyers. The benefits that it is pretended civilization bestows, may well be questioned. A more deadly warfare is being waged than savage life was ever conscious of-competition. It has made man dependent on artificial forms of society. It has established trades upon whose nastable waves he is continually wrecked. It has struck from, under him all self-support. It has created wants it does not satisfy, and deprived him of many essentials to his being, warping the body and the intellect till he might well cry with the Poet :-

"Cursed be the social wants that sin against the strength

of youth, Cursed be the social lies that warp us from the living truth! Cursed be the sickly forms that err from honest nature's

rule!
Cursed be the gold that gifds the straiten'd forehead of

I do not deny that there has been progress, far from it. Start from a certain date, affirm it of this country and it cannot be denied. What I do deny is, that we progress one iota more than is commensurate with the efforts made. Some pious individuals quiet all doubts by supposing the progress of man to be part of the inscrutable scheme of Providence. Even Tennyson in his Poem of the "Golden Year,"

"When wealth no more shall rest in mounded heaps." writes as if some special providence evolved this "Golden Year," making all our hard fought victories, self denials, and arduous labours, mere waste. This is to make man impotent-bat no, I give my adhesion to a more genial doctrine. A doctrine that teaches, that every thought and deed, will-must exercise its due influence for good or ill. I do not expect men to reap a harvest they have not sown. Therefore, I say, insomuch as we persist or desist in lattling for the right and striving for the better time, so much nearer or so much farther off will he the "Golden Year," in which men shall reap the harvest of their hopes.

Before us lies the goal for which humanity has yearned for ages without knowing the road thereto. That goal to which man has turned his streaming eyes in vain. To which Christs have attempted to lead him. To which he will never arrive but by his own exertions. "Excelsior" must be our watch-word. Beat down the political barriers. the social lies that divide man from man-Excelsion. Scale the mountain heights of intellect, gain the pinnacle of science, gazing back upon the "dust of systems and of creeds.' Our watchword still the same, higher, higher. For to day it is sufficient that we turn upon ourselves. What are we? What do we? What call we ourselves? Our strength awaits completion in the painful school of exertion, self denial and patient study. Effectiveness is the sure result of discipline, discipline, the result of constant endeavours to develope and direct our powers. "A Philosopher on seeing a Roman General busy with his soldiers, drilling these, chiding those, encouraging others; his eye over all, attending to details and guiding the mass, said, 'Why this toil? The enemy is not before you, your labour is equal to a battle.' The General replied, 'True, when the enemy appears we shall have half beaten him, we are conquering now.' As with discipline we are half conquerors before fighting, so without are we half defeated. Not the least among us has an excuse for not organizing what powers and means he has. No one has an excuse for doing nothing. What each can do should be done or the good cause is so much the

weaker—the bad cause so much the stronger. The work to be done is our work or no one's.

"In the world's broad field of battle, In the bivouac of lite; Be not like dumb driven oattle, Be a hero in the strife."

SERVO

Teames from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 13.)

Notwithstanding the love of Count Albert and the fatherly affection of Count Christian, Consnelo pines for her former mode of life. In one of her morning walks, taken regularly in neighbourhood of the Castle,-

"She stopped near the rock which Albert had often shown her as being the place where he had first seen her, an infant, tied with thongs on her mother's shoulders like the pediar's pack, and running over mountains and valleys, like the grasshopper of the fable, heedless of the morrow, and without a thought of advancing old age and inexorable poverty. 'O, my poor mother!' thought the young zingarella, 'here am I, brought back by my incomprehensible fate to a spot which you once traversed only to retain a vague recollection of it and the pledge of a touching kindness. You were then young and handsome, and doubtless could have met many a place where love and hosnitelity would have awaited you-society which would have absolved and transformed you, and in the bosom of which your painful and wandering life would have at last tasted comfort and repose. But you felt, and always said, that this comfort, this repose, were mortal weariness to the artist's soul. You were right-I feel it; for behold me in this eastle, where, as elsewhere, you would pause but one night. Here I am, with every comfort around me, pampered, earessed, and with a powerful lord at my feet; and nevertheless, I am weary, weary, and suffocated with restraint.

"Consuelo, overpowered with an extraordinary emotion, seated herself on the rock. She looked at the sandy path, as if she thought to find there the prints of her mother's naked feet. The sheep in passing had left some locks of their flecee upon the thorns. This fleece, of a reddish brown, recalled the russet hue of her mother's coarse mantle -that mantle which had so long protected her against sun and cold, against dust and rain. She had seen it fall from her shoulders piece by piece. 'And we, too,' she said, 'were wandering sheep; we, too, left fragments of our apparel on the wayside thorn, but we always bore along with us the proud love and the foll enjoyment of our dear

"While musing thus, Consuelo fixed her eyes upon the path of yellow sand which wound gracefully ever the hill, and which, widening as it reached the valley, disappeared towards the north among the green pine-trees and the dark heath. 'What is more beautiful than a road?' she thought. 'It is the symbol and image of a life of activity and variety. What pleasing ideas are connected in my mind with the capricious turns of this! I do not recollect the country through which it winds, and yet I have formerly passed through it. But it should indeed be beautiful, were it only as a contrast te yonder dark castle, which sleeps eternally on its immoveable rocks. How much pleasanter to the eye are these gravelled paths, with their glowing hues, and the golden broom which shadow them, than the straight alleys and stiff paling of the proud domain? With merely looking at the formal lines of a garden I feel wearied and overcome. Why should my feet seek to reach that which my eyes and thoughts can at once embrace, while the free road, which turns aside and is half hidden in the woods, invites me to follow its windings and penetrate its mysteries? And then it is the path for all human kind-it is the highway of the world. It

belongs to no master, to close and open it at pleasure. It is not only the powerful and rich that are entitled to tread its flowery margins and to breathe its rich perfume. Every hird may build its nest amid its branches; every wanderer may repose his head upon its stones-nor wall nor paling shuts out hie horizon. Heaven does not close before him; so far as his eye can reach, the highway is a land of liberty. To the right, to the left, woods, fieldsall have masters; but the road belongs to him to whom nothing else belongs, and how fondly therefore does he love it! The meanest heggar prefers it to asylums, which, were they rich as palaces, would be hut prisons to him. His dream, his passion, his hope, will ever be the highway. O, my mother, you knew it well, and often told me so! Why can I not reanimate your ashes which repose from me, heneath the seaweed of the lagunes? Why canst thou not carry me on thy strong shoulders, and bear me far, far away, where the swallow skims onward to the blue and distant hills, and where the memory of the past and the longing after vanished happiness, cannot follow the light-footed artist, who travels still faster than they do, and each day places a new horizon, a second world, between her and the enemies of liherty? My poor mother, why canst thou not still by turns cherish and oppress me, and lavish alternate kisses and hlows, like the wind which sometimes caresses and sometimes lays prostrate the young eorn upon the fields, to raise and cast it down again according to its fantasy? Thou hadst a firmer soul than mine, and thou wouldst have torn me, either willingly or by force, from the boods which daily entangle me!'

"In the mindst of this entrancing yet mournful reverie, Consuelo was struck by the tones of a voice that made her start as if a red-hot iron had been placed upon her heart. It was that of a man from the ravine below, humming in the Venetian dialect the song of the "Echo," one of the most original compositions of Chiozzetto. The person who sung did not exert the full power of his voice, and his breathing seemed affected by walking. He warhled a few notes now and then, stopping from time to time to converse with another person, just as if he had wished to dissipate the weariness of his journey. He then resumed his song as before, as if by way of exercise, interrupted it again to speak to his companion, and in this manner approached the spot where Consuelo sat, motionless, and as if about to faint. She could not hear the conversation which took place, as the distance was too great; nor could she see the travellers in consequence of an intervening projection of the rock. But could she le for an instant deceived in that voice, in those accents, which she knew so well, and the fragments of that song which she herself had taught, and so often made her graceless pupil rereat?

"At length the two invisible travellers drew near, and she beard one whose voice was unknown to her say to the other, in bad Italian, and with the patois of of the country, "Ah, Signor, do not go up there—the horses could not follow you, and you would lose sight of me; keep by the banks of the stream. See, the road lies before us, and the way you are taking is only a path for foot passengers.

"The voice which Consuelo knew hecame more distant, and appeared to descend, and soon she heard him ask what fine castle that was on the other

" That is Riesenberg, which means the Castle of the Giante; replied the guide, for he was one hy profession, and Cansuelo could row distinguish him at the bottom of the bill, on foot and leading two horses covered with sweat, The bad state of the roads, recently inundated by the torrent, had obliged the riders to dismount. The traveller follewed at a little distance, and Consuelo could at length see him by leaning over the rock which proteeted her. His back was towards her, and he were a travelling dress, which so altered his appearance and even his walk, that had she not heard his voice she could not have recognised him. He stopped, however, to look at the oastle, and taking off his broad-leafed hat, wiped his face with his handker-

chief. Although only able to distinguish him lmperfectly from the great height at which she was placed, she knew at once those golden and flowing locks, and recognised the movement he was accustomed to make in raising them from his forehead or neck when he was warm.

"'This seems a very fine castle,' said he. 'If I had time I should like to ask the giants for some breakfast.

" 'Oh, do not attempt it,' said the guide, shaking The Rudolstadts only receive beggars and head. relations.'

" ' Are they not more hospitable than that? May the devil seize them then !

" 'Listen-it is because they have something to conceal.

" ' A treasure or a crime?'

" 'Oh, nothing of that kind; it is there son, who is mad.'

" ' Deuce take him too, then; it would do them a service.

"The guide began to laugh: Anzoleto commenced to sing.

"'Come,' said the guide, 'we are now over the worst of the road; if you wish to mount we may gallop as far as Tusta. The road is magnificentnothing but sand. Once there, you will find the highway to Prague, and excellent post-horses.'

"In that case," said Anzoleto, adjusting his stirrups, 'I may say the fiend seize thee too! for your jades, your mountain roads, and yourself, are

all becoming very tiresome.'

"Thus speaking, he slowly mounted his nag, sunk the spurs in its side, and without troubling himself about the guide, who followed him with great difficulty, he darted off towards the north, raising great clouds of dust on that road which Consuelo had so long contemplated, and on which she had so little expected to see pass, like a fatul vision, the enemy of her life, the constant torture of her heart. She f llowed him with her eyes, in a state of stupor impossible to express. Struck with disgust and fear, so long as she was within hearing of his voice, she had remained hidden and trembling. But when he disappeared, when she thought she had lost sight of him perhaps for ever, she experienced only vialent despair. She threw herself over the rock to see him for a longer time; the undying love which she cherished for him awoke again with fervour, and she would have recalled him, but her voice died on her lips. The hand of death seemed to press heavlly on her bosom: her eyes grew dim; a dull poise, like the dashing of the sea, murmured in her ears; and falling exhausted at the foot of the rock, she found herself in the arms of Alhert. who had approached without heing perceived, and who bore her, apparently dying, to a more shady and seeluded part of the mountain.

Albert not suspecting the cause of Consuelo's agitation, attributes her emotion to fright accasioned by his sudden and unexpected appearance. He prevails upon her accompanying him on a visit to his old retreat .-

"He conducted her to the foot of the Schreckenstein, and stopped at the entrance of a grotto filled with stagnant water, and nearly hidden by the luxuriant vegetation. "This grotto, in which you may remark some traces of a vaulted construction," said he, "is called in the country 'The Monk's Some think it was a cellar of a convent, at a period when, in place of these ruins, there stood here a fortified town; others relate that it was subsequently the retreat of a repentant criminal, who turned hermit. However this may he, no one dares to penetrate the recess; and every one says the water is deep, and is imbued with a mortal poison, owing to the veins of copper through which it runs in its passage. But this water is really neither deep nor dangerous; it sleeps upon a bed of rocks, and we can easily cross it, Consuclo, if you will once again confide in the strength of my arm and the purity of my love."

"Thus saying, after having satisfied himself that no one had followed or observed them, he took her in his arms, and entering the water, which reached

almost to his knee, he cleared a passage through the shruhs and matted ivy which concealed the bottom of the grotto. In a very short time he set her down upon a bank of fine dry sand, in a place completely dark. He immediately lighted the lantern with which he was furnished, and after some turns in subterranean galleries similar to those which Consuelo had already traversed, they found themselves at the door of a cell, opposite to that which she had opened the first time.

"Conquelo began to examine the cell with more attention than she had bestowed on it the first time. There was no appearance of the care and neatness which she formerly observed. The dampness of the walls, the cold of the atmosphere, and the mouldiness of the books, betrayed complete ahandonment. 'You see that I have kept my word.' said Albert, who had just succeeded with great difficulty in lighting the stove. 'I have never set foot here since the day you displayed your power over me hy tearing me away.'

"Consuelo had a question on her lips, but restrained herself. She was about to ask if Zdenko, the friend. the faithful servant, the zealous guardian, had also abandoned and neglected the hermitage. But she recollected the profound sorrow which Albert always displayed when she hazarded a question as to what had become of him, and why she had never seen him since the terrible encounter in the cavern? Albert had always evaded these questions, either by pretending not to understand her, or by begging her to fear nothing for the innocent. She was at first persuaded that Zdenko had received and faithfully fulfilled the command of his master never to appear before his eyes. But when she resumed her solitary walks, Albert, in order to completely reassure her, had sworn, while a deadly paleness everspread his countenance, that she should not encounter Zdenko, who had set out on a long voyage. In fact no one had seen him since that time, and they thought he was dead in some corner, or that he had quitted the country.

"But as Albert had assured her when they entered the grotto, that there was contained in it no cause of alarm, she seized the opportunity when his attention was otherwise engaged, to open the rusty gate of what he called his church, and in this way to reach Zdenko's cell, where doubtless she would find traces of his recent presence. The door yielded as soon as she had turned the key, but the darkness was so great that she could see nothing. She waited till Albert had passed into the mysterious oratory which he had promised to show her, and which he was preparing for her reception, and she then took a light and returned cautiously to Zdenko's chamber, not without trembling at the idea of finding him there in person. But there was not the faintest evidence of his existence. The bed of leaves and the slicepskins had been removed. The seat, the tools, the sandals of undressed hideall had disappeared, and one would have said, to look at the dripping walls, that this vault had never sheltered a living being.

"A feeling of sadness and terror took possession of her at this discovery. A mystery shrouded the fate of this unfortunate, and Consuelo accused herself of heing perhaps the cause of a deplorable event. There were two natures in Albert: the one wise, the other mad; the one polished; tender, merciful; the other strange, untamed, perhaps violent and implacable. His fancied identity with the fanatic John Ziska, his love for the recollections of Hussite Bohemia, and that mute and patient, but at the same time profound passion which he nourished for herself-all ecourred at this moment to her mind. and seemed to confirm her most painful suspicions. Motionless and frezen with herror, she hardly ventured to glance at the cold and naked floor of the grotto, dreading to find on it tracks of blood.

(To be continued.)

INSTRUCTIONS, AND

List of Towns and Districts entitled to send Delegates to the National Convention, called to meet in London, on Monday. March 31st ensuing.

In the following list the Executive have had especial reference to the equilisation of electoral districts in proportion to the Democratic population. The law allows only forty-nine delegates to assemble in Convention—and they have endeavoured so to apportion the constituencies as to secure to the fullest possible extent a national representation.

As it has been necessary, in some instances, to comprise several towns in the same constituency, it is hereby recommended that, where such is not yet in existence, a district council be forthwith formed, and the district agent's address forwarded to the general secretary. Should the agents in any of the localities be unacquainted with the names and addresses of the agents in the others of the same district, they are requested to communicate; wilh the Executive, who will supply them with the necessary information.

It is also recommended that the several localities of a district each nominate one or more delegates, as apportioned to the constituency; such nomination to be forwarded to the agent of the district; that, within a fortnight of the time of nomination, public meetings, of which four days' notice shall have been duly given, be held for the election of the delegates, and that the result of the election in each locality be forwarded to the district agent, who, with the council shall act as scrutineer, and certify the return to the

general secretary on or before Wednesday, the 26th of March.

Aberdeen and North of Scotland 1 Dundee, Perth, Cupar Angus, Arbroath, Mon-trose, Forfar, Brechin, and districts ... 1 Edinburgh, Leith, Kirkcaldy, Linlithgow, and counties of Fife and Mid-Lothian... Falkirk, Tillicoultry, Alva, Alloa, Stirling, and and county

Dumfries, Hawick, and the Border... Carlisle, Wigton, Cockermouth, Kendal, and counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland. 1 Newcastle on-Tyne, Gateshead, Shields, Sunderland, and counties of Northumberland and Durham
York, Hull, and North and East Riding 1... ... 2

Leeds, Pudsey, Dewsbury, Batley, Birstall, Huddersfield, Holmfirth, and district Sheffield, Barnsley, Rotherham, and district . . 1 Preston, Burnley, Padiham, Blackburn, Clithe-

roe, Lancaster, and North Lancashire 2 Bury, Bolton, and district 1

Liverpool, Warrington, and Wigan ... 1
Rochdale, Heywood, Middleton, and Oldham ... 1
Stockport, Ashton-under-Lyne, Stalybridge, Mac-

Leicester, Loughborough, and county 1

Northampton, Peterborough, Wellingborough, and county Norwich, Lynn, Yarmouth, and the county of Norfolk 1

Ipswich and county of Suffolk 1 Hanley and the Potteries Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Coventry, and 2 Gloucester, Cheltenham, Worcester, and counties 1

Bristol and district 1 Bath and district Merthyr Tydril, Newport, Monmouth, and South Wales 1

Exeter and Tiverton Plymouth, Devonport, Tavistock, Truro, and Swindon, Bradford, Devizes, Trowbridge, and county of Wilts county of Hants 1 Brighton, Hastings, and Sussex 1 Greenwich, Deptford, Rochester, and Kent ... 1 Westminster and Marylehone 1

PROGRAMME OF BUSINESS.

Lambeth, Southwark, and Surrey 1

Tower Hamlets 1
City and Finsbury 1

Times have become highly favourable to the nnited actions of the people. The fundamental truths of sound government are recognised by increasing numbers. Those fundamental doctrines are: that the first business of the state is to provide for the welfare of the whole body of the people, giving preference to the living souls in the country over the splendours of rank, the accumulation of wealth the convenience of classes; that the land is the property of the whole nation that the taxation of the people can only be justified as the means of payment for work done in the service of the people.

To give effect to these doctines, it is necessary that the people should appoint their own managers. The deniers of that truth are diminishing in numbers, and the fear of Universal Suffrage is passing away. It was the vain attempt to resist the extension of the franchise which overthrew the Russell Cabinet. The middle classes are advocating a "Charter" imitated from our own. A movement of the people would now meet with little opposition. It would be welcomed. Political leaders find that they cannot do without the people. Of recent middle-class agitations, although directed against the weakest of governments, not one has succeeded. The power of the people alone can extricate ourpolitical system from the dead lock of conflicting efforts.

The burthen of taxation must be removed from the shoulders of the working classes. The time is favourable: all our larger taxes are condemned by public opinion. The income tax is condemned by the middle-class, the professional class, the agricultural class, and by the leaders of the three political parties competing for power; the window tax is marked for abolition; the paper tax, the soap tax, and many others. Public opinion is obstinately demanding sweeping concession which would amount to an immense deficiency, a break down of revenue. By their united action, the people can hasten that crisis.

We must have labour law reform. While there is food and wealth in the country, every free man has a right to subsistence in return for labour. Workers have as much right to combine for their own interest as employers. The greatest change that has come over the mind and hearts of the English community through all classes, is the conviction that the mass of the people, especially the productive classes, is in a state which casts shame upon wealth which can withhold a fair return for labour, or suffer poverty so abject.

To remove our whole political and social system from its precarious and debased condition;—to replace it on the solid foundation of justice, are the only guarantees for national peace. To the cultivators of the land we say, that by restoring justice to the relations of labour and land, we save them from confusion and disaster; to the capitalist, that just labour laws are the sole instrument of preventing social anarchy, of rendering industry productive, and of redeeming trade from the bankruptcy which ss eating into every part of it. To the army itself, while working officers are denies just promotion, and other soldiers are denied the rights of citizenship, the people will appear as friends, not enemies; for the people insist on justice to all.

With these views, we shall be prepared to submit

for the consideration of the National Convention, the following.

PLAN FOR FUTURE ACTION for the National Charter Association :-

1-The enactment of the People's Charter, in all its integrity.

2-A thorough re-construction of our system of taxation.

3-A thorough reform of the labour laws.

4-Also the means of rendering our movement more efficient, by giving it a greater extension, by directing our agitation, so as to take every advantage of the movements of the day, by the systematic issue of tracts, and by carrying onr activity into the slumbering districts of the factory and the and mine, into the unvisited districts of agriculture.

The Conference will be invited to consider a systematic method of carrying forward the extended agitation, and give expression to the wishes and

wants of the people, namely-

1-The enactment of the People's Charter. 2-Revision of the whole system of taxation, so as to release the poor entirely from its weight; remove it altogether from labouring industry; relieve the operations of trade, and place the whole burthen where it can be placed with the most justice and the least mischief.

3-A plan for placing the National Debt nnder a course of liquidation, gradual and equitable but to

commence forthwith.

4-A reconstruction of the law called the Poor Law, rendering it an instrument for securing subsistence to every able bodied man who will work.

5-A total revisiou of the laws of partnership; throwing all its conveniences open to the working man, and enabling him to combine his industry with that of his fellows.

6-A thorough revision and amendment of the Combination Laws, Contract Laws, and all laws controlling the relation of employer and employed.

7-A re-organisation of the army, restoring to every soldier the rights of citizenship, securing to the private; comfort in service and a free discharge. and to the officer, just promotion.

The Conference will be invited to recommend series of great public meetings in rapid succession, to consider the grievances enumerated above; each grievance to be the subject of discussion at simultaneous meetings under the advice of the Executive Committee.

An improved organisation for the National Charter Association will also be submitted to the Conference, for the purpose of rendering its action more prompt and efficient.

Meanwhile, with a wiew to a possible dissolution of Parliament, localities should enable their delegates to state what boronghs might be contested in the Chartist interest, and a plan of action be propounded, to render the contest successful.

Signed on behalf of the Committee, JOHN ARNOTT. General Secretary.

A DISTINCTION MAKING ALL THE DIFFERENCE. At a meeting of the Dundee police rate-payers it was found necessary to divide the house in order to ascertain on which side the majority lay-a show of hands having left the matter doubtful. A division accordingly took place, and on the one side stood arrayed the portly ten-pounders, while on the other the less corpulent phalanx of small voters. Each party still contended for the victory, and the following dialogue occurred betwixt a well-fed manufacturer and an attenuated weaver, who stood confronting each other on the boundary line. Manufacturer—"I say we are the majority." Weaver—"I say you are not." Manufacturer—"Just look to the space that we cover-it is much more than the half of the room." Weaver—"Very possibly it is; but that's not because there's more of you, but because you've got bigger bellies !- Dundee Courier.

Dream, O youth-dream manfully and nobly, and thy dreams will be prophets!—Bu'wer.

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FRIEND OF THE PROPER.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY. FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 15.7

SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1851.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

SLAVERY OF THE PRESS.

TYRANTS are the sworn foes of Knowledge. Wherever there is Oppression of any kind, it will be found that the oppressors have recourse to every available means to shut out the light of knowledge, and perpetuate the existence of Ignorance. The Autocrat of Russia and the Republican (?) slave-owner of Carolina are alike the enemies of knowledge. The only information permitted to be diffused amongst the serfs of Russia is thelying creed that the Tzar is the representative of God, and that to his absolute will millions must bow as they would to the decrees of Omnipotence. In the slave states of America the most atrocious laws command the perpetuation of negro ignorance. The Autoerat pretends that he is a god upon earth; that he, only, has the right to command, and that it is the duty of the millions over whom he rules to obey. The sham-republican pretends that by the colour of his skin he is privileged to monopolise all the blessings of freedom, and licensed by Nature to use and abuse his fellow creature as a mere beast of burden. Both tyrants confess their consciousness of the falsehood of their arrogant pretensions, when they forbid the victims of their usurpation to eat of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. Did the Russian despot and the "free and enlightened" citizen of America believe in the lie on which they base their "right divine" to doom their fellow creatures to slavery, they would welcome the progress of knowledge, certain that the more intelligent their slaves became the more they would appreciate the distinction of master and bondman, and the more fervently they would adore their heaven-appointed rulers. But well the tyrant-whether autocrat or shamrepublican-is aware that the slave, once freed from mental darkness, would spurn the rule of his oppressor, and die rather than continue to wear the chains of bondage. Hence laws and censers, the knout and the whip, Siberia and the executioner, to extinguish the vain. The ordinances of CHARLES the TENTH

light of knowledge, and conserve the reign of | provoked a Revolution and caused the expulman-erushing despotism.

It is the same all the world over. The l'ope of Rome and the King of Naples renew the unholy compact seen by LAMENNAIS in his Vision of the Seven Kings. Having drank of the blood of the people, the holy hypocrite and royal assassin swear to make war upon science and thought; "for (say they) science teaches that which it is not good for us that man should know, and thought is ever ready to kick against authority." In pursuance of this unholy compact between prince and priest, a ban is placed upon all writings supposed to be inimical to spiritual and temporal tyranny. And this proscription extends to all such works, whether nativo or foreign, modern or ancient. SOPHOCLES and SHAKSPERE, DANTE and MILTON, GIBBON and SISMONDI, LUCIAN and VOLTAIRE, GOETHE and BYRON are all included in one anathema. With the exception of the "official organs" of the brutal governments, not a newspaper is permitted to exist. Any attempt to distribute foreign journals or other publications printed in foreign countries, always excepting the official organs of Austria, is punished with death by the Butcher RADETZKY. Throughout Italy Terror is triumphant, and Knowledge is in chains.

The Revolution of 1848 abolished the Censorship in Germany, but in that country the liberty of the Press has no more existence at this moment than it had before the Revolution. It is true that every new law on the Press poinpously sets forth the abolition of the Censorship; but this announcement is the invariable prelude to a series of most tyrannical "regulations," directed against books and all kinds of publications, as well as newspapers. With a free Press, the present institutions of Germany could not maintain a month's existence. Hence kings, bureaucrats, and military brigands conspire to hold the Press in bondage, and prevent the march of Free Thought.

The press is no more free in Republican France. Numerous and courageous efforts have been made by the people of that country to establish the liberty of journalism; but in

sion of that king from the soil of France. But scarcely was Louis Philippe seated on the throne of the barricades, when he commenced a crusade against the popular journals, which he continued throughout his reign. Revolution of February proclaimed the absolute freedom of the press; but that freedom was of short duration. The most advanced journals were suppressed by brute force, first by CAVAIGNAC and again by President Buo-NAPARTE. The Reforme, the Democratie Pacifique, the Peuple, &c., were crushed under the pressure of enormous fines, and sentences of incarceration by which the editors, &c., were doomed to numberless years of imprisonment. The Constitution of 1848 de-elares the absolute liberty of the Press, but that declaration is a mockery. By decrees and laws the legislative assemblies have utterly annihilated the freedom so explicitly set forth in the text of the Constitution. Such Republican journals as continue in existence, are exposed to the most harrassing and ruinous persecution, and may be considered to exist only by sufferance of the police. The article from the Morning Chronicle, given in the next page, vividly exhibits the oppression to which French journalists are subjected; at least, those who are honest enough to rank themselves on the side of the people, and against the traitors who for the time being, are the masters of the Republic. That those traitors should imitate Louis Philippe, by reducing the celebrated Professor Mi-CHELET to silence, will surprise no one. Enemies of a free press, they are not less enemies to free speech. MICHELET'S lectures are "dangerous"—they endanger the supremacy of the Jesuits and Royalists—therefore he must be crushed, or, at least, gagged. The sham-Republican rulers agree with King Bomba and the Pope, that science and thought must be kept in subjection. If the man of genius will prostitute his powers to the service of the rich, he shall be patronised: but if his talents are devoted to the cause of the people, he shall suffer condemnation and persecution. In France, as in Italy, the oppressors of the people are banded together to make war upon Knowledge.

The end obtained by censorships and arbi-

tary laws on the continent is secured in this country by fiscal imposts and regulations. Men of the people can find neither the securities required from all newspaper proprietors, nor the capital necessary to meet the heavy expenses consequent upon the operation of the taxes on knowledge. Hence the whole of the daily papers, and all but some two or three of the weekly papers, are the property of mere speculators whose one aim is to make money. Published at a price which places them beyond the reach of the great body of the People, the daily papers are devoted to the service of their patrons the wealthy and the privileged. The weekly papers for the most part are mere ca-terers of "news," registers of "offences, accidents, and occurrences;" and although generally what is termed "liberal" in their politics are-with the exceptions above alluded to-as really hostile to true Democracy as their daily contemporaries. The newspaper press, which should have been the great redresser of grievances is itself the monster-nuisance of the time, and the great obstacle to the progress of democratic reform.

Of all reforms short of the establishment of Universal Suffrage the most valuable would be the reform of the Press; a reform to be obtained only by the abolition of the Taxes on Knowledge. The abrogation of those Taxes would break up the monopoly of the existing daily papers. New journals would start into existence, and while there would be no lack of liberal counterfeits it is only reasonable to anticipate that true Democracy. would have its exponents and champions. This subject is of great importance and must be examined in all its bearings. For the present I conclude by calling upon the readers of the Friend of the People to give their hearty adhesion to the movement for THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

PERSECUTION OF THE PRESS IN FRANCE.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

Several instances have occurred within the last six months in which newspapers that had existed for years have been necessarily abandoned under the accumulated fines, imprisonments and penalties which the new law has enabled the Procurer-General to heap upon them. A few months ago the editor of the Democratic Pacifique, having mentioned that Louis Napoleon had subscribed 50,000 francs to the Cites ournières, but had neglected or forgetten to pay his subscription, was sentenced to pay a fine of 2,000 francs, and to be imprisoned for a year. At the present moment the Evenement is under prosecution for 22,000 francs, for a penalty said to have been incurred by its publishing a collection of its feuilletons as a premium to its new subscribers; although every newspaper in Paris has for years done the same without pay-ing any stamp, and although there is nothing in the law which says that such collections should pay the stamp duty. The convenient law that declares it an offence in an aditor "to incite the hatred of citizens the one against the other," applies to almost every controversial article, and the unfortunate Republican who is brought forward on this vague charge is sure to find no mercy either from court or jury. . A Republican paper called the Vote Universal, edited by several of the ultra-Republican representatives; and on this account acquired at once considerable importance. From its very first appearance it was pounced upon by the Procurer-General. Phough the paper was conducted with more than ordinary care not a week passed

that it was not seized. Every seizure was followed by a prosecution by M. Suin, and every prosecution, as a matter of cours, by a conviction, which led to the usual results—fine and imprisonment. The last time it was seized was the 20th of last month. The article impugned was one signed by a M. Robia, entitled "Aux Paysans—Etwics politiques et sociales;" and for its publication both M. Robia, the author of the article, aud M. Andre, the gerant of the paper, were summoned, on the 27th, before the Court of Assizes of the Seine. The charge against these persons was the usual one, of inciting "citizens to hatred and contempt the one against the other," and thereby troubling public tranquility; and the following are the passages incriminated by M. Suin, the Advocate-General. I give them at length:—

"The people of the country are misunderstood and calumniated. . . Why are the peasants not socialists in all the acceptations of the wordthat is to say, men capable of defining scientifically the reasons which induce them to embrace the new religion? Because they are ignorant. But that ignorance, which causes all the apparent jubiliation of the reactionaries—that ignorance which they imprudently keep up with such care, would frighten them if they reflected for one instant how fatal it might be to them. No, the peasants are not the disciples of any sect of socialists. For the most part they neither know the doctrines of Louis Blane, nor of Proudhom, nor of Cabet, Pierre Leroux and the others. How often during my residence in the country have the proletaries, the most devoted to the democratic cause, demanded of me with curiosity to explain to them what socialism was. They said 'we are Republicans; we would willingly be Socialists if that would add to our happiness; but we should like to have explained to us how Socialism will realize our dear hopes.' Well, in this ignorance is the germ of deplorable catastrophes; perhaps because for want of civilizing instruction, of a formula to express clearly what they feel, and what they desire, the peasants have in their hearts an instinctive, profound, and inveterate hatred of the oppression which weighs upon them; a hatred which increases every day in proportion to the vexations of which they are made the objects, and the tyranny of which they are the victims. If I was not afraid of angering M. Suin, I would tell him what that hatred will produce, sooner or later. if those whom he treats as enemies do not succeed in preventing the consequences, by making the light penetrate into these country places in spite of those who imprudently endeavour to smother it. You do not believe in that moral and happy posikion of the age; you cannot believe in it, for the truth does not reach you; you seek, but do find it, because you fear it. How could you know it by following the system which you have adopted? If it is manifest, you prosecute it! Therefore, it was ceals itself, for it suspects you, and because every one who serves and every one who approaches you deceives you, you conclude from that that the feeling of the country is greatly exaggerated. If by chance, in your walks beyond your domains, you happen to speak to a peasant, you are surprised to find his ideas in conformity with yours, and docile to your exhortations. But hardly have you turned when the peasant murmurs between his teeth, 'Ah, you wish me talk, do you? I shall do so oftener than I shall tell you what I think.' The best way to make the peasants listen and to enlighten them is to speak to them simply about their daily interests, and those things which they see at home, and of those abuses of which they are the victims. It is of great importance to do so in clear and precise terms, by means of formula easily understood and of striking examples. 'That is what' I shall now attempt keeping principally to; doing justice to the errors propagated and the nonsense circulated in the country parts. The peasants demand a sort of extechism of republican scriptures, something written expressly for them, which will enlighten them on all the questions of the moment. So many contradictory stories have

been told them, they have been deceived by so many calumnies, that I can understand their anxiety to know the truth respecting the men and things of the epoch. I therefore am going to set down a sort of landmark, which may aid abler persons who will complete this unfinished work. The most persevering and most ingeniously imagined calumny is that which consists in representing to them the workmen of the town as brigands, republicans, communists, sharers of property. You are now aware, good friends, that such an assertion is untrue, but you do not render an account to yourselves of the motives which lead the Royalist to caluminate to you your brothers in the towns with such determination. Their system of tactics would not be a mystery to you were you aware of their famous motto—' To divide in order to govern'—the workmon being somewhat better informed than you, desire to see and judge for themselves. They have been so often deceived, that they no longer place trust, like you, in words. want acts! and the Royalists, not being able to lead them as they desire, have imagined the plan of persuading you that they are your enemies; pillagers, wanting to take your property and your wives, and to share all amongst themselves. It is just as if any one were to say to the workmen of the towns that you have a design to seize on their tools and their wives. What, I ask you, could you do with them? Consequently, an attempt is made to heat your imaginations against chimerical enemies with a heap of nonsense similar to that of those fellows who try sometimes in sport to persuade you that you have some animal or other on the stomach. You look down to see what it is, and then give you a fillip on the nose. Such tricks as these cannot be any longer played on the workmen of the town; and thence springs the rage of the re-actionists You know as well as I do what sort of people are your great landed proprietors, who traverse your communes on horseback or in their carriage, in company with fine ladies in riding-habits. and who hunt the whole day long over their imnense estates. All these folks detest the republicans and the socialists, whom they affirm to want to share all property amongst themselves. Well, ask these persons how and where the most of them have obtained their fortune. Some jobbed at the Bourse, when the Cossacks invaded France; others had a good slice of the miliard voted to emigrants. One became rich under Louis Philippe in speculating in shares, or taking part in railway enterprises, in selling his votes and interest; another in speculating in men's consciences, or in state contracts or in state loans. All these honest Royalists love the Bourbons or the Orleans family. They regret the fallen lines, and long for their return, as is easy to be conceived. But you, who had nothing of the miliard, or of royal favour, or of the result of shameful speculations in the last reigu, have not the same reasons to love the monarchy. Most certainly, if there are any persons who want to share the general property of all, it is these folks. They live by your misery. They have had the miliard which you paid, as well as the heavy taxes which defrayed the expenses of the court, of the nobility, and of all those places possessed by these sluggards, who assign to themselves, each for a single year, salaries sufficient to support fifty families! But up to the present time what have the workmen shared with you? Only the wretchedness which kills you one after another-nothing else; which, however, does not prevent those persons who are themselves honest from denominating them as robbers, pillagers, seizers on property, Reds.

This is the article for which the Vote Universal was prosecuted, on the charge of exciting the citizens to hatred against each other. The Paris jury found no difficulty in finding the editor and gerusal guilty, and the jadgment of the merciful court was as follows:—

"In virtue of articles 6 and 7 of the decree of

11th August, 1848, article 15 of the law of 27th July, 1849, article 10 of the law of the 9th June, 1849, and 26 of the law of the 26th May, 1849; considering that by the decisious of the 4th and 23rd December last, the journal Le Vote Universal has already been condemned for a similar offence, condemns P. M. André to a year's imprisonment and a fine of 8,000f., and C. Robin to six months' imprisonment and a fine of 1,000f.; orders the journal to be suspended during a month; condemns the accused to the expenses; orders the numbers seized to be destroyed; and, should the fines and expenses not be paid, orders that the parties be imprisoned for a farther period of two years.'

THE CRIMES AND FRAUDS OF PRIESTS.

[NOTICES OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.]
THE Literary and Scientific Institution, John Street, Tottenham Court Road, has beeome celebrated for the Sunday evening lectures thereat delivered. Amongst the popular orators who draw erowded audiences to that Temple of Free Opinion, there has lately figured a Mr. Samuel Phillips Day, "formerly a Monk of the Order of the Presentation," now by the grace of Free Inquiry, one of the band of men who dare think for themselves, and who, seeing through the frauds of Priestoraft are honest enough to proclaim their sentiments to the multitude. Two of the lectures or "orations" delivered by Mr. Day and the above-named Institution, bave been recently published. One is entitled, Romanism the Religion of Terror;" the other "Sects and Sectaries." For earnestness and plain speaking in exposing chicanery and cruelty, and vindicating the freedom of the Human Mind, these "Orations" will commend themselves to all friends to Progress. We give the following ex-

"When Philip of Spain was allied to Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II. of France, he could devise no better spectacle wherewith to regale his youthful bride and queen than what is called an Auto da Fe. The prisons of the Inquisition were searched, and a certain number of victims produced. On that memorable occasion the seat of the chief inquisitor was elevated above those oecupied by the king and queen of Spain-an emblem not easily mistakeable. At length the mournful procession advanced, with solenm step and slow, bearing the standard of Dominie in the van; and so dense was the crowd, that many of the condemned passed close to the chair of state, where sat, in all the glistening pomp of noralty, the regal bride. Among the rest was one whose peerless charms far excelled the courtly pageantry that surrounded her. in years, of seraphic beauty, with heaven-lit eyo, and modest, pensive aspect; her raven tresses, falling on her bosom in lovely negligence, half concealed the majesty of her form, as well as the deep emotions her soul's anguish painted on her checks. She was a Jewess! Scareely arrived at full bloom, the cankering worm was preying on the fair flower, and threatenng, it with speedy dissolution. There was a melaneholy in her bearing which discovered the agony of her heart. She halted as she passed before the throne of the female sovereign, and thinking that sympathy for her sex would ereate pity for her wretchedness; shrieked out in the fervent cloquence of grief,—'Mercy, mercy! great queen. I am about to be burned alive for professing the only religion I was ever taught. Save me for the love of God!' The young bride was deeply affected by a scene so tragically touching. She glanced at the king, and then at the chief in. quisitor; but felt it were vain to intercede for her release. The procession moved on. The sacrifice was completed. And Elizabeth de-clared in her dying hour, that she heard dis-tinctly ringing in her ears the screams of the burning Jewess, - 'Misericordia por amor di Dios!"

"It is notorious that when the news of the massacre perpetrated on St. Bartholomew's day Paris, in 1572, reached Rome, public rejoicings were at once made; and not only there, but throughout papal Europe, this act was hailed by national festivities, discharges of artillery, ringing of bells, and bonfires. Both Fleury and Mezeray relate that Gregory XIII. went in state to the church of St. Louis to return God thanks for so happy a result, and offered up a solemn mass, and had the Te Deum enaunted on the occasion. 'In the evening,' writes another historian, 'fireworks were discharged at Adrian's Mole in token of the public rejoicing; fires were kindled everywhere in the streets, and nothing was omitted which usually took place at all the greatest victories of the church.' Muretius, who was appointed to deliver an oration in presence of the pope on the subject of the massacre, observed that 'the river Seine rolled on with greater majesty after having received the carcasses of the murdered heretics.' At the same time tho pope dispatched Cardinal Fabius Ursinus upon a special embassy to the king of France, thanking 'the eldest son of the Church' for his exertions in the extirpation of hercsy. In Spain, the same deed was panegyrised in the presence of Philip II., who had a play acted under the title of 'The Triumph of the Church Militant.' A bull was also issued for the eclebration of a jubilee throughout the kingdom of France on December 7, 1572, as a day of great joy for the success of the massaere. But lest these acts should not be sufficient evidence of the complacency with which the Church regarded this terrible event, the pope positively had large paintings made, illustrating the dreadful scene, which, although much defaced, are still to be seen at Rome. Medals were also struck in commemoration of the Bartholomew butchery, which bore a device represening the destroying angel, with a cross in one hand, a sword in the other, and the unfortunate victims agonising and dying at his feet. A friend of my own, who was in Rome some few years ago, purchased two of these medals at the mint, one in bronze, and the other in silver." *

"' Opinion in good men, says Milton, 'is but knowledge in the making, and England's poet has enunciated a grave and weighty truth. With modern sectaries, for the most part, the case is different. They are governed, not by opinion, but by prejudice; they stand up, not for prineiple, but for playthings. Consequently, the growth of truth, and the world's advancement, owe nothing to them; rather, they are the drags which impede the chariot wheels of progress in their glorious eareer. The sooner we get rid of them, the better. Creeds and confessions, articles of faith and sacraments, with fifty things beside, are dubbed 'Christianity;' and men fight, and throw dirt in each other's eyos, about these! Some stand up for Calvinism, others for Armenianism; some for Episcopacy, others for Presbyterianism; some for Independency, others for Methodism; some will have a black gown in the ministration of religion, others a white gown, and some no gown at all: and whilst each party fights for straws, and banters for trifles, the spirit of the Christian religion is overlooked. ghosts of the middle ages haunts us even in the daylight of the ninoteenth century; and those acts of intolerance which then characterized the reigns of Christian emporors are again perpetrated, and with scarcely less turpitude, in our own times. Truly observes Sydney Smith: 'Nothing dies so hard, and rallies so often as intolerance."

These "Orations'" are published by Mr. True-

These "Orations'" are published by Mr. True-love, 22, John Street, Tottenham Court Road; and may be had of Mr. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

The March number of the "The Free Inquirer,"—Edited by G. R. Vinc, and published by Watson,—contains several interesting articles on

theological questions. From some sensible observation on "The Catholic Controversy," we extract the following:—

"A few short years since, the Roman Catholics of this country laboured under very severe and unjust restrictions; they have since been permitted the fullest exercise of their faith, and all posts of honour and emoluments have been thrown open to them; they have, in fact, been placed on the same footing as the Protestant Dissenters, and what has been the result? Have they joined the Dissenters in a common demand for a further measure of justico—the repeal of church and state? No; but they seek to overceome the Church of England, and establish a still more oppressive theological system. We have no affection for our present state church, we regard it as the worst feature of the British constitution, and we are therefore the more unwilling to allow of the growth and formation of another and greater iniquity.

"But, say the sentimental apologists for the Roman Catholic aggression, we have no reason to fear the results of this silly scheme, and they wax right cloquent about Angle-Saxon intelligence and British thought. We have every faith in the ultimate triumph of truth, out we cannot, nevertheless, avoid an apprehension that the extension of Romanism amongst the uneducated classes of this country will be a fertile source of religious animosity and angry conflict. That the war of faith and the struggle of each church for political supremacy will have the effect of retarding general reform, and of postponing the consideration of those more vital questions to which the good men of the present generation have been so long and earnestly striving to draw the public mind."

USURPATIONS OF THE PAPACY.

FATHER GAVAZZI, in his ninth oration, laid down the doctrine, or rather fact, that in the primitive church, the bishops and clergy were elected by the assembled faithful—and elted the well-known contemporary instances of Ambrose in the Latin and Augustin in the African church, who were elected to the episcopal functions (A.D. 395), quite irrespective of the Roman bishop; himself equally dependent for his station upon the popular suffrage.

"How were the Roman bishops created? not a whit otherwise than their brethren throughout the rest of the Roman empire. The faithful met in crypts and catacombs, and the comprehensive conclave was co-extensive with the whole body of believers in the imperial city. Silvester I. in 330 marked the first years of emancipated Christianity by a solemn enactment, that such should ever be the elective franchise regulating that bishopric to which the whole Roman empire naturally yielded deference and precedency. Yet, a few centuries later, we find Gregory V., the nominee of a German monarch, ousting the popular incumbent, John XVI., cutting off his nose and ears, and parading him on a donkcy through the streets. Hildebrand next appears, like the Earl of Warwick, to make and unmake popes until it suited him to seize the mitre himself, and trample upon the rights of empire, episcopaey, and universal humanity. With Innocent III., that ferocious autocrat, the close corporation of cardinals becomes consolidated, and wrests the nomination of popes equally from emperors and the people; but schisms and strife for the tiara are not abated by the new arrangement, but made chronic and inveterate; the imputed working of the Holy Spirit in electioneering tactics becomes more visibly the paltry handiwork of intrigue and cabal. Thirty contests disgrace a single century; popes and anti-popes wage sanguinary battles, and lay seige to or are besieged by each other; the batteringram decides the possession of infallibility; Peter de Luna suffers eelipse; Bouiface VIII. foroibly deposes Celestin V. in the face of scandalised Europe; the council of Constance demolishes

without ceremony two rival pretenders, to erect a pillar of truth, of a composite order, in Martin V. of the house of Colonna. So varied are the influences brought to bear on the production of this impersonation of the Holy Spirit, that skipping over intermediate manacuvres, and coming down to our own times, the elections of Leo XII., Pius VIII., and Gregory XIV., were all three the work of Cardinal Albani, a layman unordained, but paramount in the conclave; Rossi upset the chances of Lambruschini, just as similar generalship among yourselves defeats the hopes of Stanley, Disraeli, or Graham; and when Pio Nono abdicates, as the Times will have it, if Wiseman plays the game of Austria and the Czarso as to damago England effectually, the man will get his wages, and another Nicholas, of English origin, may mount the throne of Breakspear.

"Thus was the wholo body of Christiaus swindled out of their birthright; their episcopacy has become the property and tool of secular power; bull-created bishops replace the elect of the faithful-and what have been, what are now the results? Ask Switzerland, where a foreign-appointed episcopacy lacerates the bowelsof the land, creates intestine broils, and maddens the ignorant cantons into a frenzy of Sunderbund rebellion. Ask Piedmont, where the outlaw and outcast, Franzoni, has left behind him mitred fellowlabourers, still busy in the retrograde cause of obscurantism and treason. Ask Naples, where cringing and courtier bishops bless the bigot bombardatore, and keep the dark deposit of ignorance, vice, and brutality, in its dismal integrity; aye, safe from the printing-press, the spelling-book, or the Gospel. Ask Spain, whose downward declivity and immedicable decrepitude results not only from what her bishops did, but from what they have left undone. Ask Poland, where the Roman court has handed over its consecrated prelates to swell the ranks of Russian slave-drivers and Austrian spies. And, finally, ask England, into whose peaceful precincts twelve mitres have been flung from Rome, sowing broad-cast her ve-nomous seed, whose rapid harvest is already reaped in rancorous discord."

The Father then touched upon the position of the parochial clergy, and showed how the third council of Carthage, in 397, as well as the third held at Orleans in 583, had required the concurrence and acceptance of the flock in the appointment of pastors. In the sacramentary of the great Gregory, no priest could be ordained without the publication of banns, such as used now-adays for marriage; and the people were called on to olject if the candidate were objectionable. He described the degraded condition of the Italian priesthood, and drew a ludicrous picture of the amazement which would spread in Rome on receipt from a newly-appointed Euglish "Archicken of Tractages". bishop of Trastevere," of such a rigmarole fr m Ludgate, Bishopsgate, or Billingsgate, as the famous Flaminian document despatch from a gate of the Papal city. For two hours he spoke with a fervour and flow of eloquence, says the reporter, which baffles all attempt of description.

THE WAY TO SERVE THE POPE'S BULL, -A Gash auld Cunninghame farmer, not much awake to the recent doings of Popery, while traversing his lands lately, happened to fall in with a young sportsman gun in hand, and getting into conversation, the old fellow enquired, "What was the meaning o' this Papal Bull that there was sae mickle nise about in the kintra?" "O" said the youth, "it means that the Pope intends sending forth a Bull with mighty sharp horns to 'stick' the Protestant population. "Hech" quo' the old gent, "gin he comes my gait, I'se warrant I'se no sparc him, for I hae twa guid bull dogs chained at hame, gin I waur to let loose would sune tak him by the nose and whumble him on the braid o' his back as they hae dune before, tae as big a bull—ay! an' wi as sharp horns as he'll hac, I'm thinkin'."—Ayr Observer.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

BIRTHDAY OF ROBESPIERRE.—We are informed that the BIRTHDAY OF ROBESPIERRE.—We are informed that the Fraternal Democrats will hold a grand festival at the Institution, John-street, Tottenham Court Road, on Tuesday evening. April 8th, to commemorate the birth of "MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE the Incorruptible." An "MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE the Incorruptible." An early application should be made for tickets to the Committee, or the editor of the Friend of the People. The profits will be given to the Refugees at Liverpool.

THE RULES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS shall be reprinted in our next number.

POLISH REFUGEES.—We have received for the Poles at Turnmill-street, from T. Sharples Is.; R. Mills, 2s.

"Servo," and H. A. Ivory.—In type, and shall appear in No. 16.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE

SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1851.

THE REFUGEES AT LIVERPOOL.

HONOUR to the good and true men of Liverpool! Nobly have they vindicated their character for humanity, and testified their devotion to the sublime principle of Fraternity. By their noble energy they have rescued our brothers, the exiles, from the doom of transportation from Europe. If the friends of the good cause in other places only exhibit the

like spirit all will be well.

As usual the base press-gang have been busy calumniating the men who have interested themselves in behalf of the refugees. The Liverpool Mercury announced that some Chartists from London had boarded the vessel on her arrival in the Mersey, and to further their own designs had advised the refugees to remain in England. On this fiction was founded a variety of hints, rumours, and suspicions of a "Chartist conspiracy," &c. It is true the vessel was boarded on her arrival in the river by a leading member of the Democratic emigration, in company with two or three Liverpool friends. They were but just in time to save the refugees from "falling into the hands of the Philistines," as sundry police officials, together with certain philanthropic gentlemen who had "taken the job" of shipping the exiles to America, also boarded the vessel at the same time. Then commenced a contention between the real and the sham friends of the refugees, which was at length decided by the voice of the people in favour of our brothers remaining in England. On the evening of March the 10th a great public meeting was held to ascertain the wishes of the exiles, and to memorialise the Government to grant them some support in the event of their wishing to remain in England. The refugees were received with a hurricane of enthusiasm; a reception which must have been most grateful to their feelings in spite of their ignorance of the language of their English friends. A person who is on very intimate terms with the officials of the town proposed an amendment to one of the resolutions, to the effect that for their own benefit the refugees should be sent to America. But in a meeting of two thousand five hundred persons, at the very least, only three hands were held up for the amendment! It is reported that the magistrates and other gentlemen were surprised at the decision of the meeting. Surprised at the brotherly feeling of the people!

The Times announcing that the "poor misguided exiles" have refused the liberal offer of the Government to convey them to America, adds that "their resources will

soon be exhausted, and their only alternative will then be to beg. Already they have been informed that the aid by which they have been supported since their arrival here has been withdrawn, and those who desire to remain at the Emigrants' Home will do so on their own responsibility." So much for official philanthropy! A friend in Liverpool to whom I am indebted for the above information respecting the meeting, &c., confirms the statement in the Times that the refugees are to be turned out of the Emigrants' Home, but adds that the Liverpool Committee are engaged in finding them temporary shelter and support.

The refugees consist of 247 Poles, 10 Hungarians, 3 Germans, 1 Italian, and 1 Bohemian. Our correspondent states that twelve (chiefly Hungarians we believe) have consented to go to America, two have gone to France, and oue to Dublin. It is probable that some may obtain employment in Liverpool, and a few in Mauchester, but the majority may be expected to seek refuge in

London.

Here then are two hundred and forty-seven men thrown upon the benevolence of the British people. The burthen will be but trifling if shared generally by the multitude, who on many occasions have expressed their aspirations for the freedom and independence of Poland and Hungary. The number of "hands" turned out of a single mill in consequence of a factory strike usually exceeds and often doubles that of the refugees, yet such a number of turn-outs usually find no difficulty in prolonging a struggle during a number of weeks, because supported, more or less, by their fellow-workers. But that support is usually confined to the locality of the turn-out. The support we ask for the refugees should be rendered by the country at large. Surely that which can be done by a few hundred factory workers or weavers, may be accomplished by the thousands who feel an earnest sympathy for those martyrnations Poland and Hungary.

In the Times the exiles are denominated "the Huugarian refugees," but as stated above the great bulk of them are Poles. They are the last remnant of that Polish Legion which under the command of General WYSOCKI fought so bravely in the Hungarian struggle against Austria and Russia. the treason of Görger brought that struggle to a sudden and disastrous conclusion, the Polish Legion accompanied Kossuth and the Hungarian government across the frontier into Turkey. At that time the Legion mustered 1,034 fighting men-officers and pri-

vates.

The reduction of their number is owing: Partly to the circumstance, that availing themselves of the opportunity offered by the Turkish Government to convey them to the west of Europe, 120 left Turkey for Southampton about twelve months ago; on their arrival at that port, they divided iuto two parties, one came to London and the other proceeded to America;

Partly to the intrigues, false promises, and insidious inducements unsparingly employed by the diplomatic agents of Russia and Austria, and zealously supported by the reactionists, who all conspired to urge their victims to yield themselves up to the tender mercies of their old tyrants. A considerable number were offered a sum of at first 250,

and then 500 piastres (about £2 9s. 7d.—£4 19s. 2d.) under cover of enabling them to disperse in the Ottoman empire in search of work or settlement. Not perceiving the snare, a great number accepted the offer, but after having expended the small sum in unsuccessful efforts to obtain employment, they found themselves reduced to decide between individual beggary, or surrender to their enemies. Those who chose the latter alternative were incorporated into the Austrian army, or expatriated to Siberia or the Caucasus, in direct violation of the pledges given by their heartiess seducers.

Thus was the Legion reduced from 1,034 to 233. The 29 additional emigrants joined this remnant of the Legion at Constauti-

nopie.

These men, then, are the very pick and ilower of the Legion. Through all privations-even want of the common necessaries of life - they stood by each other in their captivity at Schumla, as they had stood by each other in the day of battle. No suffering, no temptation, could induce them to surrender to the euemies of their cause. For that cause they had left their homes and relatives, animated by the one glorious aim of frecing their unhappy country from the tyranny of the triuue spoliators. Having shared the perils of the unfortunate struggles in Gallicia and Posen, they hastened to the help of their Hungarian brethren. In fighting for Hungary, they fought against the oppressors of Poland. And when the conflict had terminated, it was the hope of renewing the war against the accursed enemies of their country that induced them to cliug to the Turkish soil while it was possible to do so. In Turkey they were nearest to Poland. When forced to leave that country in consequence of the intimidation exercised upon the Turkish Cabinet by the Austrian and Russian governments, it was the hope of again serving their country that led them to throw themselves upon the generous hospitalty of England in preference to sceking a home in America. In England they are still at least in Europe, and should their country demand their services, it will not be impossible, however difficult, for them to respond to the summons of Duty. Were they, on the contrary, in America, not one in twenty would have the means of returning to Europe, and, consequently, would be for ever lost to Poland.

The men of Liverpool have nobly decided that our brothers shall not be banished from Europe. That decision must be confirmed by the British democracy generally; not by mere words, but by deeds. Let Committees be everywhere formed, and subscriptions obtained to furnish the exiles with present food and shelter. Let employment be sought for them. And, lastly, let public meetings be convened to petition the House of Commons for a grant of money; at the same time the members of the House should be corresponded with and urged to support the petitions. Something more may be done. It is time that the British people demanded the liberation of Kossuth and his companions in captivity. Let that be one object of the suggested Public Meetings.

Democrats, Working Men of Great Britain, all who sympathise with Poland and Hungary, all who desire the overthrow of Tyranny and the Progress of Humanity, we beseech you covetousness of territory, or of glory, or of riches, is of all the sins the greatest, or at least the most is of all the sins the greatest, or at least the most is of all the sins the greatest, or at least the most in other nations would be stigmatized as great potential. Frogress of Humanity, we beseech you which obliges her to go on making herself power-when conquest's sake, or

to do your duty. We entreat you to prove your devotion to the sublime principle of Fraternity, by giving your utmost aid to the martyr-heroes, who while fighting for Poland and Hungary, have at the same time eombated for the freedom of all natious. Soldiers of Humanity, they have a right to the sympathy and brotherly help of all peoples.

STANISLAUS WORCELL, 44, Thanet Street, Burton Crescent, London.

Contributors of monies who may forward their subscriptions to the Editor of this publication, and who may desire to have their donations paid to some particular section of the refugees, will have their desire complied with. Subscriptions sent simply "for the Polish Refugees," will be understood as for those at Liverpool, and will accordingly be handed to the proper Committee.

THE HYPOCRITE OF NATIONS.

(From Fraser's Magazine.)

ENOLAND is the Hypocrite of Nations. aloof from the rest of the world, and resting on her virtue, her morality, and her magnanimity, she 'thanks God she is not as others are,' and looks down upon them with a lofty contempt. Each nation has its peculiar characteristic. With the Spaniard we associate the idea of musty pride; with the Italian, that of indolence; with the Frenchman, that of gasconade; with the German, that of dreamy mysticism. But there is not one of these that pretends to he above humanity. There is but one nation in the world that is supremely, ineffably, superhumanly moral, highminded, virtuous, and good. The narrow straits that separate our island from Continental Europe have some occult power over the national character. Four-and-twenty miles of salt water keep quarantino over continental wickedness, servo as a harrier between enthroned virtue and abandoned vice; while the distance across the Atlantic is too far to allow a clear vision of that distorted copy of British perfection and British pretensions, presented by our brethren and cousins of the New World. Were it not so, England might see some of those peculiar virtues on which she prides herself, there running to seed; she might also see what the national propensities become, when unrestrained hy that proverhial homage which vice pays to virtue. But as it is, she has no such corrective influence, and is left to the eternal contemplation of her own unapproachable goodness and superiority.

A pretext of high morality is necessary for every national act in England. The nation has well-nigh exhausted the armory of nohle motives. Old Rome was magnanimous; hut her magnanimity was of another kind. She had the instinct of conquest, and had no motive to disguise it. It was reserved to England to practise all the grand vices of Paganism, yet to invest them with a semblance of Christian virtues. England has no weaknesses: her very sins become divine self-sacifices: if she conquers, it is not for herself but for mankind: if she amasses riches and exhausts the world to feed her insatible thirst for gold, it is that she may set an example of the merit of industry to nations lost in the love of living and enjoying, and devoted to a barren worship of the heautiful. It is her mission, she has discovered, to show the rest of the world the spectacle of a pattern nation; and that she may succeed, she assumes the guise of every virtue, either of the soul or of the hody: so that if the world be not turned her way it will not be her fault. And if she be reminded that covetousness of territory, or of glory, or of riches, is of all the sins the greatest, or at least the most pernicious, she has but to lament that hard fate

ful, that she may have the more authority, and hetter be able to do her duty to mankind.

Our recent history is full of instances where England has thus succeeded in supporting her character as the model nation. Perhaps we may be going a little too far hack in referring to her disinterested position during the first fifteen years of the present century, when she was the life and soul of the coalitions against France. It is the peculiar privilege of our favoured nation that we are able to advance our own interests while devoting ourselves in so exemplary a manner to those of others, to promote our own aggrandizement while fulfilling our holy mission on helialf of mankind. Thus, it was our fortunate position to be sceuring our own little island from being overrun by the French, and at the same time that we were 'carning the thanks of mankind by delivering Europe from the yoke of Napoleon.' Virtue and prosperity went hand-in-hand on that occasion, as they have done on so many others. Latterly, too, even in the very days in which we write, our great journalists and public speakers claim for the British Nation the distinguished merit of having emancipated the Roman Catholics, solely out of devotion to the cause of civil and religious liberty. And, now that we are threatened with some natural consequences of that act, we by the mouths of our premiers, our prelates, and our other pamphleteers, make it a reproach to the Roman Catholies that our great sacrifices for the 'cause of civil and religious liberty,' should have met with so ungrateful a return. This illustrates the advantage of having good pretexts for our actions, of making virtue and interest ruin in couples; hecause, otherwise sarcastic foreigners might observe that the Emancipation Act was avowedly granted, in fear that the organized agitation of 1838 might result in a rebellion, or at least in a paralysis of government.

The passion for power and the lust of territory could scarcely he attributed with any decency to a people so emineutly moral and self-sacrificing as the English. If such a nation were to manifest an inordinate desire to keep up among the other nations of the world a terrorism under the name of 'influence;' if the intervention of 'good offices' were offered in every quarrel likely to weaken the strength of rival powers, every right-minded man would attribute it to a sense on the part of the rulers of England, that it was their duty to spread among other people the iuestimable blessings of the British system, to teach them how wrong and indecent is their undisguised, straightforward rascality; how much hetter than a fixed and intelligible system of government, hased on authority and regulated by the wants and character of the community, is the practice of those refined and jesuitical arts hy which the taxed and governed are made to believe that they and they only govern and tax.

Or, if such a nation had spent millions of treasure in conquering Pagan empires in the East, if it had enriched itself with the spoils of the sovereigns, and if the people of those realms were treated like slaves, and placed even in a worse social position than under their ancient rulers, it might he calculated that no man would be malicious or base enough to impute to that nation a vulgar lust of territory, if a prime minister could he found-himself the incarnation of the British character, and therefore in his time the elected dictator of the realm-who in full council of the nation could declare, with that solemnity and deference for the Divine will which are so grateful to a moral people, that in pursuing all this conquest, in appropriating all these riches, in dethroning all these sovereigns, in promoting treachery, rebellion, civil war, England was only fulfilling the destiny marked out for her by Providence-that of spreading the blessings of her civilization and her Christianity all over the Pagan world! When what in other nations would be stigmatized as great political offences, hecome transformed into apostolic even for self-defence, becomes only a mild coercion. for the better propagation of religion and good government-can it be wondered at that a nation so blessed by Heaven, and so provided with ministers in a state of grace, should rush on to the fruition of fresh conquests, to the spoiling of more sovereigns, the acquisition of still greater territory? No, it would be too great a sacrifice for so magnanimous a nation—for a nation bent even on making shipwreck of its own character for the good of mankind. How have the French nation suffered in the opinion of the world by neglect of that great precaution, that great moral duty, to preach peace before going to war! Had they availed themselves of it—had they abandoned their more bold and straightforward principle of action-then their unprincipled appropriation of Algeria might have been made to seem like a grand onward march in the cause of civilization, and they might even have defended their treachery towards Abd-cl-Kader, on the plca that they kept him in confinement in order the better to mend his manners! How disgraced would England have been by her conquests of Scinde and the Punjaub, it she had not commenced by a solemn proclamation that the line of her advance was defined for ever, and continued by writhing and groaning under the painful but inevitable necessity!

In matters of mere legislation, the same principle has been carried out with success. About five years since, England fulfilled one of the great duties of her politico-apostolic mission. She 'bestowed a great boon on mankind; she 'set the world a noble example of self-sacrifice: 'threw asido her defensive and offensive armour, and opened her arms to receive her brethren-the whole human race. Regardless of her interests, she made a holocaust of her revenues, and tried a great experiment in commercial legislation, all for the promotion of civilization. Ships and free trade were to finish all that even religion itself had left undone. Here was a noble position for a nation to occupy! What magnanimity! what confidence in the virtue, the justice, the responsive impulses of mankind! How much better for the interests of morality that the affair should have this aspect! How it would have looked if England, the model-nation, had avowed more sordid and calculating motives for this great legislative act! Happy in a minister who thoroughly knew and skilfully embodied the national character, we avoided the humiliating confession, that having maintained the monopoly of our manufacturers till we had stung other nations to protect their own nascent manufactures, there was no hope of regaining lost markets and obtaining new ones except by the means of free trade; we strove, by imposing that grand idea on the rest of the world, to make it dominate over the natural interests and instincts of man.

And now, when believing in our own superiority as manufacturers and workers in general, we wish to make it known to all the world, so that all may come to us, we once more stand forth as the apostles of grand and liberalizing ideas; we proclaim a grand congress of industry; we invite, in brotherly love, all the nations of the earth to come and exhibit their handicraft, so that the general buyer may see what we can do so well, while we know that what the others do so well, we, if oneo we see their work, can do so much better. Myriads are coming, fascinated by the granduer of our noble ideas. Would they have flocked, in their specimens of work and in person, if they had been plainly told our motives? No. Then see tho advantage of a good moral pretext.

(To be concluded in No 16.)

THE SUBLIME-An American writer closes an account of a Jenny Lind concert with saying, 'But I am at the bottom of my paper and I must stop in a state of excitement unparaleled since that of Adam, when he woke up one fine morning and saw Eve making the tea and getting breakfast in the back-yard of his country seat.'

THE COWARDLY CALUMNIATORS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE. My dear sir, -I can scarcely find language sufficiently strong to express the indignation I felt on reading, in your truly democratic little journal, an account of the assassin-like attacks that have been made on you, by a dastardly selfish crew of disappointed rascals, for the purpose of blasting your reputation and destroying your well-carned popularity. The infamous bill they caused to be distributed at the John-street meeting, surpasses everything I ever heard or read of for baseness, villany-deep double-dyed villany. They surely can go no further. But, oh! how the devils must have writhed when they felt the blow aimed at you, the blow that was intended to be fatal, recoil with redoubled force on their Theymay go on, my dear sir, reown heads. iterating their charges against you of recommending "private assassination" till their hearts ache, but it will only have the effect of raising you higher in the estimation of all honest and true democrats. The straight-forward, manly course, you have hitherto pursued, I take as a guarantee for the future. What, I would like to know, do these contemptible fellows take the present body of Chartists to be ? Did they dream that, even supposing they could have succeeded in their villanous attempt at destroying you, that, therefore, they could have succeeding in inducing us to join them in a retrogressive march for the "little charter!" If so, they would soon have discovered their mistake. It may be as well to inform them that the men engaged in the movement have long since thrown away their swaddling clothes, and stand erect in all the dignity of manhood, quite capable of thinking for themselves, and are determined to march onward for the Charter, whole and entire, and that too only as a means of making the land national property. The accursed vice and crime engendering competitive systems must also be annihilated.

Believe me, my dear Sir, Yours fraternally, ALEX. YATES.

Chauntry-place, Coventry, March 11th, 1851.

CRUEL OPPRESSION OF THE POOR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FRIEND OF THE PROPLE. Sm,-I have thought it advisable to inform you (from the interest you appear to take in matters affecting the working classes) that some serious disturbances have occurred in the neighbourhood of Newmarket, Soham, and Burwell. A few weeks ago an attempt was made to get possession of the poor's allotments in the parish of Burwell, I presume for the purpose of inclosing; but the people turned out in full muster, man, woman, and child, armed with anything they could find, and defied the authories, threatening to murder the first that sat a foot upon tho ground. Although the police were reinforced by a party from London, they dared not venture upon the land, but on the contrary turned and fled over hedges and ditches, some being in danger of drowning from attempting to cross the river, the whole party of labourors pursuing them with all manner of weapons.

I need not tell you that the district is entirely agricultural, and from the distress amongst the labourers, they have been in a very unsettled state for some time. It appears to be now a question of death by violence or by starvation, and if this feeling should gain ground amongst the Fens and surrounding districts, it is difficult to say what may be the result. It is true, that thousands are mere shadows of what they ought to be, and would be, on sufficient diet; but, on the other hand, numbers are strong, able, aud resolute. The strength of these men accustomed to field labour can hardly be imagined by persons who have not witnessed it, and if they are to be goaded by tyrants, I believe that their

courage will be found even superior to their strength.

I am sorry to add, that we have some men of wealth and influence, and others in authority, who are capable of any atrocious act. The systematic robbery of the poor has been carried on here for some time past with very little check; and the treatment of the poor by the parish officers, Union boards, &c., has been most in-They are a set of heartless villains, for by shifting the responsibility from one to the other, the sufferings of the poor are trifled with in a manner which would appear to be instigated by a depraved appetite for cruelty.

From this you will rightly conclude that if the poor in this district are exhibiting signs of turbulence, it is because their grievances have be-

come intolerable.

At the late Protection Meeting held at Ely, several of the gentlemen pretended to have great compassion for the poor labourers, although they have done their best to rob the poor of every inch of land, and by their combination have cut of all chance of employment. What will they do next? The clergy, too, have got possession of the charities belonging to the poor Is not this the age of hypocrites?

Since the above was written, "tranquillity has been restored" by the intervention of the military. Aided by a company of the 48th Regiment of Foot, and forty of the 11th Hussars, the magistrates succeeded in arresting seventeen of the "ringleaders" and taking possession of the poor's land. Legal brigandage is victorious, and-thanks to bayonets and sabres-order reigns in Burwell!

The quantity of water-cresses annually sold in the principal wholesale markets of London (above one third of which are retailed in the streets) is as follows: - Covent-Garden, 1,578,000 bunches; Farringdon, 12,960,000; Borough, 180,000; Spital-fields, 180,000; Portman, 60,000; total, 14,958,000. The amount realised by the sale is £13,949 .-Mayher's London Labour.

STENOGRAPHY. - The University of Berlin has recently established a class of stenography, to which Dr. Michaelis, a reporter of the second chamber has been appointed professor. This is, we believe the first instance of the useful art of the short-hand' writer being so honoured. M. Flocon-one of the members of the French provisional governmentproposed, it is true, that stenography should form part of public instruction in France; but his pro-

posal was rejected.—Athenœum.
The Joys of War.—Major Edwardes, in his book on the Indian Campaign, says :- On one occasion Major Napier came out to me one night to talk over to-morrow's plaus. We sat together under the awning of my tent, with our feet resting on the table, in the favourite attitude of Englishmen in the east, sipping hot tea, and breathing the cool night-air. Lake, exhausted with his day's work, was fast asleep in his bed under the same awning as ourselves. Presently the rebel gunners seemed to awake, and one shot buried itself hissing in the sand by Napier's side; then another ripped its way by me. A third fell at the head of Lake's bed, and his servant immediately got up, and with great carefulness turned his bed round. Lake gave a yawn, and asked, sleepily, "What's the matter?" "Nothing!" replied the bearer, "it's only a cannon-ball!" Lake went to sleep again. Five minutes later another shot fell at his feet, and seemed to say "Pish!" as it hit nothing but the ground, when it came for a man. Again the good bearer shifted his master's bed, and again Lake, half asleep, asked "What's the matter now?" and was told, in reply, "Another cannon-ball, nothing On which he said "Oh!" and returned calmy to the land of dreams, while Napier and I finished our conversation. This shows what habit brings us to. It a naughty boy was at this moment to throw a pebble stone through the study window before me 1 should probably be nuable to think of anything else for an hour,

Teaves from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 14.)

"She was still plunged in these reflections, when she heard Albert tune his violin, and soon she heard him playing on the admirable instrument the ancient psalm which she so much wished to hear a second The music was so original, and Albert performed it with such sweet expression, that, forgetting her distress, and attracted and as if charmed by a magnetic power, she gently approached the

spot where he stood.

"The der of the church was open, and Consnelo stopped upon the threshold to observe the inspired virtuoso and the strange sanctuary. This so-called church was nothing but an immense grotto, hewn, or rather cleft out of the rock irregularly by the hand of nature, and hollowed out by the subterranean force of the water. Scattered torches, placed on gigantic blocks, shed a fantastic light on the green sides of the cavern, and partially revealed dark recesses in the depths of which the huge forms of tall stalactites loomed like spectres alternately seeking and shunning the light. The enormous sedimentary deposits on the sides of the cavern assumed a thousand fantastic forms. Sometimes they seemed devouring serpents, rolling over and interlacing each other. Sometimes hanging from the roof and shooting upwards from the floor, they wore the aspect of the colossal teeth of some monster, of which the dark cave beyond might pass for the gaping jaws. Elsewhere they might have been taken for mis-shapen statues, giant images of the demigods of antiquity. A vegetation appropriate to the grotto-huge lichens, rough as dragon's scales; festoons of heavy-leaved scolopendra, tufts os young cypresses recently planted in the middle of the enclosure on little heaps of artificial soil, not unlike graves-gave the place a terrific and sombre aspect which deeply impressed Consuelo. To her first feeling of terror, admiration however quickly succeeded. She approached and saw Albert standing on the margin of the fountain which sprung up iu the midst of the cavern. This water, although gnshing up abundantly, was enclosed in so deep a basin that no movement was visible on its surface. It was calm and motionless as a block of dark sapphire, and the beautiful aquatic plants with which Albert and Zdenko had clothed its margin, were not agitated by the slightest motion. The spring was warm at its source, and the tepid exhalations with which it filled the cavern, caused a mild and moist atmosphere favourable to vegetation. gushed from its fountain in many ramifications, of which some lost themselves under the rocks with a dull noise, while others ran gently into .limpid streams in the interior of the grotto and disappeared in the depths beyond.

"When Count Albert, who nntil then had been only trying the strings of his violin, saw Consuelo advance towards him, he came forward to meet her, and assisted her to cross the chanels, over which he had thrown, in the deepest spots, some trunks of trees, while in other places rocks on a level with the water, offered an easy passage to those habituated to it. He offered his hand to assist her, and sometimes lifted her in his arms. But this time Consuelo was afraid, not of the torrent which flowed silently and darkly under her feet, but of the mysterious guide towards whom she was drawn by an irresistible sympathy, while an indefinable repulsion at the same time held her back. Having reached the bank she beheld a spectacle not much calculated to reassure her. It was a sort of quadrangular monument, formed of bones and human skulls, arranged as if in a catacomb.

"Consuelo gradually ceased to hear Albert's violin. Her soul was wrapt, and her senses, closed against all outward objects, awoke in another world, to traverse unknown regions inhabited by a cypress, she dashed against a sort of mound, ond

new race of beings. She beheld, amidst a strange chaos at once horrible and magnificent, the spectral forms of the heroes of old Bohemia; whe heard the mournful clang of convent bells, while the formidable Taborites descended from their fortified mounts, lean, half-clad, bloody, and ferocious. Then she beheld the angels of death assembled in the clouds, the cup and sword in their hands. Hovering in a compact troop over the heads of the prevaricating pontiffs, she saw them pour out upon the accursed earth the vial of divice wrath. She fancied she heard the rushing of their wings, and the dropping blood which extinguished the conflagration lighted by their fury. Sometimes it was a night of terror and gloom, wherein she heard the sobs and groans of the dying, on the field of battle. Sometimes it was a glowing day, of which she could hardly bear the splendour, in which she saw the thundering chariot of the terrible blind man, with his helmet and his rusty cuirass, and the gorestained bandage which covered his eyes. Temples opened of themselves as he approached; monks fled iuto the bosom of the earth, carrying away their relics and their treasures in a corner of their robes. Then the conquerors brought feeble old men, mendicants covered with sores, like Lazarus: madmen who ran singing and laughing like Zdenko; executioners stained with blood, little children with pure hands and angel looks, amazons carrying torches and bundles of pikes, and seated them round a table, while an angel radiant with beauty, like those which Albert Durer has introduced into his apocalyptic compositions, presented to their greedy lips the wooden cup, the chalice of forgiveness, of restoration, and of sacred equality. This angel re-appeared in all the visions that floated around Consuelo. She saw him, the beantiful one, the sogrowful, the immortal, proudest among the proud. He bore along with him his broken chains; and his torn pinions dragging on the ground betrayed tokens of violence and captivity. He smiled com-passionately on the men of crime, and pressed the little children to his bosom.

"Excited, fascinated, she darted towards him with open arms while her knees bent under her. Albert let fall his violin, which gave out a plaintive sound as it fell, and received the young girl in his arms while he uttered a cry of surprise and transport. It was he whom Consuelo had listened to and looked at, while dreaming of the rebellious angel-his form, his image which had attracted and subdued her-it was against his heart that she had come to rest her own, exclaiming in a choking voice—'Thine! thine! Angel of Grief, thine and

God's for ever!'

"But hardly had Albert's lips touched her's, than a deadly chill and scorching pain ran through limb and brain. The illusion so roughly dissipated, inflicted so violent a shock upon her system that she felt as if about to expire, and extricating herself from the arms of the count, she fell against the bones of the altar, which gave way with a frightful crash. Seeing herself covered with these dread remains, and in the arms of Albert, who gazed upon her with surprise and alarm, she experienced such dreadful anguish and terror that, hiding her face in her dishevelled hair, she exclaimed with sobs: 'Away !- away !- in the name of Heaven-light ! -air! O God, rescue me from this sepulchre, and restore me to the light of the sun!'

"Albert, seeing her pale and delirious, darted towards her, and would have lifted her in his arms to extricate her from the cavern. But in her consternation she understood him not, and, abruptly rising, she began to fly recklessly towards the recesses of the cavern, without giving any heed to the obstacles by which she was beset, and which iu many places presented imminent dangers.

"'In the name of God,' said Albert, 'not that way! Death is in your path! Wait for me!

"But his cries only served to augment Consuelo's terror. She bounded twice over the brook with the lightness of a roe, and without knowing what she did. At last, in a gloomy recess planted with

fell with her hands before her on earth freshly turned up.

"This shock made such an impression upon her that a kind of stupor succeeded to her terror. Suffocated, breathless, and not well comprehending what she felt, she suffered the count to approach. He had hastened after her, and had had the presence of mind in passing to seize one of the torches from the rocks, in order to light her along the windings of the stream in case he should not overtake her before she reached a spot which he knew to be deep, and towards which she appeared to direct her course. 'The poor young man was so overwhelmed by such sudden and contrary ense. tions, that he daved not speak to her, nor even effer her his hand. She was seated on the heap of earth which had cansed her to stumble, and dared not utter a word, but confused, and with downcast eyes, she gazed mechanically upon the ground. Suddenly she perceived that this mound had the form and appearance of a somb, and that she was really seated on a recently-made grave, over which were strewed branches of cypress and withered flowers. She rose hastily, and with fresh terror which she could not conquer, exclaimed. Oh. Albert, whom have you buried here?"

"'I bnried here what was dearest to me in the world before I knew you,' replied Albert, with the most painful emotion. 'If I have committed an act of sacrilege during my delirium, and under the idea of fulfilling a sacred duty, God will, I trust, pardon me. I shall tell you another time what soul inhabited the body which rests here. At present you are too much agitated, and require the fresh air. Come, Consuelo, tet ns leave this place. where you made me in one moment the happiest and most miserable of men.'

"'Oh, yes!' she exclaimed, 'let us go hence. I know not what vapours are mising from the earth, but I feel as if I were about to die, and as if my

reason were deserting me.'

"They left the cavern together without uttering another word. Albert went first, stopping and holding down his torch before each stone, so that his companion might see and shun it. When he was about to open the door of the cell, a recollection occurred to Consuelo, doubtless in consequence of her artistic turn of thought, though otherwise seemingly out of place.

"'Albert,' said she, 'you have forgetten wour violin beside the spring. This admirable instrument, which caused me emotions hitherto unknown. I could not consent to ahandon to certain destruc-

tion in this damp place."

"Albert made a gesture indicating the little value he now attached to anything besides Consuela. But she insisted. 'It has caused me much pain,' said she, ' nevertheless-

"If it has caused you only pain, let it be destroyed,' said he, with bitterness. 'I never wish to touch it again during my life. Oh! I have been

too late in destroying it.'

"'It would be false were I to .say so,' replied Consuelo, whose respect for the musical genius of the count began to revive. ! I was too much agitated, that is all, and my delight changed into anguish. Seek it, my friend; I should wish to put it in its case until I have got courage to place it in

your hands and listen to it again.'

"Consuelo was affected by the look of satisfaction which the count gave her as he re-entered the grotto in order to obey her. She remained alone for a few moments, and reproached herself for her foolish fears and suspicious. She remembered. trembling and blushing as she did so, the delirium that had east her into his arms; but she could not avoid admiring the respect and forbearance of this man, who adored her, and yet who did not take advantage of the opportunity to speak of his love. His sad and languid demeanour plainly indicated that he hoped nothing either from the present or from the future. She acknowledged his delicacy, and determined to seften by sweatest words their mutual farewell on leaving the cavern.

(To be continued.)

Labour Record

AND

Co-operatibe Chronicle.

STRIKES AND STRUGGLES IN LANCA-SHIRE.

To the Editor of the Friend of the People.-My dear Sir,—You were right when you said, a few weeks ago, that the "war of classes" was extending. In these districts the grasping hands of capital are continually being put forth to filch the wages of industry. A short time since the spinners and self-acting minders of Seville, Milne, and Co., of Royton, turned out against a most abominable rate of wages. For a week of hard toil they have not been able to earn more than from 10s. to 12s. per week, whereas they ought to receive not less than from 18s. to 22s. for the labour they have to do. The spinners require regulators' to be attached to their machines, without which they cannot tell the quality or quantity of out which they cannot tell the quality or quantity of the work they produce. Advertisements have been inserted in the Manchester papers for spinners, &c., who can have work and "good wages" at the above firm. Some few have been there, but on hearing there was a turn-out, they have gone back cursing their deluders. The proprietors of Luyley Brook mill are paying their weavers 2d. and 3d. per cut less than other masters are paying for the same sort of work. The spinners are also turned out. The operatives of this mill have to pay for the gas they consume. Some families by this system of robbery are cheated out of 4s. or 5s per week. Most of the workers live in the masters' houses, and by means of the few tools the masters have among the operatives, a perfect system of espionage is kept up, and every word duly reported to the masters. A Mr. John Lee, a manufacturer of Stockport, has introduced a most shameful system of plunder into his mill. A man who has been paid 12s. per week for giving out weft to the weavers, was lately ordered to receive the weavers' cloth in the warehouse, and for the extra labour was raised to 16s. per week. To make up the difference, the employer took a ½d. per loom from each weaver, amounting to 16s. per week. Soon after it was found that the man could not attend to the weft and cloth, it being too much work for one Mr. Lee, the master, came to his help, man to do. promised to engage another man, which he has not done, though the weavers have had to pay another ½d. per loom, which he has been good enough to put into his own pocket. The weavers have demanded an explanation, but he refuses to reason on the matter; and the other day he told a deputation the matter; and the other day he told a deputation that if the weavers did not like it, they might turn out. Yours truly, J. B. Horsfall, Royton, March 12, 1851.—P.S. You will be glad to hear that the weavers of the Messrs. Ogden, of Oldham, have resumed work on their own terms. After a struggle of ten weeks, the masters were obliged to give the prices demanded by the weavers; and as a matter of course, some other masters who were below the scale have also had to give an advance of wagee.

STRIKE OF FRAME-WORK KNITTERS.

To the Editor of the Friend of the People.—Sir, Perceiving the kindly feeling you have uniformly manifested towards the working community in your valuable and very popular publication, we beg leave to address you on a subject which is at present engrossing our attention in this and some other of the adjacent towns, and which to us is of the most vital importance. Some years ago Mr. Renwick, manufacturer in Langholm, made an attempt to reduce his workmen's wages on account of dull trade, when he was waited upon and remonstrated with. The workmen urged that a reduction in wages would tend tolglut the market, and so make bad worse, and they recommended a "stint" upon the work until trade revived. Mr. Renwick made answer, that on an average his workmen earned only seven shillings and threepence per week, and asked what could he stint that to? Now, Sir, is it at all reasonable that any reduction can be made from such a sum? Nevertheless, such has been attempted. It is reported that some time ago Mr. Renwick sold his frames to Messrs. Kay and Findley, of Glasgow. Findley was at Langholm in the first week of February, and left a statement of prices at which the weavers were for the future to work. That statement is 20 per cent. at least below our present prices, and a strike has been the consequence. We

have put a levy of threepence on each frame weekly; have received and are receiving contributions from Selkirk, Jedburg, and Dumfries; and this must be continued. Our manufacturers here have so far behaved well, having already employed upwards of twenty of the turn-outs. We are anxious that such a circumstance be made public, and if you can find space in your FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE, you will confer a favour upon the stocking makers in this and surrounding localities. Friends disposed to assist in the present struggle, may address either to Thomas Nichol, stocking maker, in Langholm. or to me, THOMAS TROTTER, for the Committee.—Hawick, Roxburghshire.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

Pimlico Working Builders' Association.—The office of this Association is in Upper Tachbrook street, Pimlico. Established for the purpose of enabling the workman to reap the full reward of his labour, the associates are ready to undertake every description of carpentry, bricklaying, masonry, plastering, plumbing, painting, decorating, glazing, smith-work, bell hanging, &c.; also every kind of conservatory, green-house, blind, and verandah work. Houses heated with hot water, on the most improved principles, and at the shortest notice. B. Jennings, Manager; Wm. Pond, Secretary. In reference to the progress of this body, we have received the following communication:—"Since the working commencement of the association, two shops have been built, and one sold; and two more are now in the course of erection. The associates have taken a splendid piece of ground, capable of containing several large houses. They have also formed a society for the establishment of a co-operative store in connexion with the association. Great praise is due to the Council of Promoters, from whom the associates have received valuable aid. W. Stevens."

BISHOPSGATE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY,—"Dear Sir, I beg to inform you of a co-operative society held in Bishopsgate, for supplying the members with articles of consumption at a fair market price, the profits to be divided annually among the members, according to the purchases made by each. Entrance one shilling, and threepence per weck subscription. In nine months of the past year the members made a profit of nine shillings each on two articles of consumption. We are now progressing very fast, and would wish to know how we can correspond with the managers of the Working Co-operative Mill for manufacturing shirting, &c., at Bacup, as we shall shortly be in a position to purchase for the use of the members. We trust that some of the members of the said mill will open a correspondence with us. Address to F. Lefever, Secretary, 11, Dunk-street, Mile End, New Town, London."

THE ICARIAN COMMUNITY.

(From the New York Tribune.)

We have received the first number of the Popular Tribune, a weekly paper in English, just commenced at Nauvoo by the Society of French Communists there established under the direction of M. Cabet. We learn from it that the community is in an encou raging condition. It now numbers three hundred and forty persons, of whom one hundred and fifty are men, and eighty-six women. It begun two years since with less than twenty thousand dollar; it now is in possession of a steam mill for both corn and is in possession of a steam mill for both corn and wheat, a saw mill for its particular use, and also to execute work for the public; and a whisky distillery for commercial purposes. It possesses workshops, containing the following trades: tailors, shoemakers, smiths, engineers, tinsmiths, elock and watchmakers, she had wighter as meatures and icinary concers tay wheelwrights, carpenters and joiners, coopers, tanners, bricklayers, wooden shoemakers, &c., &c. The surplus products of the industry of the Community are sold at St. Louis, where it keeps a store for the purpose. The Community has eleven cows, which provide milk for the infants, the sick, and during summer for the women who drink coffee. It has its own bakery, slaughter-house, gardens and kitchens, the latter employing two head cooks, three assistants, three women, and three women extra for washing the utensils after supper. The Community have laid out excellent plans for education, and already have two or three schools in operation. As soon as their arrangements are complete, they will receive pupils from abroad. They already have numerous applications from families in the vicinity, which as yet they are obliged to decline.

Poetry for the People.

KOSSUTH'S FAREWELL TO HIS COUNTRY.

RY DR. C. BLACK.

O land of my love! on thy threshold I linger,
As the sun of thy glory in shadow descends;
As far o'er thy mountains dark tyranny's finger,
Thy hosom still bleeding, all ruthlessiy rends.
Land, land of my home! where my infancy wandered,
Commingling with passion each tear-drop that fell;
In vain have thy spirits on freedom there pondered,
In vain have they fought, and must bid thee farewell.

Oh, land of my love! once more I must press thee,

On thy mountains once more in devotion I kneel;
Though torn from thy arms, in exile I bless thee,
And my God for my country in vengeance will feel.
The grass of thy valleys—the air of thy mountains—
The bones of thy children that whiten the plain—
The night of thy darkness—the dew of thy fountains—
As incense shall rise o'er the blood of thy slain.

In anguish I clasp thee, as twilight is falling,
On the hills of my love, whence freedom has fled;
In tears that are gushing my grief is recalling
The souls that for thee—oh, my country—have bled.
For thee, oh, my love! lone and seared of thy beauty,
Like blasts from thy summits in phalanx they came;
At the sound of thy trump they marshalled to duty,
'Mongst the nations of earth to give thee a name.

In the pride of their might, from mountain recesses, the despot was hurled like the foam on the wave; The prayers of thy children, thy daughters' caresses, In requiem arose o'er thy patriots' grave. Oh, deep was thy sorrow! yet joy, in thy sorrow, O'er the roll of thy waters on victory smiled; Yet, yet—oh, my God—in the dawn of the morrow The soil of my country a traitor defiled.

Oh, curse him, ye parents; thou planet returning,
To the bounds of creation his treachery bear;
Ye souls of my people, indignantly burning,
Let the vulture of conscience the miscreant tear!
As leaves of brown autumn thy mountain-winds blasting.
His being shall pass in the tempest of scorn;
As the rock from its breast the billows o'cr casting,
From thy bosom, my love, his name shall be torn.

In the depth of their hearts their children adored him;
To his standard they flew ere the main was sung;
In the anguish of blood myself had deplored him,
Had his life on the carnage of battle been flung.
Oh, woe in thy sorrow, unhappy thy daughter,
Whose bosom gave suck to the mouth of a slave!
On the field of his fame thrice welcome his slaughter,
Than "traitor" inscribed on the tomb of the brave!

Not heralds of death on yon summits Carpathian, In hordes of barbarians that came from afar; Nor the lance of the Cossack, the sword of Sarmatian. Nor thy legions combined, oh, damnable czar! My country nad conquered—her kingdom disparted—Had her Judas° contemned thine oner of gold; By the scourge of her sons thy despots had smarted, And the pwans of triumph their chastisement told.

Yet, land of my love! oh, in chains they have bound thee! The sod of thy valleys is watered with tears; And terrors of vengeance in darkness surround thee, As thy splendour goes down to the bondage of years. Though shorn of thy greatness, thy being but sleepeth, In thy trumpet unblown—the hush of thy drum—Till thy spirit, refreshed, from prison-bonds leapeth, And thunders of nations to rescue shall come.

Oh! then shall the hand in thy blood that is steeping, Unnerved by thy strength, from thymanacles fall; And spirits of saints, by thy Danube now sleeping, Through the soul of thy people on liberty call. In silence prophetic, the flowers now springing, From the tombs of thy martyrs but herald thy birth; When the triumps of war from Alpine heights ringing, Shall thy freedom proclaim to the nations of earth.

I must leave thee, my love! thy day has departed!
On the hem of thy mantle my blessings I pour;
From thee I must wander as one broken-hearted;
Whose steps may revisit thy threshold no more.
Farewell, then, my country! thy exile is kneeling,
To kiss the last spot where his footsteps have trod;
For ever for thee—oh, the anguish of feeling,
Is wafted in prayer to the throne of his God!

Sheffield Free Press.

* Gorgey.

To-MORROW—The day on which idle men work and fools reform.

London: Printed by the proprietor, Grober Julian Harry, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square; Bloomsbury, in the county of Middlesex; and Published by S. Y. Collins, 113, Fleet-street, in the City of London.

PROPIL.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

ELITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 16.7

SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1851.

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	•
"Give me the liberty to know, freely, according to conscience,	to utter, and to argue above all liberties."—

Letters to the People.

THE FREE-PRESS MOVEMENT.

Louis Blanc has well said: "To him who dares to cry to the people . Follow me ! the people have a right to reply, 'Where are we going?' and woe to him if he fail!"

I concluded last week's letter by appealing to the readers of this publication to give their hearty adhesion to the movement for THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE. That my readers, friends, and the people generally, may not be deceived or disappointed, it is necessary that the real character of this movement should be made plain. It is the more necessary, because at the head of the new agitation are men who have no sympathy with veritable Democracy, who are bitter enemies to l'roletarian regeneration, and whose one aim is to establish the absolute dominion of Capital at the expense of Hereditary Privilege on the one hand, and Democratic Labour on the other.

This is said not in the way of "denunciation," but as a fact necessary to be kept before the people, that they may never lose sight of the real character of the "Manchester School" Reformers, and may be the better able to determine the true value of reforms

advocated by that party.

Doubtless amongst the associators for THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE there are men animated by a lofty principle, and moved to action by the one aim of freeing the Press from its last shackles. To make Thought free as air, and to diffuse the blessings of Knowledge on all topics-political, social, scientific, &c., are the ends sought by those who have given years of toil, and, ere now, made personal sacrifices of no ordinary kind, to forward the object of their wishes. To such men be all honour. Of them it may be truly declared that "they have deserved

season their speeches with very just reflections on the iniquity of taxes which seem to have been devised for the purpose of perpetuating popular ignorance. But this is the least important consideration with men of their "practical tendencies." It is as a question of trade that the anti-knowledge tax movement assumes its principal importance in the estimation of Mr. COBDEN and his friends. At the meeting in St. Martin's Ilall, the member for the West Riding forcibly commented on the anomaly of being unable to publish a newspaper as cheap in London as in New York, while most English manufactures are produced at a far less cost than those of America. In concluding his speech, Mr. Cobden said: "I would do for the Press what we have done for corn. I will only add that you will find me, as in corn, a free-trader also in knowledge.'

the Middle Classes generally. With them "political and social reform" means the abrogation of those monopolies which have enabled certain sections of society to assume a position denied not merely to Labour but also to the Money-Power when unconnected with "the advantages of birth," &c. With them "civil and religious liberty" means the liberty of unchecked competition for the honours of the state and the good things of society, always however to the exclusion of the toiling masses. The laws of primogeniture and entail enable the aristocracy to conserve their social supremacy, and are a barrier in the way of the ever-encroaching money-

These words reveal the guiding principle

of the "Manchester School," and, indeed, of

Lords," together with hereditary titles, conserve the political supremacy of the landlords, and keep in the second class, those "kings of gold" who aspire to be the solo ruling power; therefore down with monopoly and away with the Peerage! The Church is a close corporation, plethoric with wealth, and (for its own sake) devoted to the State as at present constituted; but why should Episco-

power; therefore, down with monopoly, and

away with those laws! The "House of

palians enjoy wealth and privileges denied to other sects? Down with monopoly. The Even the "praetical men" of the "Man-chester School," who have lately joined the of the aristocracy, the Protestant Church to clear the sound of the aristocracy, the Protestant Church to clear the sound of the speech of the aristocracy, the Protestant Church the celebrated Mr. John Cassell, a gentle-

must be reformed for the benefit of the bou geoisie! The Monarchy sucks up, one way and another, at least a million of money yearly, while the job could be performed by a "Manchester Manufacturer," who would be only too happy to play the part of President for-say £5,000 a year; therefore down with monopoly, away with "the barbaric splendours of the throne;" give place to the Republic—always apart from the "démocratique et sociale!"

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of Smiths at Manchester, Strike of Weavers, Secttish Tailors' Union, Co-operative Associations in
France Control of the Control of t

And so with the Press. The duty on paper, the advertisement duty, and the penny stamp, cripple the operations of Capital in the trade of producing and distributing newspapers, periodicals, &c. Owing to the operation of these taxes the cost of production is enormously increased, while the demand is proportionably curtailed. The Press is virtually a monopoly in the hands of a few capitalists. The very journals that advocate "Free Trade" exist in accordance with conditions at war with their favourite principle. This is a grievance to those who having spare capital to speculate with, would adventure it in competition with existing journals, could they do so in a free market. THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE is therefore a trade question, and likely to have the sympathy and support of those who are looking for an opening in some new or enlarged branch of commerce.

Undoubtedly the material as well as the moral aspects of the question should be made familiar to the public. If it can be shownas it can be-that thousands of paper-makers and compositors, and a large number of literary meu, traders, &c. would be benefitted by THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON Knowledge, an important argument is thereby supplied in favour of such repeal. I have no quarrel with the speakers at the St. Martin's Hall meeting for giving due prominence to the trade aspect of the question, I simply desire to guard the democracy against indulging in too sanguine expectations as to the political results of the repeal. In proof of the profit-mongering spirit by which some of the loudest declaimers in favour of "cheap knowledge" are inspired,

man who, within the last few years, has managed to puff himself into a degree of notoriety almost equalling that enjoyed by the defunct but immortal Morrison, of vegetable pill-fame, and the living "professor" HOLLOWAY, whose wonderful "ointment" never fails to cure the most desperate cases of even twenty or thirty years' standing. "Moses and Son" are searcely more ubiquitous through the medium of their poetry than is "John Cassell's Coffee," "John Cassell's Library," "John Cassell's Newspaper,"
"John Cassell's Registration of Houses," &c., &c., are aunouncements continually thrust upon the public. Patriot, reformer, philanthropist, and cosmopolite, John Cassell is ever ready to exhibit on the public platform his devotion to teetotalism, his sympathy for Hungary, his adherence to parliamentary and financial reform, his detestation of THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE, &re., always with an eye to business. Thus at the St. Martin's Hall meeting John CASSELL having expressed his regret at the present predominance of French literature, and his belief that the removal of THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE would enable publishers to compete with that literature, and thereby ensure the moral advance of this country, so that (thanks to Cassell and Co. !) it would "become an example to other nations, a pattern of virtue and intelligence worthy of being copied and admired," added that, "Were THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE repealed, HE would be prepared to start a daily penny paper, on a circulation of 50,000. At present working men could enjoy no such luxury!" Bravo, John! Nothing like being first in the field, even though your modest announcement should be one or more years in advance of the repeal. The repeal will come, no doubt of that-and you take Time by the forelock to advertise and puff off your penny daily. Doubtless the puff will be duly and regularly repeated at all future meetings convened to denounce THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

There can be no doubt that the repeal of those taxes will give a great impetus to democratic journalism, and for the first time the working classes will be represented in the daily press. But it would be holding out false hopes to pretend that the journals generally will advocate the political and social rights of the millions. In a late number of the Northern Star Mr. O'CONNOR asserted that "If the stamp was taken off newspapers, the duty off paper, and the tax off advertisements, every newspaper in the kingdom would advocate Chartist principles." It may be safely predicted of this foolish assertion that "the folly of to-day" will not be "the wisdom of to-morrow." Even with THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE totally repealed, and the freest competion established, the great mass of the journals will be as now bourgeois in principle, for the all-sufficient reason that almost the entire advertising patronage will continue in the hands of the middle-classes. Moreover, then as now, large capitalists will have an immense advantage over those possessed of only small means. They will be able to produce the largest and cheapest journals, and command the largest circulation. The "biggest pennyworths" will be the most attractive to multi-

tudes of working men, who "care nothing for politics." Unquestionably great good must result from breaking up the existing newspaper monopoly; but not to the extent of transforming "every newspaper in the kingdom" into an exponent of Chartist principles. Such exaggerations do immense injury. They may stimulate an unreasoning agitation, but the object of the agitation attained, the people compare the actual with the promised results, and disgusted with the issue of their exertions, sink back into a state of apathy, and refuse to kabour for further reforms, because disappointed with the results of past struggles.

Not indulging in any foolish expectations, but holding that a mighty principle is to be established by this movement—the principle of Absolute Freedom of Thought, expressed through a Free Press, and believing that the success of the agitation will give birth to at least some honest journals—few or many—to the great advantage of Democracy; let us calmly but resolutely give our earnest energies to the good work of annihilating THE INFAMOUS TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

L' AMI DU PEUPLE.

TO THE BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

It is with pleasure that I again behold an effort being made to gather together the scattered elements of the British democracy, under the guidance of men who, I trust, have both the wisdom and political experience to conduct the proposed organization to a successful issue. The programme of the new Chartist Executive seems to me a declaration of rights, which all shades of the real democracy ought unanimously to respond to. The Executive, in calling upon the people to unite, place a definite statement before the country as to what the people are called upon to unite for. This is an excellent commencement, and will carry with it immense influence, especially as the advance-guard of the democracy behold in the programme a step in advance of similar documents issued by former Chartist Ex-The declaration in the programme ecutives. "that the land is the property of the whole nation," is, to my mind, the most valuable and important part of that document, and there never was a more favourable time than the present period of agricultural distress and discontent to seize hold of and impress that all-important idea upon the public mind. In advocating the Charter in all its integrity, the question of the nationalisation of the land, and the other reforms set forth in the programme, will form excellent subjects in teaching the people their social as well as their political rights. The future propaganda, from being more systematic, is sure to be more effectual than any former agitation.

By extending the movement into the slumbering districts of agriculture, the agitation will call to life the rural population, who may:as yet be said to have no political existence. The neglect, or at most but partial attention to this matter, was a great mistake on the part of former Executives. In past agitations, the chief exertions of the Chartist body were confined to the large towns; and even there, without any other systematic mode of action than the mere issuing of bills announcing public meetings, at which seldom any other than Chartists themselves attended. I have frequently seen meetings held in the City in the beginning of the week, in Lambeth about the middle, Westminster or Marylchone towards the end, all attended by nearly the same audience, addressed by nearly the same speakers, and not all of them quite sure as to what they either wanted themselves, or

what justly constitutes the rights of the people. The same thing may be said of several of our large towns. Now I take it for granted that the great work to be accomplished is, to teach those who are not yet converts to the creed of Democracy the necessity of becoming so; but it is impossible to do this while the teaching is confined to particular districts, and chiefly to those who are already professed democrats. I am giad, however, to observe that the presont Executive propose to make the agitation more general and systematic. The repeated disputes between the "inoral" and "physical" force Chartists is a subject which has caused much dissension and ill feeling among the Chartist body, and will do so again, unless both the people and their leaders are determined to put a stop to this insanity, and prevent that question from being entertained or discussed under any form whatever. I hold that a decision either way must turn to the advantage of the government. For my own part, I look upon that man as being fit for nothing better than "skilly" and "stone-breaking" who preaches passive obedience under all circumstances. On the other hand, any man who would threaten the overthrow of the government by force, when he and his party are scarcely strong enough to stand upon their legs, ought to be taken care of by his friends, as otherwise the government will be sure to take care of him for them. If any attempt should be made to revive this question during the future agitation, I trust the good sense of the people, and those who are worthy of the name of "leaders," will at once cause it to be suppressed. Let the democrats set themselves energetically to work to make converts of the majority of the people to their creed, and then the question as to how they may best attain their rights will be settled. For this purpose, the democratic and social schoolmaster must everywhere be sent abroad, and the young mind of this country literally besieged with instruction upon the subjects contained in the programme of the Executive, until the great mass of the people are thoroughly convinced of the necessity of giving practical effect to the doctrines contained therein. Let this be done, and the hour of the people's emancipation may be said to be at hand.

To do this effectually, care must be taken that the agricultural districts are not neglected. I have had occasion to travel through several of the most important agricultural counties during the course of last year, and I know well there is a strong feeling against the present system of landlordism, a feeling which only requires to be directed into the proper channel to profuce most important results. I fear I have already occupied too much space, and will therefore conclude by earnestly appealing to the British Democracy to rally round the Executive.

ALFRED A. WALTON

COURAGE OF THE SEIKHS .- Of the courage with which the Seikhs fought in the Seikh war, Mr. Thackwell, in his narrative, relates some striking incidents:—" In the battle of Goojerat, as well as Chillanwallah, the Seikhs caught hold of the bayonets of their assailants with their left hands, and, closing with their adversary, dealt furious sword blows with their right. This circumstance alone will suffice to demonstrate the rare species of courage possessed by these men. It may be doubted by many that one Seikh foot soldier repulsed three lancers at Chillanwallah, but such has been stated to be a fact. He received the thrust of the lance on his shield, and, rushing under it, cut at the lancer or shivered the lance into atoms with his tulwar." * * * "The fidelity displayed by the Seikh gunners is worthy of record. The devotion with which they remained at their posts, when the atmosphere around them was absolutely fired by the British guns, does not admit of description.'

TO THE EARNEST AND THOUGHTFUL OF ALL CLASSES.

"If men are to wait for liberty till they grow wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever." JEFFERIES.

Who are the wise and good? What class is wise and good? Echo answors, who? What? Many (nndoubtedly well meaning men) when urged to acknowledge the justice of 'manhood suffrage,' de so with this provise, that the working classes must be educated first. Are the ten pound householders educated? Are the forty shi ling free-holders educated? If they are oducated, how is it that the rapresentatives of men who know the value of education, have not removed the taxes off knowledge? How is it there is no national system of education, if education is the thing wanted? How long shall Prussia shame England in this respect? Is it fair and just to put that which is essential beyond our reach; then to deny us tho porformance of our duties-the exercise of our rights for the want of it? Why should we neecpt education as a boon? As we are men in years, in thows and sinows, permit us to be men in the exereise of our intellect. Give us political life, that we may exercise the duties of citizens, and watch over the welfare of our country. Trust our education to ourselves. When we have the power to make laws we will not preach about the henefits, .but .remove the obstacles to education.

The plea that working-men are not wise enough to be eufranchised is put forward by the cunning, and supported by the foolish, the ignorant, and the fearfully selfish. These men permit ten and coffee to be heavily taxed, then wonder at the consumption of alcholic liquors. They tax the light of day, and express wonder and pity at the darkness and unwholesomenoss of our dwellings. They tax our sonp, and ery out against our nucleanliness. They tax the implements of knowledge-they dam up every eranny (that they ean) through which the benignont influence of well expressed intolligence might reach us, then turn upon us and twit us with our ignorance—as well might they twit us for our horny palms. We are accused of coarseness, of want of refinement- while our poets, most of the great intellects of the day are kept from us. All that might tend to soften and rofine our honest, but somewhat rugged natures is too dear-is he youd onr reach, and if within our reach we have no leisure-leisure to the working-man means starvation. Gentlemon can be very eloquent upon the ignorance and vices of the working classes (and no doubt we are ignorant) but while numerous incentives allure to vice, whilst folly, ignorance and poverty are conserved, and all the paths of knowledge are obstructed, they would aet more justly if they turned to those in whose hands is the government of this country, and expended their indignant eloquence upon them. When the government is in the hands of the people, it will be time to condemn the people.

One thing is perfectly clear, that the first thing to be acquired is liberty. Happiness, plenty,—the riches of life are before us. Through liberty alone can wo arrive at them. We conquer despotism by the conquest of ourselves. We subjugate our enemies when we subjugate four passions. wild impulses and undirected onergics are disciplined -hrought under the direction of the intellectwhen we lay aside exaggeration, and believe and act as if we believed in the power of truth. We shall be stronger than standing armies and legions of police. The army and police are of us-and with us, when we know how to speak to them. Whon we possess the calmness that self-reliance bestows-the dignity that accompanies the disciplined, and that should always invest the advocates of right in communications with opponeuts, or in differences among thomselves—we shall inspire respect. We are numerous enough and strong enough to grasp our liberties when we are wise enough to know how.

It should be well remembered that, though we cannot grow "wise and good in slavery," our liberty depends upon the amount of well directed exertion and judicious advocacy.

Although we are not in possession of enr rights, we have some privileges. These should be used to the uttermost to gain influence. We ought to make ourselves felt in overy movement-in overy meeting at the same time make ourselves respected. The middle class in their ngltations gain effectiveness, because they supply their leaders with the sinews of war-eash. It is the duty of every chartist as Yar as he has the power, to see that the present Executive are emplied with the necessary funds. The failure, if there is a failure, will lay at the door of him who negleets to do what he ean. I freely acknowledge that I have been remiss, I have not yet enrolled myself as a member. Let others who have neglected their duty as I have done, regriln their good repute, the approval of their own conscience by extra exertion. Let them follow my example. I intend to enrol myself, and I hope a dozen or so of friends next week, and send what subscriptions I can in aid of the funds. What we do must we done well and heartily. If there is to be success there must be no doubts-no standing at gaze, we must "net-act in the living present." We have elected an Executive to direct and lead

us, our duty is not 'to 'talk'

But to not, that each to morrow
Finds us further than to day.
Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate,
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labour and to wait.

Servo.

ROBERT OWEN AND THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

TO THE SOCIAL REFORMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

FRIENDS AND BRETNNEN,

The prompt and cordial response to our former address demonstrates that the friends of the great Social Reformer of the age are fully alive to the magnificent opportunity of disseminating their sentiments amongst the foreigners who may be brought together thuring the Exhibition of May next.

Impressed all parties seem to be with the profound conviction that seed would be sown that might bring forth fruit through all sneeceding generations, in every nation and every clime. With such glorious results in prospect, how loudly and emphatically are we called upon to aronse to the grave duties which devolve upon us! Nations are coming to speak to us. We must answer them with a nation's voice.

At no period in the history of mankind was it more Imporative that truth alone should be spoken. The whispers of compromise or the Blandishments of policy are unworthy of the memorable occasion. When the destinies of empires may be affected, and the freedom and happiness of the whole world, perhaps, advanced, it is a crime for those who think they have the truth, to withhold it, or to trim it to suit party interests or party prejudices. We must not make ourselves the laughing-stock of an enlightened posterity by presenting the truth at such an epoch, in any other garb but her native one.

The Central Committee of Social Propaganda, therefore, wish it to be understood, that in the various tracts and publications they contemplate issuing during the Exhibition, redi Socialism will be developed in a sincere and charitable spirit. It will be their object to show to the world that Socialism is a science rather than a creed, and therefore to attach to it any sectarian appellation is as absurd and ill-advised as to speak of Christian Mathematics, Mahometan Chemistry, or Infidel Anatomy.

We must endeavour to convinee our intolligent visitors, and through them the rest of their countrymen, that however deeply versed mankind may be in all other sciences, if they remain lyhorant of the grand and primary sciences of Social Philosophy—the science of Human Nature and the science of Society—their knowledge can only lead to limited good, comparative inutility, or positive evil. In confirmation of this position, we must roler them to the science the Exhibition is calculated most to

promote, and in which Europe is at present most advanced—the science of Mechanism. ourignorance of the true principles of society, every invention and improvement in this department of progress leads at present only to partial benefit or actual injury, It tends to enrich the few at the expense of the many-to enhance the aggregate profits of the capitalist, while it diminishes the true value of the labour of the artisan, until ultimately a crisis must arive when the rich will become so rich, and the poor so poor, that nothing but palacos and poor houses will be found in Europe, We must not hesitate to declare that this very Exhibition, if more enlightened and equitable views are not adopted, will conduce very materially to this dismal result by facilitating the extension of a system which centralises wealth in the hands of the useless classes, leaving the industrious producers exposed to a daily increasing poverty and sufforing.

The pregnant fact must be broadly announced, that if the Exhibition of all Nations is to serve as a true and permanent blossing to all nations, it can only be by its hecoming an instrument, direct or indirect, of extending a knowledge of those principlos which would unite all mations in one common bond of brotherhood, each contributing to the welfure of all, and all to the welfare of each. Its originators and patrons, with few exceptions, look not beyond the encouragement of mere physical science; but they, and the world, must be reminded that hitherto as we have progressed in scientific acquirement, we have increased in moral and social declension, and the question must be put-fearlessly and honestly put-is the Crystal Palace to be merely a brilliant illustration of this anomaly in our civilisation? Are we still to see crime and poverty thomecessary concomitants of science? Is man, as he becomes a more enlightened, to feel a more dopendant being? If so, then ignorance is bliss, and barbarism a boom.

The problem of the world ought to be discussed when the intelligence of the world is congregated. It is noteriously this—How to arrange society so as to admit of the moral elevation and physical comfort of all classes accompanying their intellectual development. The legislators of Europe, hitherto, either cannot or dare not solve the problem. The secret is, however, and they know it, Socialism alone can unravel the mystery. Socialism alone can save

Friends and countrymen, let us only bestir ourselves at this critical hour, and the glorious truth will waft its voice to the uttermost ends of the earth, despite of armies, dungeons, thrones, or sanctuaries. Each of our foreign brethren coming amongst us may act, at some subsequent period, as an instrument or a missionary of the cause of Social emanolpation. By distributing truets in various languages, delivering lectures, holding meetings, and cultivating a friendly and personal intercourse with all olimes, an impetus may be given to the rising spirit of progress that will silence for ever the preteusions of despotism, and render the present year the most distinguished in the annals of nations i

We urgo you to form your committees in every town and village in the kingdom, to raise subscriptions in support of this noble movement. Do not sleep while the world is awake and at your doors. Remember every pound subscribed may contribute to the salvation of a people. With such large aims and eternal results before us, let not any paltry, selfish motive deter us from assisting, generously and promptly, in this bloodless crusade against poverty, crime, slavery, and oppression. Let every man be able to say—The triumphs of '51 avere part of my work'!

ROBERT COOPER, Chairman,

JOHN KENNY, Treasurer, HENRY ALLSOP IVORY, Sucretary,

The Central Committee sit every Wednesday avening at 52, College-place, Camden-town, London; to which address all dominanceations from friends or local committees must be sent. Money orders to be made payable at the Tottenham-court Hoad Post Office.

OBJECTS AND RULES OF THE ASSOCIA-TION OF FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS.

Equality-Liberty-Fraternity.

OBJECTS.

This Association is established to promote: -The Fraternity of Nations, and especially, the brotherly union of the Proletarians of all countries.

The abolition of the Penny Stamp, and all other fiscal and oppressive restrictions on the freedom of the Press.

The Political emancipation of the Working Classes of this country, by the legislative establishment of the principles of the People's Charter.

The diffusion of sound knowledge on Political and Social Questions, by means of the distribution of tracts, addresses in the public journals, lectures, public meetings, &c., with a view of preparing the Proletarian classes for the achievement of their deliverance from the oppression of irresponsible Capital, and usurping Feudalism.

RULES.

1. All who desire the progress of Democratic and Social Reform, wherever residing, may become members of this Association, by contributing to the Society's funds a sum of at least One shilling annually—to be paid in advance.

2. In addition to the General Fund, there shall be established a Fraternal Funn, to be solely applied to the aiding of Brethren (British and Continental) suffering from persecution. To this fund the members of the association shall be invited to contribute voluntarily, according to their means.

3. The association shall be conducted by a committee of nine members, including the Treasurer and Secretary, elected annually. An annual statement of the receipts, and disbursements of the general and fraternal funds shall be laid hefore the members.

JAMES GRASSBY, Treasurer. JOHN PETTIE,
G. JULIAN HARNEY,
Secretaries.

** Meetings of the Committee are held in the Secretaries room of the Institution, John Street, Tottenham-court Road, every Friday evening at 8 o'clock. Communications may be addressed to George Julian Harney, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, or to John Pettie, 12, Goldington Street, Saint Pancras. Money Orders to be made payable at the Post Office, High Street, Bloomsbury.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

BIRTH-DAY OF ROBESPIERRE.—J. Jackson and M. Wilson—The price of tickets to the tea will be 1s. each. The price of admission after tea will be 4d. to the gallery, and 3d. to the body of the hall. As the profits will be given to the Refugees at Liverpool, all true democrats in the metropolis should make it a point of duty to attend.

Monies Received.—We have received 1s. for the Fraternal Democrats, 1s. for the Convention Fund, and 1s. for the Refugees at Liverpool, from S. Guinaman, Tunbridge Wells; also 6d. from W. Sazby, per S. G., for the (Liverpool) Refugees. For the Fraternal Democrats 2s. 1d.—from T. Wright, and W. Bradsworth, Leicester.

The 30 stamps for the paper have been handed to the Secretary.

P. B. V., Cheltenham.—A Chartist locality meets every Tuesday evening at the Working Men's Institute, Regent-

GLOUCESTEBSHIRE.—Edward Sharland, 7, Bath-street, Cheltenham, would be glad to hear immediately from any staunch Charitists residing in Gloucestershire in reference to the proposed Convention.

staunch Chartists residing in Gloucestershire in reference to the proposed Convention.

G. Smith, News-agent, Greengate, Salford.—Many thanks for your kind letter. You will hear from the Secretary in due time. Once started, with the aid of friends like yourself success will be certain.

"A Sincere Democrat" suggests the getting up of a Working Men's Exhibition of Industry, the building for which should be plain and elegantly simple; or instead of one building, there might be a number of hooths, stalls, &c. Articles not admitted into the other Exhibition might be shown at that of the Working Men. Probably many of the Refugees could produce articles well worthy of public inspection. The articles should be on sale for the benefit of their producers, but to remain in the exhibition until the show terminated. Our correspondent further suggests to the mercantile seamen "to co-operate for the

purchase or building of ships, with which to trade on their own account."

"A True Chartist." Manchester.—It is true. That another of the gang should receive the reward of his treachery is not surprising. He will not be the last. Wait a little, and you will see results which will fully account for their disinterested alliance with the Financials. account for their disinterested alliance with the Financials. It has over been so, and ever will he so, while classes continue to exist. The rich have two ways of dealing with those who spring from the ranks of the poor, and come forward, honestly or otherwise, to advocate the rights of the millions. If those "advocates" are disposed to corruption, they are bought over; if too honest to be bought, they are destroyed by moral or physical assassination—often both. Wait a little longer; even the most blinded dupes will yet have their eyes opened.

ALEXANDER BELL.—Received. Shall appear.

Shall appear. ccived. Thanks. The ALEXANDER BELL.—Received. Shall a CHARLES ERNEST, York.—Received.

person named will be written to.

II. R. N.—In type, Also a notice of No. 3, of The II. R. N.—In type, English Republic.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1851.

TO THE TRADES.

THE following able and admirable Address from the pen of our friend ERNEST JONES speaks for itself. We entreat all our readers to use their best exertions to cause it to be read and discussed in all trades and co-operative meetings, factories, workshops, and wherever working men congregate :-

"THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION TO THE TRADES OF THE UNITED KING-DOM.

"Fullow Countrymen,-A long and bitter experience must have taught you that the great abour question of the age can be solved only by the possession of political power. You have adopted every other possible means. But in vain have proved your strikes, however bravely and manfully prolonged. Witness one of the very latest-the sailors' strike at Newcastle. Even where successful for the moment, the advantage won by such expense and suffering has soon been lost in detail, and you have had to fight the battle over again, with increased disadvantage and redoubled difficulty. In vain have been your most extended combinations--your most fraternal unions-all the chivalry of toil displayed in mutual succour-all the Christian brotherhood evinced in your adherence to cach other-have proved vain to counteract the gigantic influences of competition. We do not mean to slight your efforts—they were great, noble, and good. We do not mean to say a word against your strikes and unions-without them, possibly, you might have been worse off than you are. But we do assert this-they have not proved sufficient to save you. They may have delayed your ruin, but they have not prevented it. Every year (despite Free Trade!), every year, your wages have been falling, through almost every branch of industry. Every year you have commanded (despite cheap food!) less of the comforts of life. Cheap food has witnessed cheaper labour. Every year (despite more work!) you have been sinking in the social scale. Increased work accompanied dccreasing wages.

"We, therefore, follow countrymen, invite you, without abandoning your present unions, without slackening your present co-operative and associative efforts, to imbue them with the political element as well, and to support that phalanx of Chartist organization, which shall be as a wall of strength to your co-operative labours, and enable you to develope them nationally, by giving you the power of making laws of partnership, public credit, and industrial enfranchisement from wages' slavery. The benefit is not prospective, it will be immediate-as the ranks and strength of Chartism increase, in the same proportion you will begin to feel its effects in parliamentary legislation.

" Remember, Friends !- this country is governed by stock-jobbers and money-mongers; a small

knot of usurers pull, unseen, the wires of the state -they are the real ministers, legislative and executive; -the affairs of the country are decided in the Stock Exchange, Threadneedle-street, and Mark-They are the REAL St. Stephens and Whitehall that govern you. They wield all the political power, and under the names of others use it to keep labour hack. This is the reason why co-operative efforts alone can never succeed in emancipating you. Even were these usurers not possessed of political power, the empty purse would stand hut a poor chance in the struggle against the full one; though even successful for a moment, it would have to succumb in the long run. But you must never lose sight of this fact, that besides the moneypower, the social-power, these men wield the political power as well, and by that political power, without seeming to act themselves, without their names ever appearing in the matter, are enabled to crush your efforts in detail as fast as they grow dangerous. Reflect on this, friends, and learn thence, at last, that it is only through political power you can counteract the political influence they bring to bear against your social efforts. Proceed in your coroperative attempts; but as you value the redemption of your order, as you wish those endeavours to succeed, swell the ranks of Chartist organisation, for Chartist organisation is the only path to social right.

" None but the misguided or designing can oppose your doing so; for, ask yourselves, can you do otherwise than gain by joining a powerful association, deep-seated in the affections of the peopleramified through every portion of the kingdomand growing in its influence every day! Why should you not join it? Why should you not double the ranks of your social army? Why should you not increase the efficiency of your association? What can you lose by the union? While, on the contrary, the experience of the past proves, that this union is the only thing that has been wanting

to insure your success.

"Working men! there must not be two parties in our ranks-the one struggling for social rights, the other for political power-we must ALL contend Though not essentially antagonistic FOR BOTH. (far from it), yet the division of our power in two channels renders each unable to sweep the barrier of monopoly before it. The one does not help the other; but, dividing our force, neutralises its effects by rendering each inefficient in itself. Therefore, let us unite in one phalanx. Henceforth let social co-operation go hand-in-hand with political organization. Much has been talked about divisionmuch has been preached about union: that is the only division to he dreaded-that is the true union of which we stand in need.

"It is, therefore, friends! that we direct your notice to that portion of our programme embracing the great labour question of the day. In that programme we have intentionally not entered into detail-for we did not wish to bias the public mind to any views of our own. At the Convention we shall be prepared to lay our detailed plans before you. We have, at present, merely pointed attention to those topics which we wished discussed-and requested the public to debate the subject in their weekly gatherings, to propound their own remedies, and to disclose them at the Convention of tbeir delegates.

"We now invite you to join in the task. Detail your grievances-propound your remedies to the Convention-Chartist organization will give weight to your demands. From every part of the country the cry for your rights shall roll upward to the government. All your several trades have their several grievances-now, they go singly into the Legislature, from isolated bodies-and, therefore, are We will make of each a NATIONAL disregarded. nemand, and back it by a national agitation. The complaint of the weaver, or the shoemaker, shall not be his alone-but it shall be the complaint of the Chartist body throughout the empire, pervading all trades and localities. To the work, then, men of the Trades! Unite! unite! The Convention must be the PARLIAMENT OF LABOUR !-- the Executive the Ministry of the Unenfranchised "We invite you to read the above address at your weekly meetings in your localities."

JAMES GRASSBY. G. Julian Harney. G. J. HOLYOAKE. TEORNTON HUNT.

ERNEST JONES. JOHN MILNE. FEARGUS O'CONNOR. G. W. M. REYNOLDS.

JOHN ARNOTT, Secretary.

London, March 19, 1851.

THE POLISH LEGION.

A COMMUNICATION from our Liverpool correspondent apprises us that the number of the refugees who have determined to proceed to America amounted, up to the 19th of March to 32; and one has gone to Glasgow. The number, therefore, dependant upon public sympathy is reduced to 226.

It is probable that a few will very soon obtain employment in Liverpool, and it is to be hoped that others will be equally fortunate in finding work in Manehester and other towns of the North. Independent of the ordinary obstacles to finding work, that of ignorance of the language is a special obstruction in the way of the Refugees. That however they are doing their best to overcome. They are diligently studying the English tongue, and already with some suecess. We are sorry to learn that several have fallen sick since they landed in England. Our correspondent writes: "Their present place of abode is a large room in an old warehouse. I am sorry to say that their sick have increased day by day since they took up their present quarters." This looks bad, but our friend adds: "A new place of abode will be taken for them in a day or two. In the meantime they are cheerful, and determined to suffer anything rather than compromise their cause." It affords us extreme pleasure to add the following testimonial to their moral worth:-" They are indeed noble men in the very best meaning of that term. In temperanee, manners, and acquirements they are gentlemen, while in their political sympathics they are everyway worthy the confidence and love of working men and demoerats; and they well deserve all the sympathy, attention, and support it is possible for us to afford."

Liverpool, though not hitherto eelebrated for democratic tendencies, has done, and is doing, nobly by our brothers, the exiles. Individually the working men are vieing with each other in their hospitality to the refugees. At the date of our correspondent's letter two concerts were in preparation for their benefit, and other means were being taken to raise

subscriptions.

This is a noble example, which the democrats and working men of other towns should

hasten to imitate.

As much misrepresentation is still current respecting the conditions under which the exiles embarked from Constantinople, we are authorised to declare that the statement so industriously circulated that they engaged themselves to proceed to America, is wholly false. The efforts made by certain Hungarians (only one or two) to persuade the refugees to quit Europe, looks exceedingly suspicious. Why should M. Pulszky or M. Diossy (who announces himself as late secretary to Kossurn) busy themselves to do the dirty work of Austria? Is it because they

belong to the eouspiracy organised to "purge Europe" of the Polish democrats?

It is natural and right that the exiles should cling to Europe. They believe that the day is not distant when Poland will again summon her sons to a renewed struggle for her deliverance, and that it is their duty to be ever ready for the sounding of the toesin. Their resolution to remain in Europe is naturally strengthened in eonsequence of the efforts made to rid Europe of them. These efforts of the reactionists force the Poles to the conclusion that it is their bounden duty to persevere in their determination to remain as near as possible to their country, that they may do their utmost to serve her interests, and counteract the sehemes of her ruthless enemies.

There are, moreover, reasons connected with the material welfare of the exiles which must decide their friends in this country to approve of their refusal to proceed to America.

Members of the Legion who twelve months since embarked from this country to America, have found none of the promises made to them realized. They were led to expect they would find in New York and elsewhere committees established to provide them with relief for the moment, and ultimate employment. They found nothing of the kind. Letters received from them, as well as from other Polish emigrants who had preceded them, attest the truth of this. It is pretended that the refugees at Liverpool would find no difficulty in procuring employment in America, while the New York Tribune of March 5th states that there are at the present time no fewer than forty thousand labourers of both sexes out of work in that city alone. To the exiles England may be a land of privation, but so also would America; while on political grounds the argument is entirely in favour of their remaining in this country.

Although they must necessarily look to their English friends for the means of subsistence, either through the medium of employment or otherwise, there are chances of obtaining aid from without which would be lost were the refugees in America. It would be imprudent to enter into particulars as thereby we should risk the safety of those friends to the good cause who, unhappily, are subjected to the immediate domination of

Poland's accursed oppressors.

But irrespective of any aid from abroad which may or may not be forthcoming, there need be no lack of means to support the Refugees while wanting employment, provided the noble example set by the men of Liverpool be generally followed. A general subscription is the first necessity, but immediately ensuing public meetings should be held to petition Parliament and memorialise the Government for a grant of public money. If a few active men will set to work the end desired may be easily achieved. We observe that a public meeting has been held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and another at Birmingham, to sympathise with the Refugees. Very good. But why not by a grand simultaneous effort seek to move the Legislature and Government to the performance of a great public duty. Much is vaunted of the "hospitality of England," but that hospitality which merely admits the exile to find a spot on which to perish of hunger, or leaves him dependant upon the sympathy of those but on step above him in wretchedness, is little to

the credit of the country, and instead of redounding to the honour is more calculated to inflict disgrace upon the name of Britain.

Let the working men do their duty and insist upon this country's rulers doing theirs. To succour the exile, and protect the defender of Justice and the Rights of Man, is a sacred and indispensable duty. In the holy works of an immortal martyr:-" Men of all countries are brothers, and the people of each are bound to yield one another mutual aid, according to their ability, like citizens of the same state."

THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY.

A number of shareholders in the National Land Company have expressed the wish that we would publish the "Bill" for the dissolution of the Company in the Friend of the People. The length of the "Bill" renders its publication in so small a paper impossible. Nevertheless it is right that a measure so materially affecting the interests of thousands of poor men and their families should be fully discussed, and we might be fairly charged with shirking a public duty were we to refuse place for such discussion in the Friend of the People. Therefore we give publicity to the following letter, and the one or more which will succeed it. Should Mr. O'Connor feel himself aggrieved by anything advanced by "UBIQUITY," our columns

will be open to his reply.

JUSTICE FOR ALL!

EXAMINATION OF THE BILL FOR
DISSOLVING THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY.

LETTER I.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,-Though your journal may not be the one most appropriate to the purpose, for which I have to ask admission to its columns, yet I prefer availing myself of it rather than run the risk of that burking process which is an attribute of the luminous Star in all matters per-taining to a fair and business-like criticism of the doings in reference to the "Land Society." To have sent the accompanying remarks to that expiring mcteor, would have been as profitless as the shares of the Company in question. A toocommon experience justifies the use, and comfirms the truth of this opinion. To the fulsome addresses of cringing and servile dependents, and to the communications of sinister and mercenary menials of office, the redoubtable and recognised organ of the "Land Plan" has ever opened its truthful pages. On the other hand, are there wrongs to expose, errors to correct, or complaints to urge, those same pages are hermetically closed. True, that loquatious paternity, the author of the Land Plan, does sometimes give publicity to the out-spoken discontent of its garrulous progeny; but mark the parent's love of justice, and its appreciation of filial duty! Do the children complain of neglect, or groan under affliction resulting from parental indiscretion or criminal indifference, their statements are garbled, and themselves overloaded with repulsive and loathsome abuse.

Not then in the pages of the Northern Star should I seek the opportunity of expressing my thoughts in reference to the impudent attempt now being made to bring to a furtive finale that monstrous and undigested scheme,—the Land Society. That so many thousands of working men, who have subscribed the capital of the said society, should, up to this time, have manifested so little interest in the attempt to which I allude, is to me a problem; the solution of which I must seek in the misplaced affections and confidence of those same somnolent share-

holders. Happy however, am I to find that they are awakening from their lethargy; that, their suspicions are aroused, -their confidence suspended, and that they are about to examine and 'To assist them in this examination, and to ald their judgment, I purpose, with your permission, to criticise the Bill which Mr. O'Connor, with most indecent haste, and unjustifiable socrosy, * has introduced into the House of Commona for the ostensible purpose of dissolving the Land Society, but the real object of which may be inferred from the fact, currently reported and believed, that Mr. O'Connor professes to have claime upon those funds to the extent of several thousand pounds, and from the circumstance that the proposed Bill gives an unlimited power for the satisfaction of these claims, at the expense of the just rights of the seubscribers.

With these facts before them, the sharoholders will be gullty of a most suicidal indifference, and callous disregard to justice, if they do not immediately interfere, and demand such a Bill as shall be consonant with justice to all parties con-

cerned

Considering that I have sald sufficient by way of introduction, and having a thought to your limited space, I shall defer until your next number 'my critique upon the Bill, premising that I will support my criticism by extracts from the bill itself.

Craving your indulgance for that occasion, I am, Citizen Editor, yours fratornally, UBIQUITY.

* If it be said that this Bill was long ago annuanced in the Northern Star, I answer that the only announcement hitherto has been in the form of appeals for money for "minding up the Company." The Bill was not published in the Star, as it should have been—the opinions of the shareholders thereon were not taken, as they ought to have been,—previous to the Bill being introduced into Parliament. Blace its introduction the Star has been absolutely silent as to its progress, and the shareholders are in utter ignorance as to the stages it has passed through. Is this Democracy? Is this worthy "the acknowledged leader" of the Chartista?

AMERICAN VIEW OF THE AUSTRIAN DESPOTISM.

A morre transparent humbug than the Austrian Constitution has not been put forth in these late years. It provides for the government of the emdire as a federal State, each division having lts own diet or legislature, with an imperial diot to legislate for the whole. The Constitution bears date March 4, 1849. Up to the present day there has not been the shadow of an election in fulfilmentiof its articles, not a single provincial diet has been called together (except in Oroatia, where the deputies, being disposed to ask the reason of things, were sent packing by Ban Jellachich), 'nor has any preparation been made for assembling the diet of the empire. Not that there is no meed of the benefits of a constitutional legislature, or that the interests of property and personal rights, which such a legislature is specially intumded to protect, have not suffered for the want of it. Why. at this very moment, the treasury of Austria is bankrupt; all money but paper, in which mobady believes, has fled from zirculation, agriculture and manufactures arounturly stagment, proporty has fallon to a wrotched fraction of its value, and ruln broods over the land. And the Emperor and his ministers go on maintaining an tarmy of half a million men, levying taxes and spending money with a reckless extravagunce, to which an assembled parliament, exercising its constitutional powers, would promptly interpose a decisive theck. Will such a parliament ever be seen in Austria? Mover, till a revolution has revised this chesting Constitution, and converted itefrom almonarchical lie into a republican reality.
Intact, it was never intended to be canything

but a pretext dor abelishing the ancient charters and municipalitights of the provinces and kingdoms of the empire; in order to convent the whole luter

years it had been the bulwark of civil liberty. The rude popular institutions and traditional rights of the Slavonians are found inconvenient by these model constitutionalists, and are brushed away. Where, too, is the freedom of the press, under this honsted Constitution? There is no such thing In all Austria. The makors of the Constitution never intended there should be. Despotiem was their purpose. The vircumstances of the moment, 'espeoially the Hungarian war, then undecided and doubtful, rendered it mecessary to mask it under the pretence of liberty. Were there any honesty in them, they would make haste, now that their power is undisputed throughout the vast territory they govern, to realize their promises, to carry out the fundamental law they have proclaimed. There is nothing to prevent it but their own unwillingness. Were they to do it, the world would applaud the act and accept it as at least a partial ipparation for the crimes committed in Hungary and Italy by their authority and on their responshillty. But do it they nover will voluntarily, and they will not have a schance to do it on compulsion. For when the compulsion comes, it will prove of a much more sweeping and rapid sort than to ask for the fulfilment of such constitutions as this. It will start further back, with human rights fundamental and radical enough to allow of neither king nor kaiser, and will begin practically by pitching these faithless servants of to-day into on outward and intense oblivion.—Now York Tri-

1852!

THE Paris Correspondent of the Times tells a story of four members of the Mountain, not named, who have constituted themselves a "Contral Committee of Resistance" to the present iniquitoue order of things, and who are in communication with the most revolutionary elements both in Paris and the dopartments. According to the same authority, they have invented a sort of bullotin, the surface of which presents a series df flourishes, flowers, &c., but when examined dosely reveals words lllegible to the casual obeerver. The '9th number contains the 'following:--

"Thoy troat us as terrorists. Well, then, we are terrorists. But it is not the terror of the guillotine that we want. That has completed its time. It is a terror still more formidablethe terror of 1852 will be that of equality !---Yes! every social iniquity must disappear. The people shall outer into the plenitude of its rights. Labour must be exalted on the ruins of proud and tyrannical sloth. Riches-that eternal weapon of reactioniste-must for over be dashed from the hands of all who are counter-revolutionfrom the names of People! Your cause is iste.

People! Your cause is thrice just. It must triumph, and it shall triumph, voluntarily or by force! Wo, wo, to the madmon who should impede it! If wo must go but it will. not then be an insurrection, it will be the war of despair: .

". Conquerers, we shall lay our oppressors low we shall avenge ourselves on our assassins! Conquered, we shall pursue them without cessation-wo shall do it with the sword, with fire, with all the means that outraged nature furnishes. Waswear it by--- 1

" Vive la Republique Socialo!

"THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF RESISTANCE. The suppression of Professor Michelet's lectures (noticed in No. 15) has given birth to two demonstratione of the Parls students. On the first occusinn they proceeded, to the number of 1,200, to the Assumily to present aspetition in favour of Michelet, and against the government. On the socond occasion they were brutally assaulted and dispersed by the police, and a considerable number of the leaders arrested. The students made a gallant

Buonsparte and his myrmidons will inspire the young men of the schools to combat once more on the side of the Proletarians for the triumph of the true Republic. Public meetings being prevented, the Reds have lately taken to "funeral manifestations." On recent occasions bands of at least 10,000 have attended the funerale of deceased domocrats at Lyons and clsewhere. Alarmed at these demonstrations, the brigands in power have issued an order forbidding the assemblage of more than 800 at a funeral! The dissolution of the Strasburg National Guard has excited the unbounded hatred of the lnhabitants of that city against the traitor President. Let the enemies of Democracy read, mark, and digest the following, supplied by the Paris correspondent of the Morning Chronicl.

"The accounts received from the department. continue to give great uneasiness to the Government. Socialist doctrines are spreading rapidly, even to the most romote of the rural districts; and the peasantry, whose faith in the Bourbons has been shaken by so many revolutions, are going over in vast numbers to the Reds. It appears from the accounts received that in the departments of the east, the south, and the centre of France, the progress made by the demagogues is alarming!"

Bravo'! Wait a little longer!

THE HYPOCRITE OF NATIONS

(From Frazer's Magazine.)

[Concluded from No. 15 of the Priend of the People.] One of the glories of England Is, that of late years

she has "awakened to her Christian duties." amassing her riches, in playing the part of philanthropist for all the world, she had somewhat neglected those to whom she was indebted for her power and wealth. Her labouring poor were steeped in spiritual ignorance and material degradation. Leave them alone! had been her maxim: You have no right to interfere with their freedom to sin or to starve.' Even in this she was not following a base instinct of selfishness, but 'asserting a great maxim of political economy.' So, as usual, she was on the right side in a moral point of view. No one could pick a hole in her coat: she was well cloaked and covered. But after the letting-nlone aystem had reached its climax, when vice had spread, and thoughts of independence had arisen among a people quiet rather from ignorance than want of spirit, a remarkable change came over the English system. Our legislators suddenly became Inspired with the idea that we had neglected the moral and material training of the lower orders. A whole army of moral maxims volunteered on the occasion; the movement in the direction of religious and general education was marvellous. Never liad England appeared so noble in the eyes of mankind as now, when she had resolutely set about the task of rescuing her neglected sons from the abysses of sin and misery. Undoubtedly it was much better 'for the cause of 'morality that these motives should appear as the real causes of the wide-spread movement, than that the model nation should stand convicted before the world of having neglected the greatest duty of a moral people, until goaded on by the fear that what had happened abroad might come to pass at home, and that millions left in ignorance, and allowed to stray into vice and every degradation, might become a prey to the enemies of society, and be led into outrage or revolution. So, with these 'laudable 'motives, England 'set about edupating her dangerous! classes.

From the spiritual to the material improvement avas a natural step. In the richest country in the aworld-where the idea of Comfort' was generated, and from which the word was taught to foreigners -it became motorious that the social condition of the poor was an utter disgrace to humanity; that every evil that the vilest Asiatic despotism ever inflicted on its infatuated victims, was to be found in the heart of the model nation, the centre of medern civilisation; that the people held up, and controlized bingaugratic despotism. Thus the stand, and were thrice borne down before they holding themselves up to mankind, as the best-finally dispersed. Good! The brutal doings of governed in the world, had at least forgotten to

perfect themselves in this most essential part of self-government; that, in short, the worship of Mammon had, in this favoured nation, this apostle of Providence, led to a gressine glock of some of the primary duties of humanity-duties much better performed by nations not so far advanced. Straightway a great reform commenced. Almost for the first time in the history of Europe the nation began to contess to having been guilty of neglect, to having done something wrong! The impulse communicated was marvellous; it excited the wonder and admiration of mankind, Such a cleansing, such a draining, such a building of dwellings, such a washing the blackamoor white, never before had been seen in the model country. The Hypacrite was playing the part of the Good Samaritan; and something more. Well; was it not better to put forth a good and noble motive for all these things? was it not better even to confess to a past culpable negligence, than to allow that all these good deeds had been done under the pressure of a degrading fear-that the model nation had been stung into virtue by the second apparition of the cholera?

In one great instance, however, the superficies of moral pretext was abandoned, and the great Tartuffe acted avowedly on sordid and selfish calculations. Such an honourable exception, so rare a frankness, deserves to be specially recorded, as showing that even in an Age of Veneer nations may become ashained of their shams. On the great question of Slavery and Sugar, England has been guilty of an honourable inconsistency. If ever there was a great national movement that seemed real-real alike in its fundamental impulses, and in most of the details of its working out-that instance was the Anti-slavery Agitation. Its original promoters were men of heart and soul, who truly believed in this great work, and felt the obligation of a paramount duty. If all their instruments were not of the same true metal and fine polish, that refleets no shadow on the cause or its promoters; and, with regard to the public in general, no man can doubt that the vast majority of those who supported the agitation did so in a true, though gregarious spirit, more especially as they were not called upon to make any very serious sacrifices; and, in attending the orations and lectures of the agitators, there was derived a kind of pleasure agreeable to morbid appetites, such as is experienced in a greater or less degree by even the purest minds, in contemplating the details of physical vice and cruelty. The satisfaction of fulfilling a high moral duty was agreeably combined with the kind of excitement produced by an out i criminal proces, or a romance of the modern French school. A kind of vagabondizing, universalizing philanthropy, took possession of the public imagination. The British-more especially the fairer sex-became apostles, missionaries, liberators by proxy, all over the world. In Britain. among the oppressed, emaciated, pauperized workers, there was not field enough for this giant spirit. It must walk abroad; it must conquer heathen territory; much as, in after days, a Church moribund at its heart's core might show its vigour by an unnatural vitality at its extremities.

That this sentimental Christianity did take possession of the British mind to an extent not paralleled before or since, is beyond all doubt. proofs were steady and consistent. The nation was carried to great lengths. Its enthusiasm for philanthropy, its ultra-Christian Christianity, even blinded it to those first principles of justice ou which Christianity is based. In its exalted goodness it forgot to be honest and fair-dealing. In granting and paying a 'munificent' compensation, it committed a flagrant robbery, justifying its seant measure of recompense on the score of the iniquity of the thing paid for. However, the Act was passed, the slaves were freed, the money was paid, and the planters were ruined. England rose high in her own esteem : slie had done a great and good action; and from that time forth never ceased reminding the other nations of the world of her immaculate character, her immense superiority over them all. From that date her national Tartuffery augmented, and became more offensive in the eyes morality too great for the weakness of human of masking; who, perhaps, had not so deep a faith, nature. You can't plead innocence or ignorance, in the permanency of the superhuman goodness.

Many years did not pass ere the test was applied, and England threw aside her sanctimonious pretences. Some men effect to look on this as having been an error; others regard it as the harbinger of reformation, as a proof that England may yet throw off her Puritanism, without waiting till the low and sordid vices and weaknesses it cloaks are made apparent to all mankind. Bethat as it may, the time came when moral England had to choose between her devotion to the cause of human freedom and the saving of twopence a pound on sugar. Sho was reminded how she had passed herself off as the humanizer, the liberator, the civilizer-she was placed face to face with the indiguant shades of her Wilberforce, her Clarkson -she was made to look back on her multitudinous shoutings of indignation, her showers of teurs and whirlwinds of shvicks, at Exeter Hall-she was foreibly told what a high character she had asserted for herself as the philanthropist of the universe; and made to reflect upon the twenty millions she had paid, and the differential duties she had promised the West India planters as the other part of their compensation money. All this, and more, was dinned into her ears by those who would fain have seen her play her part out to the end, and then she was asked. Would she make shipwreck of this fine character, and all these noble motives, for the sake of a paltry saving on sugar?

Yes, she would! Cheap sugar carried the day against religion and philanthropy: the slave-owners were supplied with a market, the free-black cultivators were deprived of one; and England committed an act of bold common-sense without covering it with a pretext of morality; for the first time in the history of the nation since the dietatorship of the Earl of Chatham.

But, is England any worse than other nations? Do not other nations make aggressive conquests, or in every conceivable way consult their own aggregate interests, at the expense of those of their neighbours? Yes; undoubtedly they do, and probably they will continue to do so as long as the world is a world. The difference between England and those nations is, that they are not eternally making such a fuss about their morality, either in their collective shape as nations, or in their internal social economy. They are content to seem what they are; and are not continually earrying on a war against nature, in which they publish lying bulletins of pretended viotories. England's fault lies in the systematic use of pretexts, in almost every public and national actpretexts which differ from the real motives and necessities of the country as much as truth differs from falsohood. This has become so ingrained, such a chronic habit, that it is impossible to address the English people in any other spirit. A man who should speak to them the plain truth, uncover their political and social deformities, slice off the polished vencer and expose the coarse and common wood beneath, would be regarded as an enemy, a wicked one, or a madman.

Then, you will say, if, to obtain the assent and co-operation of the people, you are obliged to have recourse to these arts; if you must persuade them that they are doing right ere you can lead them to do wrong; if, in order to govern them, you must employ that jesuitry which, if they saw it, they would regard as an invention of the infernal deities; if you must put on the mask of goodness in order to deceive John Bull, is not that a proof that at heart and bottom he must be sound and good? that, however the veneered politicians and movalists may pass-current, the mass of the nation is true, and pretends to be no more than plain and honest?

Would that it were so! No, John Bull! you are becoming in your individual character as thorough a hypocrite as you long have been in your great national acts. You want to be a model man; you lay claim to an amount of virtue and

morality too great for the weakness of human nature. You can't plead innotence or ignerance, or that you do not know what you are about, or what is going on around you. No; you like to be deceived! You like to live a life of placid and apathetic blindness to the truth. You contemplate for ever an imaginary portrait of a good and moral man, and think you are the original. O bourgoois of the true breed! O 'respectable' sinner! O sauctingnons, solemp, selfish, purseproud, self-satisfied humbing! We will try and take you to pieces.

1935 Press of matter compets postponement of the continuation of "Consuctor"

Poetry for the People.

THOU ART A SELF DEGRADED SLAVE.

If thou caust view, with tearless eye,
The millions doomed to toil and die;
To bear with bitter scoffs, and sneers,
With hopes deferred o'er ling'ring years,
To pine in misery and grief
Throughout their lives; not know relief—
The while a self-entitled "great,"
Consume the wealth thy poor create
And curse them with a papper grave—
Thou art a vile, a heartless slave.

If thou east bear—with patience too...
That any upstart idle crew
Of useless drones; should dare deprive
The workers of the human hive,
Of all the honey-garnered store,
They've toiled through many a weary hour,
I' obtain; that in a funre day—
When time has wrought their strength's decay—
From work they may cessation have;
Thou art a crayen heartless slave.

If thou canst see vile class-made-laws
With wide, distended, rav'nous jaws—
That seek within each monstrous maw,
T'entrap the wretched struggling poor;
Who from the hardness of the times,
By want, are driven into crimes;
And punished—while the wealthy man,
Vile deeds enact with safety can,;
And minds of purest mould deprave—
Thou art indeed a heartless slave.

If thou canst see a royal thing
A self-entified Queen or King,
Attired in blood empurpled robe,
And gems from mines far o'er the globe,
With luxury on every-hand,
And power supreme at its command,
While—candour must the tauth impart—
There's black corruption in its heart;
And know that bread the people crave,
Without regret, then art a stave.

Hthou canst see God's found earth, That wealthy mine of priceless worth, A wild uncultivated waste,
To suit some shallow lordling's taste For breeding game; while not a Son Of Toil, his hand dare lay upou A hare, or else the vulture "law" May pounce on him with talon'd claw, And transport him across the wave—Contented, then thou art a stave.

If thou caust see this "Child of Toil"
Denied his right to share the soil,
To plough it up, to sow the seed,
To reap its fruits, for time of need;
An outcast driv'n from door to door,
Houseless, wretched, starved, nay more,
Reviled, and mercilessly slain,
By every Manmon loving Cain—
And yet no pity for him have,
Thou art a wretch, a thing, a slave.

If thou caust see the causes whence
A thousand ovils spring—and hence,
Reflecting on the sterling worth
Of honest hearts, crushed down to earth;
Whilst wretches thrive, who erings and bend,
Who fawn and flatter though the end
Be e'rr so vile—yet will not give
A hand to help the suffirers; live
And resone thus the true and brave,
Those art a vile degraded stave,
JNO. ATHOL WOOD.

AMERICAN SYMPATHY WITH KOSSOTH.—A bill has passed the United States Congress authorising the President to send a Government vessel to the Mediterranean, to bring Kossuth and his companions to the States.

Labour Record

Co-operative Thronicle.

STRIKE OF SMITHS AND HAMMERMEN.

MANCHESTER.—The strike of the hammermen in the employ of the Messrs. Sharp, which only recently terminated, has been succeeded by a "turn-out" at the works of Mr. J. Ashbury. This occurred four or five weeks ago. We give the following appeal of the committee of the men on strike:

"To THE SMITHS, HAMMERMEN, AND IRON TRADES.

"To the Smiths, Hammermen, and Iron Thades of Manchester.—Fellow Workmen,—If any proof was wanting to show you the value of union, it is now exhibited in the heartless conduct of capitalists to make you subservient to their own selfish and unprincipled aggrandisement. The cause of the present appeal is as follows:—Mr. John Ashbury, of Openshaw, lately intimated to a portion of the smiths and hammermen in the 'Tyer' department, that an additional amount of work would be forced upon them, without any extra remuneration being given. The present number of 'tyers' turned out per week of $57\frac{1}{2}$ hours' duration, is just 53, which is worked by four men and a boy. Mr. John Ashbury wished to increase that number to 58, or five extra! but to pay no more wages than what was then given; thus forcing an extra half day's work per week, or upwards of one month's additional profit in the year; and that to come out of a class of men whose labour is excessively hard, and whose remuneration is as inadequately paid. And mark you this fact—Mr. J. Ashbury is at present paying less than any of the other principal shops in the trade employed at the same description of iron work! The men took time to consider the terms, and very respectfully submitted to their employer the injustice of the reduction, which in point of fact meant nothing less; and at the same time offered, for a small increase, to try and finish the quantity which was demanded. The master re-fused this very reasonable request, and the men were forced to 'turn out.' It remains with you, then, to prove that your interests and theirs are one and the same. These repeated loppings-off must tell somewhere, and nowhere more frightfully than amongst your own order. Don't fancythat all ends here, you have not yet come to the level; but by union and honest heartedness between yourselves, strive to establish the ascending, instead of the descending, guage which will unmercifully submit you to the same fate. It is also earnestly requested that the iron hranches will respond to a man, and any assistance from the public or others not engaged in close connection with us, will be gratefully accepted. For all men are brothers. —JOHN COWAN, Chairman. All letters and money orders to be addressed and made payable to John Cowan, care of Mr. Wm. Gath, Navigation Inn, Great Ancoats-street, Manchester. No money to be paid to any book, except the same bear the stamp of the Committee in connection with the turn out.

STRIKE OF WEAVERS.

In consequence of a reduction of wages, the weavers late in the employ of J. Thompson, Pin Mill Brow, Adwick, Manchester, have been on strike during the past nine weeks. We are not acquainted with the particulars of the question at issue. The following extract is from a "Report" addressed to the Factory Operatives of Manchester and Salford :-

"We are determined to have that which we helieve we are justified in claiming. And now as regards our position, and the means to be adopted whereby we may be enabled to resist the offered reduction, and be saved from the fearful grasp of poverty and distress, is by each and all of you continuing to contribute your pence towards us, knowing that through the medium of your assistance, you are preventing double the sum being taken from you by a reduction of your wages. There are individuals who say they cannot spare tho sum of one penny per week towards us; but permit us to ask such individuals how many pennies, yea, shillings have they lost by being so blind to their own interest, by being 'penny wise and pound foolish?' And yet such as these, by way of cant, will pity us! But remember that a thimbleful of help is worth a bushel of such vitu.'' bushel of such pity.

TRADES' UNIONS.

THE OPERATIVE TAILORS OF SCOTLAND .- The Executive Council of the Western District of the Operative Tailors of Scotland's Federal Union have issued an Address, from which we give the following extracts:—" We would have addressed you sooner, but

the hurry consequent on bringing the rules into operation by the appointed time, and also the bring-ing into operation the ten hours' system, has hitherto nrg into operation the ten noirs system, has interest precluded the possibility of our getting our wishes accomplished; but we now thank you, and that most sincerely, for your support and hearty adoption of the principles of the Federal Union. We must say, in the words of our Greenock friends, in a letter to us, 'that the union commenced on the 3rd of this month, with greater numbers than could have been anticipated by the most sanguine of its supporters. Every word of that we unlesitatingly echo as an expression of our own sentiments, and our brethren of the Council in Edinburgh and Aherdeen possess the same feelings, and likewise echo the same sentiments.

* * * In Glasgow, the Union has been adopted, and, by the mutual agreement of employers and employed, the ten hours' system bas been agreed to.

To the employers of Glasgow we would accord our thanks; it was upon our recommendation that the motion to call them together for their approval of the system was brought forward, and the result has not disappointed our expectations. Upwards of fifty have adhibited their names, signifying that they will open and shut their workshops at such hours as will keep their workmen employed only ten hours per day. They have shown a noble example to the employers in other towns. Our hope is, that it will be followed, and their reward will yet be the best that can be awarded—viz., the smiles of an approving conscience, and the thanks of the moral and enlightened portion of the community. * * * We are determined to We are determined to of the community. We are determined to do your duty, and we ask if you are determined to do yours? Have you a desire that oneness of purpose and unity of action be a distinguishing feature in the means for the amelioration of our trade? Then join the Federal Union. Have you a desire to progress with the age, and are you desirous that we advance in moral culture, and that our trade take its stand amongst the enlightened portion of the community? Then adopt the ten hours' system, which will give time to recruit exhausted nature, allow time also for mental improvement, and the cultivation of those moral faculties and reasoning powers with which a beneficent Creator has endowed us. Are we below the moral standard? Has the reduction of working hours brought other workmen up to that standard? If such be the case, let us, therefore, shorten ours: and, as we possess the same feelings, and have the same hopes and desires, most assuredly the same results will follow. And, above al., are you desirous that a stop be put to the detestable system of sweating! Then agree to what we ask of you. We are determined that, so far as human efforts can apply, they will be brought to bear upon that system of robbery —that prolific source of crime, disease, and death. In short, join with us, be united, firm, and energetic, and give us your hearty countenance and support, and we promise you the following results, viz., that a more regular system will be adopted in the trade, that we will be able to take and maintain our proper position in society, and then, and not till then, can we successfully wage our warfare against the sweating system, and only then will the sweaters' dens, those charnel houses of morality, virtue, and honesty, be broken up. Do this, and for the councils in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, we answer, that nothing on their part shall be wanting. The addresses of the secretaries of the different districts, are, Joseph Kerr, Democratic Hall, 48, Nelson-street, Glasgow; John Watson, 55, Pleasance, Edinburgh; and L. S. Howie, 2, Love Lane, Old Aberdeen. Signed in name and by order of the Western Executive Council,

DUNCAN M'GILLVRAY, President. JOSEPH KERR, Secretary."

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.-FRANCE.

GOVERNMENT PERSECUTION OF ASSOCIATIONS .- A correspondent of an American paper, writing from Paris, observes, "One of M. Carlier's recent feats was to surround one of the *Union Restaurants*, at the dinner hour, arrest all the guests, some fifty odd in number, with the proprietor and clerk, and march them off to prison, under an allegation of a conspiracy amoug them. All but three or four were released after a day or two, but they will scarcely go again to the same restaurant to dine. Another feat was to prohibit the *Union Restaurants* from buying meat at the public auctions, but this met with such unanimous reprobation, that it was not long enforced. The most flourishing association was probably that of the street pavers, which, at the end of its first year, has made a net profit of forty thousand francs. It was dissolved by M. Carlier on account of its meddling with politics.

Advertisement.

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EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 17.7

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1851.

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"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue treely, according to conscience, above all liberties."— Milron.

THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

THAT "the most thinking people in Europe" should, year after year, generation after generation, submit to such fiscal enormities as taxes on cleanliness, light, and the means of intellectual development, proves that the egotistic words above quoted are as inapplicable to the people of this country, as they are unjust and offensive to those nations who share-with us the common name of Europeans. The window-tax and soap-duty are subjects I have not space to discuss in this letter. I propose to comment on the Paper Duty, the Advertisement Duty, and the Penny Stamp Tax on newspapers, which, combined, make up that trinity in unity of fiscal iniquity,—the abominable TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

All these obnoxious imposts had their origin at the same time, and were first levied by authority of one and the same Act of Parliament, enacted in the tenth year of the reign of Queen Anne. As usual "the state of the revenue" was the pretext for levying these taxes, the government being in want of "large sums of money to carry on the war " against France. But another and a more important consideration entered into the designs of the Court and Parliament in enacting these taxes. The conspirators rightly calculated that the effect would be to arrest the progress of popular intelligence and stifle the growth of democratic progress. This is proved by the fact recorded in the annals of Parliament that immediately preceding the imposition of those taxes the Queen sent a message to her "noble Lords" and "faithful Commons," complaining that "designing men, by seditious papers and factious rumours, had been able to sink credit," and otherwise injure "the glorious institutions" of the State. "Her Majesty" asked for a "remedy," and Parliament responded by imposing on the nation the infamous Taxes on Knowledge.

From that day to this, from the year 1712 to the year 1851, during the long term of One Hundred and Thirty-nine years, the British press has been shackled by these odious taxes. The amount has varied at different times, as for instance, the newspaper stamp was at first but one halfpenny on each journal, and was subsequently increased to fourpence. It is now one penny. But throughout nearly a century and a half the principle of these imposts has remained unchanged. To conserve class-rule by perpetuating popular ignorance was, and still is, the aim, of those who first imposed, and those who still defend, the abominable Taxes on Knowledge.

The dnty of three-halfpenee per pound on every description of paper is obnoxious in very many respects. 1st. The manufactu er is subjected to the surveillance of the Excise officers. Every room in a paper mill, and every implement and utensil used in the manufacture must be numbered and entered; the slightest omission rendering the proprietor liable to the heavy penalty of £200. By the provisions of the Act forty-eight hours must elapse after the paper is ready for the market before it can leave the mill. The delay, trouble, expense and loss, both add to the cost of production, and prevent men of moderate capital engaging in the trade. Of late paper has been advancing in price, the supply not being equal to the demand. The increased demand which, in all probability, would ensue on the abolition of the duty is beyond calculation. The duty and expenses occasioned by its collectiou cause an enormous increase in the price of every description of paper, but particularly those kinds used in general business. The duty has been estimated to fall in the following proportions as regards value upon the several kinds of paper:— On thin foreign correspondence

 $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. $\frac{33}{3} \frac{1}{3}$,, paper On printing paper ... $66\frac{2}{3}$,, On mill-board, &c, 74 On brown paper ...

It has been stated that some merchants for the purpose of wrapping and re-wrapping goods, use as much as twenty tons of paper every year. The coarse and common paper used by grocers, &c., costs them about £35 mense injury of the Cause of Progress.

per ton of which sum one half is in the shape of duty. In the manufacture of articles formed wholly or in part from paper, the manufacturer pays duty on that which is unavoidably wasted as well as that which is made up into articles of sale. 3. Owing to the operation of the duty, foreign manufacturers of articles made from paper are able, even after paying the import duty, to undersell the Home manufacturer, both in the English and colonial markets. 4. By restricting consumption, the duty on paper limits the employment of labour. At present there are about forty thousand persons engaged in the manufacture of paper. Thereis no doubt that this number would be immediately doubled in the event of the duty. being repealed. One manufacturer, Mr. BALDWIN of Birmingham, has declared that were the duty repealed, he could employ five hundred more "hands." 5. As a Tax upon Knowledge the paper duty is exceeding injurious to the general welfare. The public. are familiar with the oft repeated experiences of Mr. Knight, and the Messrs. Chambers. The London publisher states that he published the Penny Cyclopædia without any profit to himself, while he paid in paper. duty on that work £16,500. The Edinburgh: publishers state that while their "Tracts" failed to pay with a circulation of 80,000 copies, and consequently they were obliged to abandon the speculation, they paid on. that publication alone, not less than £5,000 in paper duty. The extinction of some of the works issued by KNIGHT and the CHAMBERS is hardly to be regarded as a mis-fortunc; the real evil is that the tax weighs with, to say the least, equally erushing effect upon publications, really devoted to the interests of the people. The Times newsinterests of the people. paper pays in paper duty alone Sixteen Thousand Pounds a year. If under the infliction of this impost the Times were to cease publication, it would be no great misfortune. The misehief is that the tax, instead of destroying the *Times* helps to conserve its monopoly. Relieved from this impost speculators in journalism would enter the lists of competition with the Times and that fivepenny nuisance would be shorn of the influence it at present enjoys to the im-

The duty of 1s. 6d. on each advertisement published in British journals-Irish journals 1s.—is a monstrous imposition. An announcement of half-a-dozen lines pays the same duty as one extending to half a column, or one or two columns. The wealthy speculator pays no more than the humblest "servant of all work." Traders into small ways of business are altogether, hindored from advertising, and persons seeking, employments, instead of stating their "wants" four or five times in succession, are compelled to:limit themselves to perhaps oue advertisement only, which through want of repetition passes unnoticed. Many a "last five shillings" has been staked on the desperate chanco of "trying an advertisement," and iu vain. Not, however, in vain for the tax-eating harpies who clutch tho 1s. 6d., heedless whother it be mulcted from the mite of the wretched, or the abuudance of the rich. Those who have money do not confine their advertising to the columns of newspapers. All the puffing tribe, from theatrical managers to sweating tailors, are in the habit of advertising themselves and their wares by means of "perambulators," board-bearers, &c., for which they pay not ono farthing duty. This is so manifestly absurd as well as unjust when contrasted with the rigour with which the tax is exacted from the unemployed "cook" or "perter," that comment would be superfluous. For a lengthy period the amount levied on each advertisement was 3s. 6d. in Great Britain, and 2s. 6d. in Ireland. In the roign of WILLIAM THE FOURTH these sums were reduced to their present amount. An immenso increaso in the number of advertisements immediately followed. In the year previous to the reduction the entire number of newspaper advertisements in Great Britain and Ireland amounted to 921, 943. In the year 1848 the number had advanced to 2,109,179. But this is insignificant by the side of the overwhelming mass of advertisements, published in the American journals, Tho number in the year 1847 amounted to 11,000,000, The cause of this startling difference is obvious. there is no tax on advortisements in America. In New York, for about a shilling, English monoy, any one may havo an advertise? ment of six lines in papers circulating from 20,000 to 50,000 copies daily. Traders keep thoir names and wares, day by day, before the public for forty dollars a year, -about 61d. a-day. What good reason oan there be assigned for denying to the people of this country the like facility for making known their "wants" as workers and employers, and their merits as traders and distributors? The interests of both Labour and Trade demand the repeal of this vexatious imposition;

The Penny Stamp Tax is the most obnoxit ous of all the Taxes on Knowledge. One special nuisance connected with this tax was forcibly, and I think for the first time, exposed by Mr. COBDEN at the late meeting at St. Martin's Hall. "If," said the member for the West Riding, "you are printing a newspaper at the extremity of North Wales although you may have bought the paper in a manufactory within half a mile of whore you are printing it—you must send it to Manchester to have it stamped before you can print on it. If in Cornwall you have a newspaper you must in the same way send it to London to be stamped. If in any other trade, the tea, or coffee, or any other, if,

purchasing your commodity, you had to send it one hundred miles to be marked before boing permitted to sell it in your own house, how long would the community stand such interference?" Mr. Cobben proceeded to point out another nuisance:—"Each newspaper must have its own its own dye. The consequence is, each newspaper proprietor mustihuve a large quantity of paper on hand. If he should wish to get out of business, he cannot sell off his stock to another newspaper proprietor; or if short in quantity; he cannot borrow from another proprietor. He must, therefore, have a large stock of paper on hand, and leave himself open to all the embarrassments consequent on fluctuations in the paper market." How would such a system have aroused the wrath of Milton I' Hear him in his "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing:"-" Truth and understand ing are not such wares as to be monopolised and traded in by tickets, and statutes, and standards. We must not think to make a staple commodity of all the knowledge in the land, to mark and license it like our broad cloth and our wool-packs. What is it but a servitude like that imposed by the Philistines, not to be allowed the sharpening of our own axes and coulters, but we must repair from all quarters to twenty licensing forges?" It is pretended that an equivalent is given for the pomy stamp by the government undertaking the conveyance of newspapers to any part of the United Kingdom free of postage. It may be very well to charge a penny for the postage of a paper from Lendon to Liverpool or Aberdeen, and if a man residing in either of those towns prefers a London to a local paper, it is only fair he should be charged postage. But why should a resident of London, Liverpool, or Aberdeen, who may prefer a local paper before any other, be mulcted of a ponuy under false pretences? Let the stamp be abolished, and every persen desiring to post a paper be required to affix thereto an ordinary postagestamp, there will then be justice in the charge. This arrangement, particularly if accompanied by the repeal of the paper-tax and advertisement-duty, would cause an immense local circulation of newspapers; both metropolltan and provincial. Another pretence for maintaining the penny stamp is that it upholds the respectability of the press: It is pretended that cheapness and immorality are insoparable. Granted there are licontious publications issued at a low price, the very existence of such works constitutes one of the most unansworable charges against THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE. Repeal thoso taxes, and multitudes who now seek mental excitoment by porusal of the publications alluded to, will prefer the ponny newspaper to the penny filthmonger. But are the stamped journals roally so moral that they can consistently denounce the immorality of cheap publications? Do thoy not one and all publish advertisements reoking with quackery, falsehood, and other abominations? Do they not give the "fullest particulars" of brutal murders, horrible crimes, disgusting trials, &c.? And do thoy not, that is to say, the most "respectable" and "influential," have recourso to systematic and shameless lying to hinder the progress of Right and destroy the defenders of Justice? The protence that taxes and high prices are necessary to conserve the morality of the Press is a mockery

and a lie. The truth is, as I have before declared, that THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE are maintained "for the purpose of ensuring to the rich the monopoly in the Press which thoy enjoy in all the other institutions of society." This has been avowed on more than, one occasion by the outspoken unblushing enemies, of Democracy. The Morning Posti, for instance, justione year ago observed that "the heavy tax on the daily press in this country, and especially that on paper, throws the management of this important organ into the hands of capitalists and friends of order"-that is to say, plunderers of other men's property and usurpers of other men's rights.

There is much more to be said on this important question, but which must be defered to another opportunity. In the meantime I reiterate the appeal to my readers to give their zealous aid to the movement for THE REPEAL OF THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

Because they prevent the expansion of trade and the extension of employment:

Because they perpetuate ignorance and

give encouragement to vice :

Because they are an obstacle to the general education; and especially to the political instruction of the great body of the people:

Bocauso they conserve a monoply in Journalism, advantageous only to the wealthy and privileged, and injurious to the poor and oppressed:

Because they are a bulwark to Despotism; and a barrior to the progress of Democracy':

Because the Public Good,—the Supreme Welfare of the People-demands their aboli-

Therefore-

AWAY WITH THE TAXES ON KNOWLEDGE.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

PORTRAIT OF BEM, RY A BROTHER OFFICER IN THE HUNGARIAN WAR .- Bem's outward man is anything but imposing; a rather short, but wellproportioned figure; an avail Polish cast of countenance, a short snub nose, a scar on the right cheek, which had been left by a pistol-shot; an ordinary mouth and forchead; his hair grey and thin; a stick in his hand, on which he rests as he drags, his right leg, with its three open wounds, after him; and his consequently limping gait. Take this, and cover it with the first best Honved uniform, which came in his way, and you have the portrait of Bem, as ho first receives the officer of the army of Transylvania at Szilagy-Somlyo; and in truth, under this guiso, none of us had discovered the here who was to lead us from victory to victory, and who, with such genius, was to nnfold to us the mysteries of the art of war. required, indeed, nothing less than a proclamation from Kossuth himself, before the army could be brought to trust the well-tried hero of Ostralenka. As Bom, however, cast his bright searching eye, burning with the hoavenly spark of genics, along our ranks, and in comprehensible though very Polish German, gavo utterance to his thoughts in these terms:—"Gentlemen, I require the strictest obedience; whoever disobeys will be shot. I know how to roward, but I know how to punish too. You may leave." We all stood, dumb-struck, before the little man; for we felt we had, to do with no ordinary person, but with a tried soldier, who was not to be trifled with.—From Major Czetz's Narrative of Bem's First Campaign in Transylvania.

LETTERS from Rome, in the Paris Univers, state that the Pontifical army is "deeply and daugerously imbued with democratic doctrines."

SIMON KONARSKI.

[The following sketch of one of Poland's martyrs is from the March number of The English Republic.* The same number contains articles on "The Pope or the Republic," "Chartism," "Republican Measures," "The Land Question." &c., Ac. We are glad to observe that Mr. Linton earnestly advocates the nationalization of property in Land. This will, ere long, be the question of questions. The "friends of Order" would do well to purchase this number of The English Re-They will find therein portraits of two of their heroes: Motternich, the arch-fiend of Absolutism; and Szela the leader of the Galician Assassins, employed by the Austrian government to murder the Polish patriots in February and March, 1846. Such a pair of hideous looking ruffians would look best in a wooden frame; glass would be superfluous, but a sufficiency of rope would be indispensable. - Editor of the "Friend of the People."

SIMON KONARSKI, a Protestant gentleman, was twenty-two years of age at the breaking out of the last Polish revolution. In that holy war he served first as an ensign; but his bravery and military talents soon obtained for him the rank of eaptain and the cross of honour. After sharing in all the most inportant battles of that ever glorious campaign, he when compelled, in common with the thousands of his countrymen, to emigrate, took refuge in France. But his soul was too ardent, his need of action too imperious to allow him to remain at rest. In 1833, under a fictitious name, and disgnised as a clock-maker, he with thirtynine exiles a penetrated through Germany, to Poland, with the intention of stirring up a guerilla warfare as a prelude to another national insur-This enterprise failed. Most of those rection. who took part in it fell into the hands of the enemy, and were shot, or hanged, or buried in the mines of Siberia or the Austrian dungeons of Kufstein. Konarksi had the remarkably good fortune to escape the indefatigable pursuits of Russian government, in spite of clouds of spies, innumerable hordes of Cossacks, large detachments of the regular army, and even the population of whole villages turned out to get hold of the emigrants. For months the forests were his only shelter, often not knowing how to clothe himself or appease bis hunger. Once he owed his safety to a Russian Officer, who called out the master of the house in which Konarski was concealed, and conjured him to care for his friend's safety, as in a few hours his house was to be vigorously searched. In vain the landlord protested that he had no stranger concealed; the officer repeated his advice, adding the mysterious words-'I am one of the followers of Mouravieff: b It need you understand me; save your friend!' hardly be said the search was unsuccessful. At last, at Prussian-Eylau, when he thought himself out of all danger, his ignorance of the technicalities of clock-making awakened the suspicions of the local police; but they only sent him to Dantzie and put him on shipboard for Antwerp. Mazzini and the Italian patriots were then organizing the expedition into Savoy; and Konarski, quitting Belgium without a passport, hastened to join their standard. Again unsuccessful: but failures could not dishearten him. His holy zeal seemed to be inflamed with new ardour at every obstacle; his courage grew with the danger. He immediately considered of fresh endeavours; and to secure himself against the recurrence of such a dilemnia as that at Prussian-Eylau, he set himself seriously to learn, as an ordinary workman, one of the branches of clock-making: so preparing himself for the spectalic mission for which he was destined.

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noster Row.

a Under the leadership of Zalivski. Twenty-nine of them perished in the expedition. Few of them, when they started on this journey of a thousand miles, possessed more than forty shillings each. Most were with-

out passports.

L'One of the Russian Republican Martyrs.

As a member of the association of Young Poland, which confided to thim a most important duty, he proceded, in 1835, by London, to Cracow, in order to confer with the coreligionists there; and thence, toward the end of the same year, he passed into Russian Poland, traversing, under a variety of disguises, with death ever at his side, Volhynia, Podolia, Lithuania, -in a word, all the Polish provinces subjected to the Muscovite knout. His activity was wonderful: everywhere he spread the writings containing the Gospel of the future and the sacred promises of the faith of which he was the apostle; everywhere he organized subscriptions for the national work; everywhere he knew how, by the fire of his eloquence, to kindle the most apathetic souls. At his voice the believers crowded from far and near; the youth of the Universities of Kiew and Wilna entered into the new holy-alliance, and placed in his hands their solemn oath to undertake everything, to dare and to endure, for the salvation of their unappy country. At his appeal the magnanimous Polish mothers taught their nurslings the love of liberty and of their country, and inextinguishable hatred of foreign tyranny. of an audacity that dispised the dread of death, he penetrated to the very ranks of the Russian army, and even there, in that seemingly sterile soil, so irresistible is the admirable power of a real enthusiasm, he saw the seed which he sowed take root and germinate. If the experience of passed ages is not an illusion, from this grain we shall see arise the beneficent growth of liberty for the slave people of Russia. It is remarkable, as an indication of the spirit which even now animates the Russian army, that among the numbers of soldiers whom Konarski admitted to his confidence, not one betrayed him. Even the consummate spysystem of Russia failed against him, for it had to cope with a man uniting never-failing coolness and presence of mind with a genius always fertile in resources. For three years he baffled the most skilful of the numbers who continually dogged him, till at last in May 1838, in the neighbourhood of Wilna, he was denounced by a German who had overheard his conversation and arrested. Conveyed to Wilna, the Governor, before whom he was brought, had the baseness to strike him. Konarski had strength enough to heave up his ponderous fetters and smite his cowardly assailant. c For nine months the hero languished in a Russian prison, detained so long in the vain hope of extorting confessions from him, to implicate his friends. All he endured during this terrible period was never known; it was ascertained however, that when found to be mutc under the lash, he was fed on salt provisions, and tempted to speak, in the fever of burning thirst, by having liquids placed before him. He was deprived of sleep. Incisions were made in his back, and melted sealing wax dropped in, drop by drop; then spirits of wine poured in and set fire to. In vain. They could draw nothing from him. The Russian go-In vain. They vernor could not withhold his admiration; called him 'a man of iron.' Two Russian officers successively refused to shoot him. One, a Captain Koravieff, even plotted to set him at liberty; but was discovered. At length sentence of death was passed upon Konarski; that he should be shot. His mother hastened to Wilna to embrace him for the last time. They refused her admittance. Three days before the execution she was brutally driven out of Wilna. The 27th of February, 1839, was a severe winter-day. Konarski, to whom they had only left his summer trousers, intreated the jailer to procure him others. 'My shivering limbs may tremble, 'said he, 'and I would not even seem to fear death.' The jailer could do nothing without authority, and contented himself by assuring him that the way was not long. A few hours before his death Konarski received a visit from a monk. Taking his hand, he said-'My good father! I am sure that God will remit my sins, for I have bitterly expiated them; -I have

c The Governor died of the consequences of this blow, two years afterwards.

suffered much both for my Country and Humanity. Though I am a Calvinist, your benediction will be as welcome to me as that of a minister of my own faith. Bless me, then, as thy son, one like thyself a believer in the Cross, -and I shall die happy. The monk wept and blessed him. He had not the heart to try for his 'conversion.' Afterwards a Protestant ministor was sent to him. With him he calmly took his tex, and conversed of God and immortality, till he had to mount the sledge, to be carried to the place of execution, beyond the walls. All the streets were densely crowded. Children, strong men, and aged, all were in tears. But he, lifting his fettered arms, cricd- 'Weep not for my lot, in a little while I shall be free; weep, weep for your own!" Thon, turning to the clergyman, he said. 'How many monarchs might envy me a funeral procession, so numerous, and so spontaneous!' His only request was that his eyes might His only request was that his eyes might not bound. And so to the last he looked death in the face, not merely with firmness, but with the assured screnity of one who saw beyond death into the future, and whose unshaken faith prophesied to him of his Country's liberty and certain glory.

His death, and the manner of it, shook like an earthquake, the souls of friends and enemies. Even the 'Augsbourg Gazette' let slip the phrase-'Konarski has been shot, and has died with a firmness worthy of a better cause.' Ah, if bettor, holier cause than Poland's regeneration, could be found. A Russian General, present at his execution, cried out in his conviction- 'From this moment I abhor the cpauletts that weigh upon my shoulders." later, the Russian Officers procured the Martyr's chains, forging them into rings, to be worn in secret—in memory of his sufferings, and of his cause. But the Polish population waited not. Hardly had he fallen, when the agonized crowd burst in, the Russian ranks broken, all cager to touch the body of the Saint, to possess some relic of him who had so loved, and dared, and suffered, Even a handful of the earth upon which he had fallen was a treasure in their eyes. Who will doubt of the resurrection of Poland?

POLITICAL INJUSTICE.

"Monarchy," says Chateaubriand, "does not live it survives." This is also true—perhaps more true -of the political slavery of England. The injustice of our present system survives, and survives by the want of discipline of the people. Like the jackall, it lives upon the dead bodies and offal of our attempts at betterance. If we could to-morrow put an end to the petty differences and little prejudices of the people, political oppression would be starved to death. The injustice is so evident, the wrong so clear, that it is only by drawing the attention away from the right to the actions of those who want to attain it, that class legislation exists. We pity heathens abroad, who worship some goggleeyed monster cut in wood. But have we not heathenism as vile at home? Men set themselves up an idol in some leader, threy do not follow the cause the cause follows him. No man ever yet got to the end of his journey who unceasingly turned aside to look at this flower or that tree. We have not yet learned, when we have some great end in view, to march straight on to our gaol, we turn aside, we mix a thousand private affairs with our public principle, we make excursions to the right and left, and whilst we dispute, whilst we squabble oppression laughs and grows fat. Our opponents know what they have to do. They have one distinct thing to support, they have one end to which all their efforts are directed. We are like men who strike blindfolded. We hit, but hit at random, and seldom hit that at which we aim. We travel to no point. We revel in vagueness, call a meeting, declaim against our wrongs and our wrongers, the crowd applaud and you are an hero. Propose an organization, which if fully carried out must attain your end, straightway the enthusiasm ceases, the high temperature sinks to freezing point, and you are not half the hero you were. The working classes do not comprehend fully the value of political justice. They can form large organizations for pecuniary but not for political ends. We have Foresters and Trade societies, but we have no Chartist nor Republican societies worthy the name. The great secret of success in study, is to do one thing at a time and to do that thing which you have predetermined to do. The great secret in politics also is to do the thing you have appointed yourself to do, and to do it without turning aside from your path. It is useless to expect to master a study before we have mastered the elements. It is useless to teach algebra to one who does not know arithmetic. We expound syntax in vain to those who are ignorant of etymology. The application to politics is this, we seek in vain to master political knowledge until we have mastered the very elements of all political actiondiscipline and consistency. Chartism hitherto has been a hurricane or a dead calm. It is in the steady wind the ship makes the most way. It is he who works-not by fits and starts, but regularly-does the most work. Oppression survives because our mistrust and bad passions survive. The tendency of the age is against it, the conduct of the people for it. Let us cast aside aimless endeavour, let us set up some great thought as a lamp to our feet, neither let us turn aside nor swerve in our course, let the bigot curse, and the doubter sneer, reply to denunciation by argument and answer falsehood with truth; do this and the tinsel will be stripped from the throne and oppression give up the ghost without a struggle.

H. R. N.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Monies Received.—For the Convention: J. Davis, 1s.; J. Rickards, 1s.; E. Cadwalader, 2. 6d.; R. Owen 3d.; A Friend 3d.—all of Newtown, Montgomeryshire.
For the Fraternal Democrats: M. W. Norman, Isle of Wight, 1s: For the Polish Refugees at Liverpool: Mr. Moore, carver, &c., Hart-street, Bloomsbury, and workmen in his employ, 5s.

"A Cosmopolitie."—The notice was in accordance with the information we received. The festival in honour of the birth of Bobspierre will take place on Tuesday, the

A COSMOPOLITE.—The horizon was the information we received. The festival in honour of the birth of Robespierre, will take place on Tuesday, the 8th of April.

J. RICKARDS, Newtown.—Your wishes shall be at-

tended to.

RECEIVED.—John West, M. W. Norman, J. Cameron, W. Whitehead, H. R. Kay, J. E. Fisher, W. Hutcheon, J. Clark. Thanks all.
W. B. R., Manchester.—The pamphlet shall have early

J. Clark. Thanks all.

W. B. R., Manchester.—The pampblet shall have early notice.

"Servo."—In next-nomber.

J. W.. Sheffield.—Inadmissable.

The Convention.—To the Editor of the Friend of the Propte.—Dear Sir,—After reading your appeal in No. 13 of your valuable publication, (and also the address of the Executive) a few of the readers of the Friend of the Executive) a few of the readers of the Friend of the Executive) a few of the readers of the Friend of the Executive) a few of the readers of the Friend of the Executive) a few of the readers of the Friend of the Executive) a few of the readers of the Friend of Convention; and, with that view, they commenced a subscription amongst the professing friends of Chartism, but which we regret to say has not been so successful as the justice of the cause, and the beneficial results which would flow to the working classes from the Charter, might have led us to expect. We consider the present time to be peculiarly adapted for the propagation of Chartist principles, therefore we would urge upon the Convention the necessity of establishing a missionary fund, to send out lecturers into the rural districts to preach and expound the benign and ennobling principles of Chartism; as we are convinced, before we can reap the benefits of our agitation, there must be an entire change wrought in the habits and opinions of the rural population. We think that it would be much better to break up fresh ground, than to travel in the old beaten track. Therefore we respectfully submit these few observations to the consideration of the delegates. We most seriously solicit attention to Wales, where the most deplorable ignorance and apathy exist. We are aware of the difficulty of carrying out these suggestions, on account of the paucity of funds, but we think that if one strong, united, and energetic effort was made it could be easily accomplished. Working men must depend upon their own energies, for the middle-classes have so often deceived us that we can no longer trust them; neither must

Peter Parley.—Samuel G. Goodrich, the world-renowned author of Peter Parley's Histories, has been nominated Consul at Paris.

BIRTH-DAY OF ROBESPIERRE.

THE soirce in commemoration of the birth-day of MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE, will take place at the Literary and Scientific Institution, John-street, Tottenham Court Road, on Tuesday evening, April the 8th. Tickets, and full particulars, may be had on application to Mr. Truelove at the Institution, or the Editor of the Friend of the People. The profits will be given to the Polish refugees at Liverpool. No free tickets will be issued, the committee considering that every man, whether speaker or otherwise, should help to swell the proceeds for so laudable a purpose, It is to be hoped that all who can attend the tea will do so; but those who cannot, should not fail to attend the meeting at 8 o'clock.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, APRIL 5, 1851.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE REPUB-LICAN REFUGEES.

A CONSPIRACY is a-foot to engage England in the crusade of the continental tyrants against Democracy. As usual that villanous journal, the truculent Times is foremost in the work of infamy. "I have been assured on what I have no doubt to be competent authority," writes the Paris Correspondent of that paper (March 26,) "that in the recent correspondence which has passed between the leaders of the Socialist Committees of London and their brethren in nearly all parts of the continent, the strongest recommendations have been given to send over to London, at the period of the Exposition, as many 'men of action' as possible." Of course this is a lying invention of the Times correspondent. No matter. From the avowed Absolutist to the sham-Democrat, it is eagerly seized upon to excite prejudice against the Refugees, and so prepare the way for their persecution and expulsion from this country.

The very day after the above lying libel appeared in the Times, "Lord" LYNDHURST brought the subject of what he was pleased to term "the reprehensible conduct of certain foreigners who are now living in this country under the notice of his brother peers. He bitterly inveighed against "a person called MAZZINI," against LEDRU ROLLIN, and General KLAPKA, charging them with ' keeping up an insurrectionary spirit" on the continent, &c., &c. On this charge the "person called" "Lord" Lyndhurst founded an appeal to the Government to either prosecute the Refugees, or, as that process would be "uncertain in its results," to re-enact the Alien Bill. To hack up his appeal he quoted "the alarming statement" of the Times correspondent given ahove. "Earl" GREY in reply stated the disinclination of the Government to renew the Alien Bill, but intimated that his "right hon. friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department had his attention closely directed to the proceedings of the Refugees," with the view of adopting the necessary steps, &c., &c.

From this it may be infered that the Refugees are at this very time under police surveillance, and are menaced by some danger not yet defined. Wherefore? Have they conspired against the existence of the English government or the welfare of the British nation? Their crime is that they seek to liberate Italy and Hungary from the tyranny of foreign ag-

from the cruel despotism of the Reactionists. This may be a crime in the eyes of the "person called" "Lord" LYNDHURST, but it is a virtue in the estimation of the British people. But, says the "person" just named, it is a high crime for the Refugees to carry on measures of a hostile character, "directed against those countries with whom we are in connexion by treaties of friendship and alliance." For the word "countries" substitute "governsubstitute "governments," and we deny that the British people feel anything like "friendship" for, or desire any "alliance" with, the blood reeking House of Hapsburg, or any other of the tyrannical governments of Europe. And if the British government is in alliance with those detestable oppressors of nations, the inference to be drawn therefrom is, that our government is a party to the general conspiracy against the freedom and welfare of the European peoples. "Lord" LYNDHURST'S direct participation in this conspiracy is shewn by "his lordship" making himself the mouth-piece of the Austrian despotism to denounce the Republican Refugees, while he has not one word to utter against the sons of Louis Philippe, and those other conspirators against the French Republic, who make this country the scene of their plots and intrigues against the existing constitution of France. We have not space to pursue this subject further at present. the Refugees we say: be on your guard. To the British people we say: it is your duty to protect your brethren from the vengeance of their enemies and yours—see that you fail not therein.

THE POLISH REFUGEES.

THE Leader reports that two Poles of the Polish-Hungarian Legion, who, following the advice given them, went to America, were recently driven by misery and despair to commit suicide; the one, KLIMASZERSKI by throwing himself under the wheels of a railroad engine, the other NIEDZIELSKI, by blowing out his brains. This too sadly confirms our statement in last week's Friend as to the obstacles to the refugees obtaining employment in the United States.

The Liverpool committee continue actively engaged in seeking subscriptions and employment for the refugees. Concerts and dramatic entertainments are amongst the means employed to raise funds, and with decided success. Six of the exiles have been drafted to Bradford, where a number of friends have volunteered to find them support for the present, and employment as soon as possible. Ten or twelve have obtained employment in Liverpool, and others have been taken to the homes of friends to live with them for the present. An appeal is being made to the various associations of operatives, and there is every probability that it will be heartily responded to.

We give a list of those of the refugees who have a knowledge of some trade or profession, namely: — Joiners 5; Sugar Refiners 5; Tailors 11; Brewers 2; Locksmiths 3; Chemists 2; Gardener 1; Compositors 3; Lithographers 3; Saloon Painter 1; Cutler 1; Bricklayer 1; Iron Manufacturers 5; Soap Maker 1; Bookhinder 1; Confectioners 4; Stone Mason 1; Butchers 2; Dyer 1; Calico Printer 1; Architectural Draughtsman 1; Musicians, forming a band 5; Pianists 2; Opera Dancer 1; Sculptor 1; M.D. 1. We gressors, and continental Europe in general trust that other townswill follow the example

of Liverpool and Bradford, and communicate to the Liverpool committee, saying how many of the refugees they are prepared to take in like manner. Communications may be addressed to Mr. JAMES SPURR, 10, Williamson Square, Liverpool.

At the suggestion of the refugees them. selves, the committee have published in

the Liverpool papers the following-

CAUTION .- The public will do well to be on their guard against 'a set of fellows who are soliciting assistance by representing themselves as refugees. The refugees decline to receive any contributions of any kind, except through their committee.

We have now to call the attention of our readers to the following letter from Mr. LIN-TON. The suggestions contained therein are excellent, and we trust will be acted upon by all who really feel an interest in the welfare of the refugees. We hope to be able to announce the formation of at lease one such committee as Mr. LINTON suggests, composed of our own immediate friends, in the next number of the Friend of the People. We beg our friends to forward their names forthwith.

To the Editor of the Friend of the People.

My DEAR SIR,-I wish to call your readers' most serious attention to some few important considerations respecting the 232 Poles who are now

1st. They are all picked men-staunch and welltried republicans; who can ill be spared from the coming European war, and whose services meanwhile here, in spreading republican principles, were it only by example, will be of immense value to the cause of English freedom.

2nd. Our enemies are well aware of this; and therefore it is that the base Whig government is endeavouring to starve these men into consenting to be transported to America; therefore it is that Lord Dudley Stuart's (may the men of Marylebone mark him) society of the Aristocratic Friends of Poland—therefore it is that Liverpool magistrates and merchants (chiefly the supporters of Mr. Hume's Reform Bill) are doing their utmost to second the execrable intentions of the government.

3rd. We have little reason and no right to expect that the aristocrats and parliamentary reformers of other parts of the country will act very differently from their friends at Liverpool. As at Liverpool there may be honourable exceptions; but we must not depend upon the middle classes keep-

ing these men.

4th. It will be a shame to Chartists, and a damning confession of the utter weakness of our party, if the Chartist body, taking it at the lowest calculation of 5,000 men, cannot support

232 of the proscribed.

There is one way in which we can insure their support. Not by leaving them to chance subscriptions, which almost always fall short, but by individuals guaranteeing the support of individuals. If the Chartists of Great Britain will divide themselves into Relief Committees of twenty men, each committee undertaking to guarantee the support of one man, the work is done. 20 times 232 is 4640. I believe there are 4640 Chartists; not one of whom ought to shrink from even the sacrifice of sixpence a-week to save his brother from starvation.

Six-pence a week is ten shillings a week for each Pole—till he can learn our language and obtain employment. We would not keep such noble guests, on even the poor fare of the wretched of our own land. Recollect it is not a life-burden, but a temporary hospitality. We would treat them like guests. I say this, not wanting sympathy also for our own sufferers, and with a full knowledge of the poverty and scanty resources of my fellow countrymen. But there are emergencies when we can put forth an extraordinary strength. This is one.

Has the Chartist body earnestness chough to give their sympathy with European liberty this practical shape? I will not doubt their response. Let twenty after twenty, as rapidly as possible, forward their undertaking, signed with their names, or the name of one authorised by the rest, to the Editor of the Friend of the People, who will forward the same to the Central Committee for the relief of the Refugees.

I take twenty at sixpence each as an average, simply to show what may be done. But sometimes ten may be rich enough to guarantee the one man. Sometimes thirty may club their smaller sums. Each man, too, will undertake for what he can-onc twopence, another sixpence, another a shilling. Let men everywhere set about the work, and soon as in any place a sufficient number can combine to guarantee one man, let their undertaking be sent in. shillings, too, I only name because I must fix a sum. But let cach committee make its own calculation. Simply all that is wanted is for 232 Chartists, in their own names, or the names of any number of their friends with whom they are joined, to guarantee the maintenance of 232 Refugees.

Let me also be understood when I say guarantee. I do not ask for sixpence a weck paid down; but for the names of those who will undertake to be ready with sufficient for the support of one man, or so much as may be needed to make up any deficiency, whenever subscriptions fail or fall short. So that whenever there is any lack of means, the Central Committee may know on whom to fall back for a certain supply, till subscriptions come in again.

Surely the Chartist body can do this. if on a matter so close to their principles and to their feelings, they are unable to thwart a rascally government and its time-serving supporters -but they can do this, and I trust they will. Honour to those whose names shall stand first

on the list of the Refugee Guarantee Fund.
Yours faithfully,
Miteside, Mar. 21, 1851. W. J. Linton. Miteside, Mar. 21, 1851.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

The Central Committee request the acknowledgment of the following sums, received by the secretary, in the FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE:—

ENGLAND'S CRIME. - Were nations liable to any punishment, visible in the persons of their inhabitants, for their conduct towards other nations, the result of the conduct of the English nation towards Italy, not to mention Hnngary, in the spring of 1849, should be, that every Englishman now alive should wear the mark of a hot iron on his forehead, or have one of the fingers of his right hand cut off. protest we are sick of the thought of our national cold-heartedness in all those great opportunities of action for the good of Europe, which God, these tbree years past, has been throwing before us. If there be one reflection which more than another must necessarily present itself to a right mind, reviewing the history of continental Europe during the last three years, it is the reflection of the magnanimity, the honesty, the mercy, the enduring heroism of the chiefs of the party of the movement, as contrasted with the poltroonery, the mendacity, the cruelty, the systematic jesuitism, of almost all the leaders and almost all the advocates of tyranny. We except no country. If the advocates of despotism in this country have not been cowardly, mendacious, cruel and jesuitic in act, they have been cowardly, mendacious, cruel, and jesuitic with tongue and pen.—British Quarterly Review.

CHEAH POSTAGE IN AMERICA. -The new postage law of the United States provides for three cents postage on all prepaid letters, five cents if not prepaid, for all distances under 3,000 miles, over 3,000 miles, double those rates.

JUSTICE FOR ALL! EXAMINATION OF THE BILL FOR DIS-SOLVING THE NATIONAL LAND COM-PANY

LETTER II.

To the Editor of the Friend of the Prople.

CITIZEN EDITOR,—Thanking you for the ready kindness with which you gave insertion to my introductory letter, I now proceed to criticise the Bill to which it referred. Previously to so doing, however, I cannot refrain from offering my very humble congratulations to the "land members" generally, upon the position those resident in London are about to assume, and the steps they have already taken. Your readers will recollect that, in my former letter, I indulged in the expression of the happiness I felt from the fact that the shareholders were about to arouse themselves in order to demand justice for all the parties concerned. That pleasurable feeling is now increased by the information which has reached me, to the effect that a committee of the shareholders has been appointed for the purpose of organising a systematic and effectual means, not of opposition to the winding-up of the company, but for securing the honest and impartial adjustment of the rights and interests of those whose pence and pounds have constituted the company. The proposed enactment, which I now introduce to your readers, is entitled-

BILL

TO DISSOLVE "THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY," AND TO DISPOSE OF THE LANDS AND PROPERTY BELONG-INO TO THE COMPANY, AND TO WIND-UP THE UN-DERTAKINO.

The preamble declares that-

"Whereas sometime in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-five, an association or society was projected and commenced under the title of 'The Chartist Co-operative Land Society,' for the purpose of purchasing land, on which to locate such of its members as might be selected for that purpose; and the objects of the said society were subsequently in the same year, with the assent of the subscribers thereto, declared to be to purchase land, erect buildings, and allot them to its subscribers, upon such terms as should enable them, by moderate industry, to live in comparative comfort and independence," &c.

The preamble then goes on to state that the "Society was originally divided into sections," and, upon its being found not conformable with the Friendly Societies' act, the name of the Company was several times changed, and that with the view of bringing it under the operation of the "Joint Stock" act, a "deed of settlement was. prepared," bearing the date of 1st of June, 1847, in which Thos. S. Duncombe, Esq., was appointed a trustee, on behalf of the "National Land Com-

The preamble continues-" And whereas in the said deed of settlement the purpose of the company is declared to be 'the purchasing of land in various parts of the United Kingdom, and erecting on such land dwellings to be allotted to members of the company, and also the raising of a fund, out of which sums of money shall be paid to, or applied for, the benefit of members, being allottees of land. The capital of the Company to be one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, to be divided into one hundred thousand shares of one pound six shillings

"And whereas in prospectuses subsequently issued by the Promoters of the Company, with the assent of the subscribers, the proposed capital was expressed to be one hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds, in one hundred and fifty thousand shares, of one pound six shillings each, but shares exceeding that number may have been subscribed for and issued."

After stating that the rents of allotments were reduced-that the company could not be completely registered-and that the subscriptions have been applied in purchase of land, building, and cultivating, and making advances to allottees, the

preamble proceeds—

"And whereas portions of the said purchased lands have been sold by the said Feargus O'Connor for the benefit of the company, and have been conveyed to the respective purchasers thereof, which lands so sold are specified in the second schedule hereto," then adding that allot ments and advances have been made to certain subscribers, it further

says, into possession of their allotments, but no allotment has been actually conveyed or demised to any allottee; and some of such allottees, in accordance or supposed accordance with such rules, have, received hadvances of money, or of seed, stock, tools, implements, or other goods out

of the said company."

Limust here romark that the declarations contained in these two last sections, which by a little abbreviation I have brought nearly into juxtaposis tion, are condemnatory of Mr. O'Connor's pentire management of the experiment. In the first place, the objects of the society, as expressed by this very bill, and as understood by every one connected with it, having any knowledge of its essential principles. never professed to include that of selling portions of the society's lands to persons without, or within, the ranks of its members. In the second place, those objects did include the allotting of land, &c., &c., to the members, "upon such terms as should enable them to live in comfort and INDEPENDENCE." this bill declares that no allotment has been conconveyed or demised to any allottee, -that is to say, that the very fundamental principle of the scheme, the legal security, and consequent "independence," of the allottee, has been shamelessly abjured. While, on the other hand, this great, nay greatest, of advantages, this palladium of the society's success, has been most inviduously and insidiously accorded to a class of persons never contemplated by the rules and principles of the society; and for a paltry pecu-niary advantage. For this has the company been sacrificed. This witholding of legal security from the affortees, who had broken up their previous homes, and severed their old associations who had expended their peouniary means and their labour upon their little farms, this damning dereliction of duty, is the pregnant cause of the company's dissolution and ruin. Mr. O'Connor has hitherto succeeded in creating and keeping up a prejudice in the invinds of the subscribers against the allottees; the time must come, however, and that before long, when the former will understand the real position of the latter; when the conviction will establish itself upon their minds that insecurity creates doubt and anxiety, and these the prostration of mental and bodily energies. I make no allusion here to unpropitious seasons and unfavourable circumstances. because, possessed of legal security in his holding, the idler or the incompetent would have given way to him possessing industry, ability, and will. I say emphatically that the great body of the subsoribors will soon appreciate the touth of these romanks, and pierce through the flimsy contri-vance of Mr. O'Connor, by which he has shifted on the allottees that odium which in truth and

justice should alight upon himself.

To return to the Bill, the proamble thus yeraciously proceeds:—"And whereas, some time, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty seven, a bank of deposit was opened in New Oxford Street, in the county of Middlesex, under the style of 'The National Land and Labour Bank,' and the business of Banking was oarwied on there under the management of the said Feargus O'Connor, but the same bank was by the said Feargus O'Connor, and also by the other promoters of, and the subscribers to the said 'National Land Company,' stated and un-stood to be established and carried on in aid of the objects of the said Company, and as part of the undertaking; -and the said Banking business was so carried on by the said Feargus O'Connor, until the other operations of the said Company were suspended, and the said bank has since been kept open and remains open chiefly for the

repayment of deposits," &c.
I shall defer, until I come to the enacting part of the Bill, the remarks suggested by the above passage; and will intimate, as briefly as possible that the preamble proceeds with the recapitulation of the historical facts connected with the Society; such as legal doubts having arison as to the Society having been divided into sections. and as regards the adoption of the lottery system. Also doubts as to the legality of the hanking business. But this, by the way, is a doubt, gratuitously thrown in by the framers of the Bill for a purpose which will be made sufficiently evident in the course of this examination. Doubts, are further expressed as to the amount of legal pains, and penalties, the promoters of the Company may have incurred; and also as to the title of the purchasers of the portions of the estates, previously alluded to, and then adds:— "And whereas divers subscribers to the said undertaking have commenced legal proceedings against the said Feargus O'Connor, as one of the promoters of the said undertaking, for the return of their subscriptions;"-After which the pre-

amble concludes as follows:-

"And whereas it is expedient that the said undertaking should be abandoned, and the said Association or Company dissolved, and the affairs thereof wound up, and the said estates and other assets belonging thereto sold, collected, and got in, and distributed (after paying and discharging the cost, charges, and expenses of and incident to the obtaining and carrying into execution of this Act, and all costs, charges, and expenses, debts and engagements, to which the said Association or Company may be liable), among the respective subscribers to the said undertaking, in proportion to the amounts of their respective subscriptions; and that the said Feargus, O'Connor and other persons who have promoted the said undertaking, or received subscriptions on account thereof, or dealt with subscriptions, should be protected from legal proceedings and demands for the return of such subscriptions; and also that all dealings, transactions, matters, and things heretotors had or done by or on behalf of or in relation to the said Society, Company, or undertaking (if any) which were illegal, or prohibited in any of the ways herein before mentioned, or which were or might have been woid or voidable, or impeachable, by reason of any such illegality or prohibition, should be declared to be, and to have been as valid, lawful, and effectual to all intents and purposes (including the exemption, exoneration, and discharge of all persons concerned therein from all such pains and penalties as aforesaid), as if no such illegality or prohibition had existed; and that the titles of the respective purchasers of the said lands and hereditaments specified in the second schedule hereto should be confirmed; but the same cannot be effected without the authority of Parliament; therefore the said Feargus O' Couror and the promoters of, and subscribers to, the said undertaking

DO MOST HUMBLY BUSERCH TOUR WAJESTY, That it may be enacted, and bo it enacted by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in the present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same. That the said Association, Society, or Company, now called and known by the name of 'The National Land Company' shall be and the same is hereby absolutely dissolved."

Thus says clause No. 1 of the bill; No. 2 proceeds to render valid all the transactions of the Company, and to exoncrate all parties concerned from legal penalties; to which no objection can be clause is so honestly and appropriately rounded

"Provided always, That the said Banking business shall be deemed to have been heretofore carried on as part of the business, and for the benefit and at the risk of the said Company!"

Surely the most loyal and affectionate children of that devoted parent, whose proud boast it is never to eat or ride at the people's cost, must find, in the above extract, ahundant proof of parental affection and disinterested zeal. But, to henserious; .itaappears to me; that argument, .in: reference to this nefarious intention, is quite superfluors. For I can imagine no one so callous of justice, so insensible to truth, or so blinded by prejudice, as to attempt a justifi-cation of this disraputable endeavour. To pretend, as the preamble does, that the Bank was recognised and sanctioned as a part of the "undertaking," is an impudent assumption, only equalled by the dishonesty cvinced in the effort is an impudent assumption, only to throw upon the Land Company the liabilities of that economically conducted Bank. I say this advisedly, because I am sure that the shareholders, even with the confiding inertness which characterised them, would not have consented to the extravagantly expensive management of that establishment. But they were never consulted, for the obvious reason that that concern was the individual speculation of Mr. O'Connor, by which he hoped to make profit, out of that credit he then had amongst the working classes, resulting from his political poularity. better to accomplish this, of course he must do it, on the magnificent. He must have a first rate establishment, and a gentleman-manager! With his credit vanished, and his banking speculation as valueless as his promises to pay, he has the unquestioned probity to demand of others the liquidation of his debts. But I invoke the shareholders not to submit to this furtive attempt. Indifference on the part of any one concerned will merit the suspicion of sinister interest.

I had hoped to have compressed the extracts from the Bill, and my remarks thereon, into this letter; but fearing that I have already intruded too much upon your limited space, and being desirous of doing justice, according to my humble ability, to the subject under consideration, I must beg permission for another letter, and your readers' indulgence for another week, and am, Citizen Editor, yours fraternally,

UBIQUITY.

To the Editor of the Friend of the People.

DEAR SIR,-A meeting of shareholders of the National Land Company; convened by placards, advertisements, &c., having appointed a Committee to watch the progress of the Bill for winding-up the Land Company, the said Committee have peta-tioned the House of Commons to suspend the progress of the "Bill" for one month, in order that those whose interests are so deeply concerned, may have an opportunity of learning its contents and consequences. While giving their concurrence to a bill for discussion, and winding-up the company, the Committee have thought fit in their petition to dissent from the proposition for cutailing the debts and liabilities of the "National Land and Labour Bank" on the Land Company, seeing that the Northern Star has again and again proclaimed it a private affair belonging solely to Feargus O'Conner. They also ask for a rigid enquiry into the expenditure of the Company, more especially as regards the building of the cottages and schoolhouses on the several estates. They also ask that that "official manager" to be appointed shall not be a person directly interested in the affairs of the Company. The potition has been sent to Mr. Henry Berkeley, member for Bristol. The Committee being anxious to ensure the largest dividend urged. But what will be said—what will be to the several shareholders, will feel obliged by thought of the following, with which this No. 2 communications from the secretaries of branches, to the several shareholders, will feel obliged by

or active members residing in the numerons districts in which members abound, giving their opinions on the dissolving and winding-up affair, prior to the next meeting of members, which will be held at the Hall, Golden-lane, on Sunday afternoon, the 6th of April. - On behalf of the Com. mittee, I am, most respectfully,

R. HENRY BLOOMFIELD, Secretary. Committee Rooms, 26, Golden-lane, City of London, March 27th, 1851.

Teaves from our Tibrary.

CONSUELO.

DY GBORGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 15?)

"But the remembrance of Zdenko was fated to pursue her like a vengeful shadow, and force her to accuse Albert in spite of herself. On approaching the door, her eyes lighted on an inscription in Bohemian which she could easily decipher, since she knew it by heart. Some hand, which could be no other than Zdenko's, had traced it with chalk on the dark deep door: 'May he whom they have wronged—.' The rest was unintelligible to Consuelo, but the alteration of the last word caused her great uncasiness. Albert returned, grasping his violin, but she had neither courage nor presence of mind to assist him as she had promised. She was impatient to quit the cavern. When he turned the key in the lock, she could not avoid placing her finger on the mysterious word, and looking interrogatively at her host.

"'That means,' said Albert, with an appearance of tranquility, 'may the unacknowledged angel,

the friend of the unhappy-"'Yes, I know that; and what more?"

" . May he pardon thee!" " 'And why pardon?' she replied, turning pale. "'If grief be pardonable,' said the count, with a melancholy air, 'I have a long prayer to make.'

"When they began to descend from the base of the Schreckenstein to the valleys beneath, Consuelo became calmer.

" 'Pardon me,' said she, leating gently on his arm, 'I have certainly been mad myself in the

grotto.'

" Why recall it, Consuelo? I should never have spoken of it; I knew that you would wish to efface it from your memory, as I must endeavour to blot

it from mine.'

" 'I do not wish to forget it, my friend, but to entreat your pardonforit. If I were to relate the strange vision which I had while listering to your Bohemian airs, you would find that I was out of my senses when I caused you such terror. You cannot believe that I would trifle with your reason or your repose. Heaven is my witness that I would lay down my life for you.'

"" Heavens! she exclaimed, stopping to look at a peasant who passed at some distance, 'I thought

I saw Zdenko.

"Albert shuddered, dropped Consuclo's arm which he held within his own, took a few steps forward, then stopped and returned towards her, saying, 'What an error is yours, Consuelo! this man has not the least resemblance to' ——he could not say Zdenko; his features betrayed violent agitation.

"You thought it yourself however for a moment, said Consuelo, who looked at him attentively. "'I am near-sighted, and I ought to have re-

collected that this meeting was impossible. "Impossible? Zdenko is then far away?"
"'So far, that you need fear nothing from his

madness. *** Can you explain his sudden hatred to me after

his previous display of sympathy?'

" I teld you that it arose from a dream which he had on the eve of your descent into the cavern. He saw you in a vision follow me to the altar, where clung to Albert's arm, and looked at him with a

yon consented to pledge your faith to me; and thereyou sang our old Bohemian hymn with a clear and thrilling voice which made the whole church ring; and while you sang he saw me grow pale, and sink into the floor, until at length I was dead and buried in the sepulchre of my fathers. Then he beheld you cast away your hymeneal crown, push the flat stone over my head, which covered me on the instant, and dance on it, singing incomprehensible words in an unknown language, with all the marks of unbounded joy. Enraged, he threw himself on you; but you had already disappeared in a thick vapour, and he awoke, bathed in perspiration and transported with anger. He awoke me also, for his cries and imprecations made the vault echo again. I found it difficult to induce him to narrate his dream, and still more to hinder him from looking upon it as the counterpart of my future destiny. I could not easily convince him, for I was myself labouring under morbid mental excitement, and had never tried previously to dissuade him when I saw him place implicit belief in his visions and dreams. Nevertheless, I hoped that he had ceased to think of it or attach any importance to it, for he never said a word on the subject; and when I asked him to go and speak to you about me, he did not oppose It never entered into his conceptions that you should seek me here, and his frenzy was roused only when he saw you attempt the task. Nevertheless he displayed no hatred against you till the moment we met him on our return from the subterranean galleries. He then informed me very laconically in Bohemian that he intended to deliver me from you—that was his expression—and to destroy you the first time he met you alone; for that you were the bane of my life, and had my death written in your eyes. Pardon these details, and say if I had not ground for apprehension. Let us speak no more about it if you please, the subject is truly painful. I loved Zdenko as a second self. His mental wanderings were identified with my own to such an extent, that we had the same dreams, the same thoughts, and even the same physical indispositions.'

"' Oh, my friend,' said Consuelo, 'you should hate me, as I hate myself for having deprived you of so devoted and precious a friend! But his exile has lasted long enough; he is by this time surely recovered from his temporary attack.'

" 'Probably,' said Albert, with a strange and

bitter smile.

" Well, then,' replied Consuelo, whose mind revolted at the idea of Zdenke's death, 'why not recall him? I should see him without fear, I assure you, and we should make him forget his

prejudices.

'Do not speak of it, Consuelo,' said Albert, sorrowfully; 'he will never return. I have sacrificed my best friend, my companion, my servant, my stay-my provident, laborious mother-my dear, submissive, unconscious child; he who provided for all my wants, for my innocent yet melan-choly pleasures; he who upheld mo in moments of despair, and who resorted to force and cunning to prevent me from leaving my cell, when he saw me incapable of preserving my own dignity and exist-ence in the world of living men. I have made this sacrifice without remorse, because I felt I ought; for since you have faced the dangers of the cavern and restored me to reason and a sense of duty, you are at once more sacred and precious to me than cven Zdenko himself,

"'I was afraid. I knew what the oaths of Zdenko were. He had sworn to live only for me, and he kept his oath in my absence as since my return. When he swore to destroy you I did not think it possible to change his resolution, and I determined to offend, banish, orush, destroy him.'

" 'To destroy him! What do you mean, Albert? Where is Zdenko?

" You ask me, as God asked of Cain, where is thy brother !'

"Oh Heavens! you have not killed him, Albert?' And Consuelo, as she uttered the word,

mixture of pity and terror. But she recoiled from the proud and cold expression of his pale countenance, where grief seemed to have fixed her abode.

" 'I have not killed him, yet I have taken his lifo assuredly. And if I have preferred regret and repentance to the fear of seeing you assassinated by a madman, have you so little pity in your heart that you always recall my sorrow, and reproach me with the greatest sacrifice I could make? You also are cruel! Cruelty is never extinct in a

human breast.'

"There was such solemnity in this reproach, the first that Albert had ever addressed to her, that Consuelo felt more than ever the fear with which he inspired her. A sort of humiliationweak, perhaps, but inherent in the female heartreplaced the pride with which she had listened to his passionate admiration. She felt herself humbled, no doubt misunderstood, because she did not wish to discover his secret, save with the intention, or at least the desire, of responding to his affection if he could justify himself. At the same time she perceived that she was guilty in the eyes of her lover, because, if he had really killed Zdenko, the only person in the world who had no right to condemn him, was she whose life required the sacrifice of another life infinitely precious to

"Consuelo: could not reply: she endeavoured to speak of something else, but tears choked her utterance. In seeing them flow, Albert was dis-tressed in his turn; but she bogged him never to recur to so painful a subject, and promised on her part; with a feeling bordering on despair, never to mention a name which caused him such terrible emotion. They were constrained and unhappy during: the remainder of the day, and vainly endeavoured to converse on some other subject. Consuelo did not know either what she said or heard. This sad but deep tranquility, with such a load on his conscience, bordered on madness, and Consuelo could net justify her friend save in remembering that he was made. If he had killed some bandit in fair fight in order to save her life, she would have felt gratitude and perhaps admiration for his strength and courage: but this mysterious murder, doubtless perpetrated in the darkness of the cavern-this sepulchre dug in the very sanctuary—this morose silence after such a deed—the Stoical fanaticism with which he dared to lead her to the grotto, and there deliver himself up to the charms of music-all this was horrible, and Consuele felt that love for such a man was a feeling which could not enter her heart. 'When could he have committed this murder? she asked herself. 'I have not for months seen a trace of remores on his brow. Was there not, perhaps, blood on his hands some day when I offered him mine? Dreadful! He must be made of stone or ice, or else he loves me to the verge of madness. And I who so wished to inspire a boundless love-I who so bitterly regetted being loved so coldly! Behold what Heaven has reserved for me in answer to my wish !'

Lost in dreary reverie, she received with an absent air the flowers which Albert gathered for her on their way, and which he knew she loved. She never even thought of leaving him and entering the castle alone, so as to conceal their meeting; and whether it was that Albert thought no more about it, or that he deemed it unnecessary to dissemble any longer with his family, he did not suggest such a precaution, and they found themselves face to face with the canoness, at the entrance of the eastle. For the first time, Consuelo—and, doubtless, Albert also—observed those features, which were rarely ugly in spite of their deformity,

inflamed with anger. (To be continued.)

ENGLAND'S RETURN FOR THE ELGIN MARRIES!-A late traveller among the Ionian Islands says, the first thing he met at Athens was a Greek girl selling 'Morison's Pills.'

Labour Record

Co-operative Chronicle.

PROPOSED INDUSTRIAL CONGRESS: EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN.

The following has appeared in the Morning Chronicle :-

TO THE WORKING MEN OF THE WROLD.

The following extracts from the proceedings of the New York Industrial Congress, will explain the object of my present visit this side of the Atlantic:—

Resolved-That this eongress send a delegation to London, to meet in convention the delegates of trade societies and labour associations from other parts of world, during the Fair of 1851, for the purpose of interchanging opinions with each other in relation to the state of labour, and the condition of the labouring classes in the various countries they may represent. Passed December, 1850.

"Resolved-That Mr. Parsons E. Day be hereby appointed our delegate to London, to make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for the contemplated convention of mechanics and working men, to be held in that city during the Fair of 1851. Passed, February 4, 1851."

In accordance with the above resolutions, the undersigned has made a visit to this city, and will he happy to meet with inventors clubs, trade societies, labour associations, &c., to explain more fully the objects of PARSONS E. DAY. this convention.

No address is given with the above letter. A singular omission which Mr. Day should hasten to reetify.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS.

To the Editor of THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

Sir,—I have to inform you that at a numerous meeting of the Pimlieo Working Builders Association held March 21st, a vote of thanks was unanimously awarded to you for your kind notice of our Associa-tion in the Friend of the People.

It is a great pleasure to us to find the Champions of Liberty taking up our cause, and showing their readiness to help us to accomplish the great work we have begun.—I remain, your's truly,

WM. POND, Secretary.

Upper Tachbrook-street, Pimlieo.

In accordance with the promise given in a former number of the *Friend of the People*, we repeat the list of Working Men's Associations established in the

Working Tailors' Association, 34, Castle-street,
Oxford-street.
North-London Needlewomen's Association, 31, Red

Lion-square. Working Shoe Makers' Associations: Ladies' and Gentlemen's Boot and Shoe-makers, 11b, Totten-ham Court-road. Gentlemen's Boot and Shoe, and Strong Shoe-makers, 151, High Holborn. Branch:

5, Church-street, Chelsea.
Working Printers' Association, 4a, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.

Working Bakers' Association, 26, Clipstone-street,

Fitzroy-square.
Pimlico Working Builders' Association, Tachbrook-street, Warwick-street, Vauxhall Bridge road.
Working Builders' Association, 4, All Saints'-place,

Caledonian-road.

Central Office of the Working Men's Associations, 76, Charlotte street, Fitzroy-square, where all applica tions should be made, and to which it is requested that all information be sent.

The miseries of unlimited competition, the abuse of the powers of capital, have long taught the Working Classes that Union is their only strength; but painful experience has likewise shown that strength to be hut wasted, for the most part, in combinations for the raising of wages, in the forced idleness of strikes. By united lahour, therefore, the members of the above Associations seek to maintain themselves and their families; and if not always able to compete with the nominal cheapness of the slop seller, or the low-priced tradesman, they hope, in the quality and workmanship of their goods, to guarantee to all eustomers the fullest value of their orders. Whilst those who look beyond the work to the worker, who feel that custom itself has its morality, and that the Working Classes

of England have been stinted of their due reward in money, health, knowledge, and all that makes the man, will surely rejoice in aiding a movement which tends to substitute airy workshops for dens of filth and fever-fair prices for starvation wages-fellowship for division—and moral as well as practical self-

government, for mechanical obedience.

government, for mechanical obedience.

To the above list of Working Associations must be added the London Co-operative Stores, opened at 76, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square, in connection with the Society for promoting Working Men's Associations. The object of the Stores is to enable members of the Stores are added to the Stores and the stores are added to the St tions. of the aboze-named Associations, and other persons who may desire it, to obtain articles of daily use perfectly free from adulteration, of the hest quality, and the lowest charge, after defraying the necessary expense of management, distribution, and providing for a reserve fund. All the subscribers to the Stores of not less than 5s., receive back at the end of each quarter of a year, as a bonus, the profits upon all purchases made by them during such quarter, subject to the necessary expense of distribution and a reserve fund. The transactions are for ready money, but subscribers may have credit to the amount of their subscriptions. Orders, subscriptions, &c., received, and all information given by LLOYD JONES, Manager.

The London Association of Working Tailors, under the management of Mr. JAMES BENNY, No. -Oxford-street, is a Society not in connection with the above list of Associations. The first quarter's balance-sheet is published in the Christian Socialist, of March 29th. The auditors state that the result has far ex-

ceeded their most sanguine expectations.

NEW STORES. -Our contemporary, above-named, reperts the completion of arrangements made by the men in the employment of the Great Western Railway Company, at New Swindon, for opening a eo-operative story in that town tive store in that town.

WORKING ASSOCIATIONS OF PARIS.

L'Association Fraternelle des Tailleurs.

The Fraternal Association of Tailors, Ruc du Fau-hourg St. Denis, 23, is the first-born of Louis Blanc's progeny. Entering an omnibus on the Boulevard des Italiens, I descended at the Porte St. Denis, and proceeded up the left hand side of the Rue du Fauhourg St. Denis for about fifty or a hundred yards, when I saw before me, on the door-post of a large gateway, the well known emblem of equality—a mason's level—and the words, Association Fraternelle. conspicuous on a white board, above which was another board, with a similar emblem. Here I entered, and, having passed through a broad and clean passage, with the porter's lodge on one side, I found myself in an open court, surrounded by a good, submyself in an open court, surrounded by a good, substantial, and rather new building. In front of me, on the first floor, I saw, in large letters, the words, "Association des Tailleurs," on the left, "Ateliers," and on the right, "Magasins." On the ground floor, on my right,, were the Associated Cooks' diningrooms, and in one corner of the court a number of poor men and women were standing drinking soup out of tin basins, the charitable offering of the poor to the poor. I passed on through the principal door to a spacious staircase, which led to the tailors' estahlishment, consisting of three large rooms, and a small one over the entrance door, termed the Bureau d'Administration, ornamented with portraits of Louis Blane, Barbes, and other Socialist leaders. I opened the door on my left, and entered a splendid room about 50 feet long, by 20 feet broad, and 12 to 18 feet high, floored with oak, and lighted by one window that occupies nearly the whole breadth of the room: near it was a handsome counter and a large stock of ready-made clothes, at the other end was the cashier's desk. From this room I passed into a still larger apartment, about 25 yards long by 5 yards broad, one end of which is partitioned off with drapery, and elegantly furnished as an attiring room, with round mahogany table, sofa, chairs, and a large mirror. The other portion of the room is fitted up with counters, tables, shelves for woollen goods, of which there was a large and varied stock, a desk for the hookkeeper, a magnificent ornamental stove, large enough to warm the whole room, and the other usual appurtenances of a warehouse. Citizen Berard, the gerant (manager). soon entered, whose sa. gacity in business and unwearied activity for the interests of the society have caused him to he constantly selected as gerant, an office which requires great taet and firmness in governing, and eonsiderable experience in commercial transactions. The gerant has had a wearisome task to perform in attending on lawyers, notaries, courts of faw, and other

places to obtain payment of 120,000f, owed them for an order they had executed at the command of the Provisional Government. At last, 40,000f. were offered and accepted by them; but this was afterwards reduced to 25,000f., which, however, could not be obtained for several months afterwards, nor even then till the case had been twice tried in a court of lawdelays well calculated to destroy the association. At last it was paid, but with a deduction of nearly half, to be paid over to former members of the society, who had since quitted it, many of whom had been only partially employed on the work in question, but were unfortunately the willing tools of the reactionary party. The result was that, instead of 120,000f., they did not receive much more than 10,000. Few associations have had more troubles to endure than this one; commencing without any capital, they had to make it by the work of their own hands; they received nothing from the Government grant; it was only by deducting a portion of their salary and submitting to every sacrifice that they were enabled to create a capital. For eighteen months on one occasion, none received more than two francs a-day; yet there was no complaint; all were ready to submit to any privation rather than the principle of association should suffer from their failure; they became poor that the association might, become rich. By means they obtained, in three months, a capital of 70,000f., having commenced in March, 1848, with 15:10 members, at the prison of Clichy, which was formed into a vast atclier for that purpose, and where they continued to progress under the protection and with the counsel of Louis Blanc, so long as he was in a position to give it them. There are now 350 associated members, though only sixty are employed in the ateliers The stock, cash in hand, and good debts, amount to about 50,000f.; against which they have liabilities to the amount of 15,000f, leaving a balance of 35,000f. (£1400) in their favour. They are doing a good trade, but during the three months from July to September or October business is very dull and the want of ready money is felt; they have oonsequently much to endure from want of this commodity, as they would otherwise be able to employ their hands during the slack season in manufacturing a stock of goods for the winter, and hire a shop in some advantageous situation for their exposition: this would place the association to command future prosperity. The government is entrusted to a gerant aided by a jury of five members, elected annually with other officers at the general assembly. Originally it was governed by a committee of fifteen directors, but this machinery was found too cumhersome, and was altered in 1849, when new laws and regulations were drawn up and agreed to, at which time also the system of paying by the piece was introduced, as it had been found that an equality of wages was not only unjust, but injurious to the establishment, and produced much dissatisfaction, as might be expected with the present formed characters of most men.—From the Leader.

Advertisement.

NEW FAMILY NEWSPAPER.

On Saturday 19th of April, 1851, will be published No. 1. Price threepence, of

On Saturday 19th of April, 1851, will be published No. 1.

Price threepence, of

THE PIONEER, and Record of Movements; a Liberal Newspaper of Physical, Moral, Social and Political Progress. Its columns will be devoted to the Illustration and Advocacy of All progressive movements, including the Temperance, Dictetic, Medical, and Spelling Reforms: it will explain and enforce the principles of Peace, Phrenology, Vital Magnetism, Homeopathy, and Hydropathy. It will elucidate the ideas and details of Co-operation; treat in a familiar style of popular Anatomy, Physiology, and the Philosophy of Health; opening its pages to the discussion and explanation of every scheme of human advancement, though pledging itself to advocate only those which have established themselves in truth and utility. It will also contain all the ordinary news and topics of the time; besides a variety of instructive and entertaining matter, selected from the highest literature of the day, or contributed by original writers of established repute. Literature, Art, and Science will contribute their becautes and wonders to its pages: the domestic hearth will be made more joyous by its flights of fancy, and the dwellers in the Ideal constantly refreshed by its poetic jewels and gatherings from the world of beauty.

WILLIAM Horsell, 13, Paternoster-row, London, and Sold by all Booksellers, and News-agents.

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FRIEND OF THE PROPLE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 18.]

The Chartist Convention

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1851.

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To the thinking of all classes
The Chartist Land Company
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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—

THE CHARTIST CONVENTION.

Wearied of the hypocrisy, humbug, and shameless selfishness unceasingly exhibited by those who usurp the title of Representatives of the Commons of the United Kingdom, I have of late taken no notice of the performances in the Westminster Tax-Trap. The struggles of factions, the wordy warfare of parties, all alike the enemies of justice and the people's welfare, are of little interest to the earnest. hard-working long-suffering masses. What concerns them to know, is the course pursued by those who are their direct representatives, the men composing that veritable Parliament of the People—THE CHARTIST CONVENTION.

This body, consisting of thirty delegates, assembled at the Parthenium Rooms, St. Martin's Lane, on Monday, the 31st of March. The following is the list of the places represented, with the names of the delegates:—

.. G.W. M. Reynolds Greenwich and Kent John Gray North Lancashire Portsmouth and Edinburgh ... Thornton Hunt Westminster and Marylebone ... Alf. Hunniball .. George Shell Lambeth and Southwark ... John Shaw Tower Hamlets ... James Finlen City and Finsbury .. Ab. Robinson Bradford District ... T. M. Wheeler ... F. O'Connor Exeter and Tiverton G. J. Mantle

Manchester. ... Worcestershire and Gloucester-... G. J. Harney shire · · · Thos. Savage Bristol Ernest Jones Halifax District A. Duncanson Paisley District ... Wm. Felkin Nottinghamshire .. James Capewell Staffordshire Potteries J. J. Bezer Sheffield and Rotherham .. Wm. Benfold Cheshire ... Alex. Yates Coventry and Birmingham John Barker Northampton George Wray Leicester ... South Shields, &c. ... D. W. Ruffy ... Walter Pringle Edinburgh

Huddersfield District ... Thos. Hirst
Dundee ... James Graham
Derby District ... John Moss
Newcastle-upon-Tyne ... James Watson
Dudley District ... Dan. Thompson
Glasgow District ... Daniel Paul

An aptitude for business, and an earnest desire to conduct the discussion of difficult questions without falling into personal and acrimonious disputation have thus far been distinguishing features of the present Convention. It has been shewn that differences of opinion both as regards principles and the mode of carrying those principles into execution, may be honestly entertained and fervently expressed without giving rise to ficrce personal contests. Happily the Convention was spared the presence of those whose notorious dishonesty would have rendered this forbearing policy impossible.

The reports of the delegates as to the social condition and political position of the working classes went to shew that, despite Free Trade and the other "boons" conferred on the country by our liberal legislators, the condition of the people is generally deteriorating from (very) bad to (much) worse; and that in spite of a too general apathy towards political questions, the principles of Democracy are widely entertained, and a force exists which by the adoption of a wise policy may be evoked in support of the Charter; which all true Reformers yet cling to as the one great means of accomplishing the regeneration of the country.

neration of the country.

As to the policy to be adopted, while a few delegates were instructed to vote for continuing the agitation in the old rut so long trudged in by "the animal"—and "nothing but the animal," the greatly preponderating majority came instructed to demand the turning over of a new leaf, and to see that a course of action should be adopted calculated to arouse the sympathics and enlist the energies of all those who are aggrieved by existing institutions, and whom self-interest should, therefore, array on the side of the friends of the Charter. The Alliance of Social Reformers and Chartists, and the maintenance of the Charter as a political measure distinct from all other franchise schemes, were points strongly urged by the majority of the delegates.

On the report of measures for the reorganization of the Chartist movement, proposed by the Executive, being brought under
the consideration of the delegates, a debate
arose on the question of the course to be
pursued in relation to the Parliamentary
and Financial Reforms. The Executive's
resolution was opposed by two or three delegates, who appeared to labour under the
exceedingly erroneous impression that it was
the design of the supporters of the resolution
to wage war against the "respectable" reformers. This view of the question was
vigorously opposed by the majority, who,
while discountenancing opposition to the
"Reformers," strongly condemned any alliance with that party. Ultimately the Executive's resolution was adopted by all but
three delegates.

The second clause of the Charter section of the programme was opposed by a few of the delegates, on the two-fold ground, that there was a doubt as to whether the suggested amendment had not already been adopted by the delegates who took part in the memorable Birmingham Conference,-and even if such was not the case, had the present Convention authority to meddle with the text of the Charter. It was argued that to interfere with the text of the Charter without having given previous and due notice to the country, in order that the delegates might have come instructed on so important a question, was to establish a precedent of a most injurious character. Unfortunately, the opposition was over-ruled, and a decision pressed for immediately. Only six delegates voted

text runs as follows:—
"That he (the elector) be not undergoing
the sentence of the law at the time when called
upon to exercise the electoral right."

against the clause, which was consequently

carried. I have since ascertained that the

clause was altogether unnecessary, the amendment having been adopted at the Birmingham

Conference.

The clause in the amended

This is one and the same with "a deprivation of the vote while undergoing punishment for the crime." The resolution adopted by the present Convention must, therefore, be rescinded. I think this matter worthy of special notice, it being of great importance

that the people should discountenance any interference with the text of the Charter, excepting by a national delegation elected for the purpose; the Chartist body having due notice of any amendments designed to be introduced into the fundamental pact of their

political existence.

The resolutions relative to petitioning; the nomination of Chartist candidates at the next general election; the contesting of municipal and parochial elections; the propaganda of Chartist principles amongst the trades, agricultural labourers, farmers, miners, and railway labourers, together with the sending of special missionaries to the Irish people; met with the concurrence of the delegates generally. These resolutions will be valuable or valueless just as the people may determine. It has been a reproach levelled at former conventions and executives that they proposed to do a great deal, and ultimately did nothing. Making every allowance for the evils resulting from unskilful leadership, it must be admitted that popular apathy, and a want of discipline, earnestness, and perseverance on the part of professing Chartists, have been the primary causes of that barrenness of results which is the shame of the Chartism of the past. It is the work of the people's delegates to resolve upon the course to be pursued in the future; but it will be the task of the Executive to carry the resolutions of the Convention into execution. That task cannot be fulfilled, unless the means of action are placed at the command of the Committee. To print and circulate addresses, tracts, &c., to employ lecturers, and send forth missionaries, the Executive must have moner. Given the means, the end is certain. Provided with the necessary funds, the Executive will be able to command the services of mcn of thought and language, to whom will be delegated the task of organizing old districts, and breaking up new ground. Our brothers of the Trades will be invited to co-operate with the declared Chartists, for the advantage of both. The long-suffering sons of the soil will, for the first time, hear the glad tidings of Democracy. The fearless miners and stalwart railway labourers will learn

"Why they wear bondage, when they might be free."

Lastly, our long-estranged Irish brethren will be informed of the true sentiments and principles of the British people, and will learn that through the fraternity of the peoples of the two countres, lies the path of salvation for both. All these and many more beneficial results will flow from the professed Chartists doing their duty. If they fail therein, the Executive must fail, and the deliberations of this Convention will have

been in vain.

The second part of the Executive's Report, adopted by the Convention, appealing, as it does, to the self-interest of the disaffected of all classes, is calculated to exercise a powerful impression upon both friends and foes. Chartism is entering a new phase of its existence. Heretofore it has been the creed of an isolated party,—henceforth it becomes the bond of union for all the oppressed and justly dissatisfied. I must postpone until next week further comment on this most important question. In the meantime I congratulate THE MEN OF THE FUTURE, who are at the same time the most earnest men of the present, that at length we are fairly on the high road to the Charter and something L'AMI DU PEUPLE. MORE. FORWARD!

PROGRAMME OF AGITATION

ADOPTED BY THE

CHARTIST CONVENTION.

Held'in London, Monday, March 31, and succeeding days, 1851.

THE paramount duty of a Chartist National Convention is to promote Chartist organisation,-to keep that organisation distinct from every other political movement or alloy,-and to spread through all classes political and social knowledge to the utmost of their power.

I.—It is, therefore, resolved that, for the better re-organisation of Chartism:—

1st. That, since by each and all of the franchise measures now before the people (excepting that embodied in the Charter), the middle-class would gain far more votes than the working-classes would obtain, which would place the latter in a more powerless position than at present. The Charter must be agitated for in its entirety—that the omission of any one of its points would impair the utility of the remainder—and that, therefore, popular sup-port must be withheld from all franchise measures falling short of its provisions.

2nd. That in the Bill for the Charter, the clause specifying that every male adult should have the vote, unless convicted of crime, should be modified to imply a deprivation of the vote, merely while undergoing punishment for crime; since the punishment for an offence once undergone, no after penalties ought in justice to attach to the individual.

3rd. That a national petition for the Charter be presented to Parliament, such petition to be pre-pared on the following plan:—Simultaneous meetings for passing the petition to be held in every town or borough where practicable. 'At such meetings two tellers to be appointed to count the numbers present; and the petition, together with a declaration affirming the numbers in favour of the motion, to be signed by the tellers and the chair-

man of the meeting.
4th. That in anticipation of a dissolution of Parliament, all boroughs where the Chartist body are strong enough to contest the election, forthwith fix on their candidate (such to be Chartists, pledged to the Charter in all its entirety), form election committees, subscribe funds, and commence agitating the dist. and bring their influence to bear on the constituency. That where the candidate cannot go to the poll, a Chartist to be at least put in nomination upon every hustings in the kingdom, where it is possible to seize that opportunity for spreading Chartist knowledge.

H.-Municipal and parochial power should be vested in the hands of the people, and disenfranchisement in local matters is as unjust as the re-striction of the elective franchise. Therefore it is resolved-

1. That the assistance which Chartist organisation may derive from municipal and local power be not lost sight of, but that practical steps be taken in all townships and parishes (where democratic organisation is in existence) to contest the municipal elections.

2. That addresses be issued to the people, relative to municipal and parochial legislation, and that the question of municipal and parochial nniversal suffrage be brought before the public on principles

analogous to the Charter.

III .- It is further resolved that the agitation for the Charter be carried among the trades, to strengthen both movements through mutual aid; that communications be entered into with the Executives of the Trades' Unions, the various trades bodies and associations of working men for that purpose, pointing out the reciprocal advantage to accrue from co-operation between the two great sections of reformers.

IV .- That the agricultural counties be divided

into districts; that tracts and addresses to the farmers and labourers be prepared and issued.

That, if the country supplies the Executive with funds, missionaries, taking with them a supply of such tracts and addresses, be sent into the several districts; and that public meetings and lectures be held in the rural towns, for the purpose of establishing localities.

That special missionaries be sent to the Irish people, and also to the colliers, miners, and railway labourers.

The expenses, where necessary, to be borne by the National Chartist Fund.

The Convention is further of opinion, that the best way to enlist sympathy with the Chartist movement, is to shew its bearings on the grievance of every suffering class, that those classes may be taught to see in Chartism the leverage of their hopes; that the best way to impress and weaken class government, is to shew those who yet support it, that the Chartists would do them more good, than that class-government can or will afford; and to pour one continuous stream of agitation on classgovernment, from every portion of the toiling community; to attack every one of their monopolies; to assail every one of their strongholds; to break them down in detail-for loosen one part of their social edifice, and you endanger the remainder.

The Convention is also of opinion, that a political change is inefficacions, unless accompanied by a social change; that a Chartist movement, unless accompanied with social knowledge, would result in utter failure; that we ought to enlist, not merely the politician, but the man of business as well; that we cannot claim or receive the support of the laborer, mechanic, farmer, or trader, unless we shew them that we are practical reformers; that power would be safely vested in Chartist hands; that we know their grievances, and how to redress them; that the Charter would confer on them a positive, immediate, and permanent benefit, and at once increase alike their comforts and resources.

The Chartist body should, therefore, stand forward as the defender of the oppressed—each suffering class should see in it the defender of its several wrongs—it ought to be the connecting link, that draws together, on one common ground, the now isolated bodies of the working classes,—and self-interest alone can be the tie able to bind them to each other.

. It is, therefore, time that the self-interest of every one of the oppressed classes be appealed to. Each one of these classes demands a measure of social reform proportioned to its wants:-though various, these requirements are not conflicting -- one right can never contradict another-truth can never antagonise with truth.

To stand forth as the UNITER of all these isolated. but in fact homogeneous interests, to weld the millions into one compact mass-to evoke the dormant mind of the century, and thus to launch the gathered power in the right direction, is the duty and endeavour of this delegation of the people.

The Convention, deeply impressed with this truth, while keeping Chartism distinct as an organised political body, not joining any other section, nor mixing it with any other organisation, recommends that public attention be directed to the following principles; that the subjoined remedial measures be submitted to the classes severally interested; that their support of Chartist organisation be solicited on the ground of these reforms, and that these be made the subject of continuous and universal agitation.

I.—THE LAND.

This Convention believes that the Land is the inalienable inheritance of all mankind, the present monopoly of the soil and its minerals is therefore repugnant to the laws of God and nature. The nationalisation of the land is the only true basis of national prosperity.

With a view of arriving at that ultimatum, it is resolved that the following measures be succes-

sively urged upon the legislature:

1st. The establishment of a Board of Agriculture.

2nd. The restoration of poor, common, church, !

and crown lands to the people.

Such lands to be divided among the poor in suitable proportions. Those located to be tenants of the state, paying a proportionate rent-charge for their holdings.

3rd, Compensation to the out-going tenant for improvement, or improvements to be effected of the

landlord

Tenants not to be tied down to any old covenants of rotation of crops.

The repeal of the Game Laws.

All rents to be commuted into corn-rents.

4th. The state to be empowered annually to purchase land, for the purpose of locating thereon the surplus population, as tenants, individually or in association, paying a rent-charge to the state. The funds for such purpose to arise partly from the rent-charge payable on the common, church, poor, and crown lands above mentioned, and such other sources as may hercafter be determined.

5th. Government purchasing land as above, not to be permitted to sell again, but to hold such lands as national property for ever, letting them to tenants in such quantities, and under such conditions, as may seeure freedom to the tenant, and safety to

the state.

6th. The state to have priority of purchase, at

fair current prices.

7th. To provide for the complete nationalisation of land, the state shall resume possession of the soil as rapidly as the existing interests can be extinguished by process of law, by death, by surrender, or by any other means accordant with justice and a generous treatment of all classes.

II.- THE СПИКСИ.

Religion should be free; as spiritual, it ought not to be subject to temporal control.

Therefore the Convention recommend-

1st. Complete separation between church and

2nd. All church temporalities to be declared national property for secular purposes, except such individual endowments as have been voluntarily and legally made.

All ecclesiastical buildings, of which it can be clearly shewn that their cost was defrayed from national funds, to belong to the state. The persuasion now using these edifices to continue in the enjoyment of them on equitable conditions.

3rd. Tithes and church-rates to be abolished.

4th. The state not to interfere with the internal polity of any church. All ecclesiastics to be appointed in any way their respective congregations think fit, and to be paid voluntarily by the congregations who employ their services.

5th. Ecclesiastical liconces for the purposes of

education to be unnecessary.

III.-EDUCATION.

As every man has a right to the means of physical life, so he has to the means of mental activity. It is as unjust to withhold aliment from the mind, as it is to deny food to the body. Education should, therefore, be national, universal, gratuitous, and, to a certain extent, compulsory.

It is, therefore, recommended-

1st. That schools, colleges, and universitics, supported by the state, should be gratuitously open to every citizen, and that it be compulsory with all parents to have their children educated in the common branches of learning.

2nd. Education in its higher branches to be equally

gratuitous, but optional.

3rd. Industrial schools to be established, in which the young may be taught the various trades and professions, thus gradually superseding the system of apprenticeship.

IV .- LANGUR LAW.

Labour is the creator of a nation's wealth-as such, the most important element of its prosperity. Notwithstanding this, the relation of master and man has been repugnant to the well-being of society; the creator has hitherto been the servant of the creature; labour has been the slave of capital, and safety of the citizen:-

groaned under a system of wages-slavery, contrary to every principle of freedom.

To elevate labour from its present depressed conditiou, the following measures are proposed, with a view to the more rapid abrogation of wagesslavery, and the development of the co-operative priueiple.

1. All co-operative associations for industrial purposes, to have a right to registration and enrolment without payment of fees, and to have an unrestricted number of affiliated branches.

2. The law of partnership to be so altered, as to remove existing difficulties in the way of associa-

3. The Co-operative principle is essential for the well-being of the people; the centralization of wealth ought to be counteracted by a distributive tendency; its accumulation in the hands of isolated clubs is an evil second only to that of its monopoly by individuals; therefore, all future co-operative attempts should, until the complete re-adjustment of the labour question, be modelled on a national basis, and connected in a national uniou, of which the different trades and societies should be localities or branches; and the profits, beyond a certain amount, of each local society, should be paid into a general fund, for the purpose of forming additional associations of working-men, and thus accelerating the development of associated and independent labour.

4. A credit-fund to be opened by the state, for the purpose of advancing money, on certain conditions, to bodies of working men, desirous of associating together for industrial purposes.

V.—Poor Law.

As it is the duty of every man to work, so he has a right to the means of work; and those unable to work, through infirmity or age, have a right to support at the hands of the state.

Therefore-

1. All able-bodied persons, who cannot support themselves, to be supplied with remunerative work; and, where possible, to be located on the land.

2. Where the state cannot find work for the unemployed, it is bound to support them until

labour is provided.

3. The unemployed to be supported by the state, not by the parish-and the cost to be defrayed out of the national revenue.

4. The aged and infirm to be supported in their own homes and in the houses of their relatives, by a weekly allowance, or in special buildings, erected by government, at the option of the reci-

VI.—TAXATION.

Taxation on industry represses the production of wealth-on luxuries, encourages governments in fostering excess—on necessary commodities, acts injuriously on the people's health and comfort.

All taxation ought, therefore, to be levied on

land and accumulated property.

VII.—THE NATIONAL DEBT.

This debt having been contracted by a class government for class purposes, cannot be considered as legally contracted by the people.

It is, norcover, absurd that future generations

should be mortgaged to eternity for the follies or misfortunes of their ancestors, and the debt be thus repaid several times over.

The national debt ought, therefore, to be liquidated by the moncy now annually paid as interest, being forthwith applied as repayment of the capital, until such repayment is completed.

VIII.-THE ARMY.

Standing armies are contrary to the principles of Democracy, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. At the same time, the Convention acknowledges the expediency of a standing force being maintained, until suitable changes in our colonies and at home shall have rendered its continuance no longer requisite.

Until such change, the following enactments are necessary for the comfort of the soldier, and the

1. No enlistment to be binding, unless renewed before a magistrate, within three days, by the party enlisting.

2. That every soldier, be entitled to a free dis-

eliarge after four years' service.

3. The isolation of troops in barracks estranges them from the citizen, renders them unfit for the dutics of domestic life, demoralises them, and is unnecessary for discipline, as proved by such discipline not being impaired, when troops are quartcred on the inhabitants, as is frequently the case, both in peace and war.

4. Troops, quartered on the inhabitants of their own country, to be paid for as other lodgers, and that none be compelled to receive them.

5. Promotion to take place from the ranks, by military gradation, and none to be promoted before, at least, one year's service in the ranks.

6. Promotion by purchase to be abolished. 7. The use of the lash to be abolished.

8. Courts martial to consist, in all cases, of officers and privates in like proportion.

1X.-THE NAVY. To be regulated by analogous laws,

X .- THE MILITIA.

As it is the right of every individual to bear arms, so it is his duty to know how to use them; and, as every eitizen ought to receive a benefit at the hands of the state, so he ought to be prepared to defend it; and, as liberty is not safe, where an unarmed and undisciplined people stand in presence of an armed and dissiplined easte, it is therefore requisite that every male, of sound mind and body, over fifteen years of age, should be afforded the opportunity of military training.

BRITISH PREMIERS .- The following list of British Premiers during the last century will doubtless be interesting to many readers, especially at this time :-Time in office.

	Appointed. Yrs	. Days	
i	1754, April 5 Duke of Newcastle S	.53	3
1	1762, May 29Earl of Bute	322	à
	1763. April 16 G. Grenville	2 87	7
	1765, July 12 Marquis of Rockingham 1	21	
	1766, August 2 Duke of Grafton		
	1770, January 28Lord North		
	1782, March 3 Marquis of Rockingham	132	
	1782. July 13 Earl of Shelhurne		
	1 1783. April 5Duke of Portland	260	
	1783. December 27 William Pitt	7 80	
	1801, March 17Lord Sidmouth	3 56	
	1804. May 12William Pitt	L 246	
	1806 January 8Lord Grenville	61	
	1807. March 13 Duke of Portland 3	102	
	1810 June 23Spencer Percival	64	-
	1812, June 8Earl of Liverpool14	307	
	1 1027 April 11George Canning	121	
	1 1997 Apprest 10Lord Goderich	105	
	1 1828 January 25 Duke of Wellington	1 301	
	1830, November 22 Earl Grey	231	
	1 1834 July 11Lord Melhonrne		
	1834, November16Duke of Wellington		
	1834, December 8Sir Robert Pecl		
	1835, April 18Lord Melbourne		
i	1841, September3Sir Rohert Peel		
į	1845, December 10 Lord John Russell	19	
	1845, December 20 Sir Robert Pecl	0 188	5
	1846, June 26Lord John Russell		

79,366 Irish paupers were put on shore at Liverpool from the 24th of March, 1850, to the 20th of February, 1841.

TAXATION EXPOSED-Dropping into a grocer's shop, our attention was drawn to a ream of brown paper by the words, "Tax on this ream of paper," in very conspicuous letters. Reading on we obtained the information that the tax amounted to 16s 9d, and on a single ream of the coarsest paper, the cost of which, exclusive of the duty, would be about £1 7s; so that the duty was, in reality, above 60 per cent .-- Preston Guardian.

THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT, now in process of erection at New York, is to be five hundred feet high, fifty-fivo feet square at the base, and thirty-three feet square at the top. It is now seventy-six feet high, and has cost 12,000 dollars, having taken two years to bring it to its

present elevation.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS,

Monies received, and other notices must stand

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 1851.

STRANGE CONDUCT OF A CHARTIST LEADER.

LAST WEEK we exposed the assassin-like conspiracy of the Times, and "the person" called "Lord" LYNDHURST, concocted to bring about the persecution and expulsion of the Republican Refugees. It is now our painful task to direct attention to the inexplicable conduct of a person who, hut that he is named FEARGUS O'CONNOR, and is "the acknowledged leader" of the Chartists, might be set down as being a party to the unholy conspiracy of the Times and "Lord" LYNDHUBST.

To our extreme disgust we read in Mr. O'CONNOR's letter published in the Star of March 29th, a repetition of the lying libel from the Times (noticed in our last number), accompanied not by an indignant denial of the libel, and denunciation of the libeller, but by words which could only be intended to corvey the impression that Mr. O'CONNOR believed the lie to be a truth, and wished his readers to believe with him. He added the expression of these charitable sentiments:—

You may rest assured that all foreigners hate the English; and if they did create a revolution here, it would be for the mere purpose of weakening the power of the French Special Constable.

Now working men, as I am not a trafficking politician, let me implore of you not to allow yourselves to be led away by foreigners, who would merely use you as puppets, &c., &c.

Although disgusted beyond measure, we were inclined to view the above rather as the emanation of narrow-minded prejudice or imbecility, rather than the expression of a wicked disposition to injure persecuted and defenceless men; and we would have remained silent, but for a repetition of these abominable calumnies in the Star of April 5th. Thus writes the Chartist member for Nottingham-the parliamentary representative of the British democracy (!):-

My friends, as the Exhibition will shortly take place, and as it is irrefutably stated that the object of the foreigners is to create a revolution in this conntry, let me implore of you to place no confidence either in their courage or their object, as you may rely upon it, that if England was conquered by foreign nations, you would be made abject slaves, and notwithstanding my desire to establish liberty in this country, I would face the foreigners landing here npon the sea coast, and would rather they should ride or walk over my dead body, than lend my assistance to conquer this country.

It has been stated in the Times and in the House of Commons, that it is the intention of the foreigners to create a revolution when the Exhibition takes place; but I trust that you, working men, who love your wives, your children, and your friends, will not only not take part in such a revolution, but that you will oppose it at the risk of your lives.

I trust that you will carefully read and deliberately reflect upon the advice I have given you.

I remain,

Your faithful friend and advocate, FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

"It is irrefutably stated "-by whom? By the Times; by that gorged vampire, "Lord LYNDHURST; and by that hungry lawyer,

STUART WORTLEY, who hecause he is not yet public prosecutor, must needs turn informer, to keep his hand in. Their statements are "irrefutable"—in the estimation of Mr. O'CONNOR. The conduct of the Chartist "leader" is the worst of all. If he sanctions the accusation, shall not the govertment believe it, and act accordingly? Worse still, his words are calculated to deprive the victims of popular sympathy, or rather would he so calculated if his words had the influence they once had, which, fortunately, is not the

If there are any "foreigners" who are such fools or knaves as to be guilty of even talking any such nonsense as that declared to be "irrefutable" by the M. P. for Nottingham, they, certainly, are confined to the circle of Mr. O'CONNOR's foreign friends. We can answer for all the men of standing and repute, for the long recognised chiefs of Continental Democracy, and for the great mass of the Refugees, that the "irrefutable" statements of the Times, Lord Lyndhurst, STUART WORTLEY, and FEARGUS O'CONNOR, are lies—absolute calumnies. We say no more at present. A memher of the Convention has given notice of a motion on the subject. We pause until we hear what the honourable member for Nottingham has to say for himself.

Mr. O'CONNOR trusts that his readers "will carefully read and deliberately reflect upon" his alarming announcements. We trust they will; and we trust too that they will shew the good sense to recommend Mr. O'C. to "shut-up," to write no more, unless he can abstain from doing the dirty work of the enemies of democracy, by joining in the howl of aristocrats, place-hunters, and the scoundrel-scribes of the Times, against our brothers, -whom we are bound to defend, instead of persecute, -the defenders of republicanism, the assertors and champions of the Equal and Universal rights of Mankind.

"PROLETARIAN."

An esteemed friend and correspondent has asked us the meaning of the above word, and, at the same time, informed us of its synonymes, as supplied by Dr. Johnson in his dictionary. Now, though we do not pretend to he lexicographers, or to he versed in the Latin language, we have taken some little pains to answer the question, it being of importance that the true meaning of a term now much in use, should be thoroughly under-

Before we refer to the words which Dr. Johnson makes to correspond with that under consideration, we will give the definition furnished by BRONTERE O'BRIEN in his able translation of the history of "Baheuf's Conspiracy." "Proletarians (so called from the Latan word, proles) means the multitude who, possessing no fortune or property, have only their offspring (proles) to offer as a guarantee for their attachment to the state." But what says that bloated, and pensioned retainer of toryism, Johnson, "Proletarian; wretched, vile, vulgar," with the fact before us, furnished by the immortal Cobbett, that Johnson was by no means a reliable authority as a grammarian, we should be justified in the conclusion, that he is not always to be trusted as a lexicographer. But we are not willing to acquit Johnson on the blood of the martyrs of liberty, instead of weaken-plea of ignorance. On the contrary we ing, strengthen the cause; for when one patriot

charge him with a gross misrepresentation, and perversion of the real meaning of the word. It simply signifies, meanness of condition as regards property, and, consequently of position in society; and it also means vulgar, in the sense of universality. The vileness helongs neither to the word, nor to the people who are comprehended within its signification. It helongs to those, for whom the mercenary Johnson wrote; it attaches to those, who make and perpetuate the poverty of the millions. To the noun RICH, the adjective VILE, is a proper prefix; but it is only a venal mind, controlled by a sordid policy, which can apply it to the poor. True, quite true, that "wretched" helongs to the word; hut then it is in the sense of commisseration that we apply it,—not of censure, wretched indeed! is the lot of millions who pine in poverty and misery, caused hy the tyrant rich, who prostitute learning to pervert the obvious sense of language, and to sanctify their vile oppressions. We are desirous of not extending these remarks, but we must assure our correspondent, and, through him, our readers generally, that we are correct in the interpretation we give to the word Proletarian, and that Johnson's dictionary conveys an altogether wrong impression of its meaning. To further satisfy our friend, we refer him to the Latin dictionary, where he will find that the adjective proletarious, signifies " of a poor and mean condition, common, beggarly;" and that the plural noun, proletarii, means "the poor sort of people." To this we will only add that Proletaire, or Proletarian, is now throughout Europe, the generally accepted revolutionary designation of the vast mass of workers, who, dependant upon wages, are at the mercy of landlords, usurers, and the rest of the mischievous classes of society.

THE PROGRESS OF REVOLUTION.

"The time for the restitution of all things has arrived, and we are satisfied that we are now on the eve of great changes."—NORTH BRITISH MAIL.

WHEN the forked lightning is flashing around us, and peals of thunder reverberate through the heavens: while beholding with awe the roar of the elements, we instinctively bless the storm which purges the sluggish atmosphere of those germs of disease which its repose have generated. So do we bless the revolutionary storm which scatters to the winds the foul abuses heaped up by ages of oppression; bursts the chains which bind suffering humanity in the stormy scenes of present misery; and opens to her view a path to a land of joy in the future.

As haughtily as in the "good old times" of the past do the tottering despots now arrogate to them-selves the "divine right" of absolute and unquestioned rule. Their temporary victories are raising their hopes high-they dream of utterly extinguishing the revolutionary spirit, and of planting on its tomb the abborred banner of kingly sway. Blind mortals that they are! They suppose that they have conquered the revolution, when what they have overcome were but the first heavings of the earthquake, which shall ultimately sweep them from the face of that earth which they have too long desecrated.

We hear on every side the howl of the ordermongers invoking the aid of fire and sword to exterminate the "enemies of society." But in spite of scaffold, rope, and gun, the revolutionary spirit is daily gaining ground; and all the assassinations and the persecutions of the reactionnaires, who, during the two last years, have revelled in the

falls by the hand of tyranny, there starts forth a thousand zealous combatants for freedom.

The party of "order" may wail over their departing power, while they tremhle at the sullen murmurs of the storm which, they well know, is rising around them; they may encompass themselves with walls of mercenary steel, and attempt to stifle the voices of the champions of freedom: It is vain. Destruction hath set its seal upon the tyrannies of the past. The world is in the throes of a sublime effort to hurl from the shoulders of oppressed humanity a collosal structure of spiritual and physical despotisms which have been placed upon them by the force and frauds of ages.

France, ever foremost in the struggles for right, is again stirring in ber chains. We know not how soon she may burst her fetters, and stand boldly forth as the liberator of the world. Italy and Germany are slumbering volcanoes. Nothing is wanting but the signal from the MARTYR NATION to kindle the blaze of revolution in every part of

Europe.

Every day brings forth farther proof that the present state of things is hut a transition one. The present social and political organization of society hangs like fetters of iron upon the growing spirit of the age. The harbarisms of feudal times have so enwoven themselves with all the political institutions of old Europe, that no reforms or modifications can ever render them conducivo to the happiness and well-heing of the masses.

The offspring and conservators of despotism, they are utterly incompatible with freedom, of which we can have none until they he wholly and

effectually abolished.

The monarchs and usurers of Europe have trodden down an undisciplined democracy under the heel of a well organised military force; but who will presume to say that that democracy is now less diffused, less powerful than in the great days of '48, when it was supreme in every Capital in Europe! It is not so. Even in the palaces of kings, the sweet voice of Freedom is whispering of a kingless future.

Even in the boundless expanse of waters, which, for many thousand years, covered the surface of the globe, rolled back, leaving dry the fruitful valleys which soon teemed with life and beauty; so, when we have freed ourselves from the waters of tyranny which now overwhelm us, trnth, justice, and happiness shall vegetate luxuriantly in the joy-bringing beams of the snn of freedom.

ALEXANDER BELL.

TO THE EARNEST AND THOUGHTFUL OF ALL CLASSES.

"All men are willing to confederate with those whom they see prepared and resolved to exert themselves as they ought."—Demosthenes.

THERE is much talk but little practise of democracy. When Chartists understand the principles of democracy, and appreciate them sufficiently to put them in practice, an effective organisation will be possible. Then Chartism will be a power. Then, and not till then, will it command the respect if not the convictions of opponents. Now we only command their derision. In this derision, however, may be discovered a tincture of fear. They see we have the elements of power, which if combined would be irresistable.

Thousands of working men are not Chartists, because Chartism is not respected; because Chartists destroy the dignity which should always clothe

right in protesting against wrong.

The Charter is eloquent by its plain unadorned exponency of principles. Put it into the hands of any man—the manifest justice of its demands are not to be resisted. The logic of democracy is irresistable to those who are not bliuded by the antagonism of classes.

In spite of pride, we must not forget the past, if we would garner that experience which will lead us to efficiency. Without which the past would indeed be blank and barren. The history of Chartism, what is it? An account of chaotic fury. Of ill

considered, ill-sustained, spasmodic efforts, or of utter despairing stagnation. Thanks to the common sense of working men, the aspects of Chartism are altering. The follies that have been are not likely to be again. We may gain satisfaction in defeat, as Peter of Russia did, when he saw his forces continually decimated by Charles XII. of Sweden. "They are teaching us to conquer," said Peter. Over failure we march to victory. If so every defeat is a progress. When I say that Chartism has failed, has wanted dignity, effectiveness, and well-directed effort, what do I say but that we wanted discipline-wanted leaders that would tell us so; leaders who would point out our faults as well as laud us for our virtues. Working men, if ever you suspect any one, suspect that man who unconditionally praises you. Flattery is always received suspiciously in private life. How much more should it be suspected in public life? The flattery of the many is the fault of the many, more than the fault of those who administer it. It leads to all manner of absurdity-beware of it!

The working classes have always been used for the purposes of others. Without them Magna Charta would not have been signed. Without them the Reform Bill would not have been carried, because without them the third estate was not strong enough to intimidate the aristocracy. Working men are continually called upon to confederate with others. No party thinks of confederating with them. They are blandly invited to aid others on the difficult road of reform; no one thinks of belping them to the journey's end. How is this? Is it not that however resolved you may have been, you have never been prepared to exert yourselves as you ought. Take one instance. There are 35,000 or 40,000 young men (drapers' assistants) who are as completely unenfranchised and as interested in a change in our social system as the veritable workers are. * Few of them know any thing of the Charter. Yet the Charter is the gate. way of independence and of social amelioration. Why are they, as well as thousands of others in London, not Chartists? Because Chartism is only known to the nation by its squabbles and impo-This will not continue, if we resolve in our hearts that it shall not. We need not wait for organisation to manifest our resolves. Much is to be done by individual effort. Read W. J. Linton's plan of organisation and act. It is not numbers that win the battle, but energy and skill. We want calm, earnest. resolute action. The disciptine (easy of acquirement) that will enable us to bring our strength to bear upon any given point. When we can do that we shall make ourselves felt. In that lay the omnipotence of Napoleon. When the Executive, sure of our active compliance, can direct us to act, we shall be respected.

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-controul,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

Though a rationalist in religion, I would sooner hear again the puritanic shout "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon,, if accompanied with the energy and purpose of Cromwell's time, than have a continuance of our blustering. Let preparation follow on resolve. Let each man enquire diligently his duty and do it. One thing there is second in importance to nothing else. That is the necessity of seeing that the Executive is not crippled for want of funds. What is it I say? When I tell yon of the necessity of self-sacrifice, of painful hut heroic exertion, of the sacrifice of pleasures, of comforts even, to enable you to keep up a regular subscription. What do I say? but take care of yourselves; ensura the conquest of your rights and your patrimony. Ensure effective exertion on the part of your chosen servants. Never doubt that the great Athenian orator is right; let it cheer all in their arduous struggles-" That all men are willing to confederate with those whom they see prepared and resolved to exert themselves as they ought."

"Not in vain the distance beacons, Forward, forward, let us range."

* By veritable workers I mean producers.

SERVO.

JUSTICE FOR ALL!

EXAMINATION OF THE BILL FOR DISSOLVING THE NATIONAL LAND COMPANY.

LETTER III.

To the Editor of the Friend of the PROPLE.

CITIZEN EDITOR,—Without laying myself open to the charge of egotism, I may, I think, congratulate the share-holders upon the fact, or at least advance the opinion, that my effort has caused the publication of the Bill in the Northern Star. How far the opinions, expressed in the Editorial article of that journal, upon the merits of the hill, may be consonant with fact, I will leave those to judge who may read that document in the pages of the Star, or, with my comments, in your publication. With these remarks I proceed with the examination of the hill.

Clause No. 3 gives security of possession to the purchasers of the portions of the estates; and confirms the sale of those portions. In furtherance of what I have previously said with regard to the monstrous injustice, and criminal negligence, of withholding from the allottees all security in their allotments, I may be allowed to contrast the provisions of this clause with the declaration of the preamble, which avows that "no allotment has been conveyed to any allottee;" as if to add insult to this monster grievance, and incipient evil, this No. 3 clause secures the "purchasers" against the claims or demands of any allottee.

Clauses 4 and 5 suggest the preliminary steps for winding up the company, to the effect that the Court of Chancery shall refer the matter to a master in Chancery, who shall proceed in accordance with the acts of parliament for winding-up Jointstock-societies; but the said Master in Chancery will have power to vary or depart from those acts in order to meet the peculiar circumstances of the Land Company. The appointment of an "official manager" is also provided for, of whose powers No.

6 clause thus speaks :-

"Provided also, that it shall be lawful for the master by any order in writing under his hand to delegate to the official manager any discretionary, judicial, or other power or authority, which the master may or might have, or exercise hy virtue of this act; and all decisions, determinations, acts, and proceedings of the official manager under any such delegated power or authority, shall have the same effect, force, and validity, as if the same had heen made, done, had, or taken by or before the master in person."

In reference to this clause it is necessary to observe that some persons have proposed, with a servility that justifies the suspicion of their having a selfish and sordid purpose to serve, that Mr. O'Connor should be appointed the official manager. Without dwelling upon the facts, stamped with public authenticity, that Mr. O'Connor professes to, have heavy pecuniary claims npon the assets of the company; that he has, and does, very suspiciously patronise a triune of political apostates, and insolent officials, called land directors; that he has obtained money from parties, under the pretence of giving to their claims a priority in disbursing the proceeds of the company; without, I say, insisting upon these facts, or attempting to make more apparent this manifest enormity, it is sufficient to alledge that Mr. O'Connor's total inaptness for business peremptorily disqualifies him for the post of "official manager," and condemns as the most self-stultified. those persons who have proposed him for that office.

Clause No. 7, about the only honest, and, therefore, unobjectionable one in the bill, provides security for the persons who have received subscriptions on account of the society, making them only accountable to the official manager for the proper application of those monies. It would be well for the reputation of Mr. O'Connor, and that of the "other promoters" of the undertaking, if a similar compliment could be passed upon the following clause:—

"That it shall be lawful for the Master, and subject to the control of the Master, for the official

Manager in passing, the accounts of any person who is accountable or may become accountable for, or for the application of any subscriptions or any part of the assets of the Company, or who is, or may be, or claim to be a creditor of the Company, to make to such persons all such allowances as the Master or Official Manager respectively shall deem reasonable; and in particular to allow all payments, disbursements, expenses, and engagements, at any time or times made, incurred, or contracted out of the subscriptions or funds, or on account of the Company, which would, or might have been allowed or allowable had the Society or Company been legally constituted and completed, and in full legal operation, and such person been the proper officer or person duly authorised in that behalf, at the time or times of his making, paying, incurring, or contracting the same." Now the plain English of this No. 8 clause, is, that it gives the power to Messrs. O'Connor & Co. to do the poor Sharcholders out of any amount they please. It will be mere fudge to argue that only such claims as the Official Manager "shall deem reasonable" will be allowed. With the great fact before them, that the promoters have, by their disgraceful management, brought the Society to the brink of ruin and bankruptcy, the Shareholders would be perfectly justifled in demanding compensation from those promoters for the ruinous consequences of their rule. The history of Joint Stock Speculations would furnish precedents for such a courso. But as these parties are insolvent in purse, as well as bankrupt in fame, such a proceeding is less practicable than just; therefore expediency suggests that the claims of these honest "creditors" shall be carefully reduced to modest dimensions, and imparsiality will then insist upon those creditors receiving their dividends in common with that great body of claimants, whose frugal savings have been not dishonestly, applied. Upon this point it be-hoves the Shareholders to use such an amount of energy and determination as shall save themselves from being further fleeced by those who have so sadly misled them. To be conducted into the devious paths of humbug is bad enough, but to be called upon to pay exorbitant fees to the conductor is rather too bad. Common-sense and common honesty demand that a vigilant look out he hept upon the hungry creditors alluded to.
The following clause, No. 9, upon which I shall

offer one or two brief remarks, provides-

"That every person to whom any allotment of any part of the said lands and hereditaments spe-cified in the first schedule hereto, has at any time been made in accordance, or in presumed accordance with the rules of the Company for the time being supposed to be in force, and who, or whose heirs or assigns, shall come in and prove his or their titles to such allotment, and take a lease or conveyance of such allotment and execute a counterpart of such lease or conveyance, and pay up all arrears of rent, within such time or times and in such manner as the Master shall direct, shall be deemed to have had as against the Company and their assigns an equitable title to such allotment, in fee simple in possession subject to the payment to the Company and their assigns of a perpetual fee-farm rent charge after the rate of four pounds per centum per annum, on the amount of the cost price of such allotment, with the improvements and buildings thereon, and the advances of seed, stock, goods, and money (if any), which have been made with such allotment; and the Official Manager and the Trustee or Trustees of the Company shall execute to each allottee, his heirs or assigns, at his or their expense, a conveyance or lease renewable for ever of his or their respective allotment er allotments, subject to such rent-charge as aforesaid and to a condition for re-entry if the same or any part thereof, be in arrear for more than one year: And the said lands and hereditaments shall be sold subject to the rights of such allottees, but free and discharged from all estates and claims what.

soever, of, or by, any allottee or allottees, who, or whose heirs or assigns, shall fail to come in and prove his or their claim, and take a lease or conveyance and execute a counterpart, within the time and in manner aforesaid; and the Master, or, subject to the Master's control, the Official Manager, may absolutely and finally assess and determine the amount of such rent-charges, upon such evidence as shall be thought sufficient, and may adopt any agreement or understanding heretofore made respecting any such allotment be-tween any such allottee and the Company or any of the Officers thereof."

After having contended that, upon the principle of justice to the allottees, and upon considerations of pecuniary interest to the shareholders themselves, legal security should have heen given to those who expend their money and their labour upon the company's lands, it may appear captious to urge any objection to the preceding clause. But there are two points to which objection may be taken without meriting that character. The requirement that all arrears of rent shall be paid up, is a condition that will oppose an insuperable objection to the obtaining of leases hy many men, whose industry, perseverance, and unuttered privations signalize them as the most worthy recipients of such encouraging hoons to those virtues. Besides, assurances have been repeatedly given by Mr. O'Connor, and, at least, silently approved by the shareholders, that portions of the rents due hy allottees should he forgiven, in consequence of the unquestioned adversity of seasons and circumstances. Moreover this has been, in some few cases, actually done. Therefore to insist upon this point would be, not only unfair and harsh, but unjust, because invidious.

Then, as regards the amount of rent-charge. To the per-centage there can he no reasonable objection, but not so as to the basis of that per-centage. If the rent-charge of the allottees is to be calculated upon the extravagant and wasteful expenditore in laying out the several estates, those persons will be most unfairly dealt with, and the consequence may he positively anticipated - namely. their inability to pay such exorbitant and unreasonahle demands.

The comments made upon clause No. 8, have somewhat anticipated those to which the following clause, No. 10, would necessarily give rise. It will therefore suffice to ask the reader to particularly note that passage of this clause, which provides that the subscribers shall first be the last to receive any money out of the concern : the insatiable lawyers must, of course, get their whack, then the patient and honest creditors, and lastly, the deluded and denuded dupes of the two sets of vam-

"That the moneys and assets of the company shall he applied by the official manager under the direction of the Master, in the first place, in or towards the payment of the costs, charges, and expenses of and incident to the ohtaining and carrying into effect this Act, and all such other costs, charges, and expenses as the same may be liable to; and, in the next place, in or towards the satisfaction of the dehts or any of the debts of the Company, including the expenses of the said banking business, in such manner, whether by way of dividend or otherwise, as the Master shall direct; and any surplus thereof, after full payment of all auch costs, charges, and expenses, and the dehts of the Company, shall be divided amongst the several persons who at any time or times since the said. undertaking was first projected in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-five as aforesaid, have paid any money or subscriptions for or on: account of any share or shares in the Company, and who shall make and prove their claims in the manner and within the time to be for that purpose appointed by the Master, rateably and in proportion to the respective amounts of their subscriptions; but moneys paid for copies of rules, and contributions towards the expenses of management, under the name of 'Directors' Levy'ov "Expense

Fund,' or otherwise, shall not be considered as part of such subscriptions, and the same shall not be recoverable hy any subscriber from any person: provided always, that the persons who have received. such last-mentioned moneys shall be accountable to the official manager for the application thereof,"

It is most devoutly to be wished that in this latter proviso the official manager may rigidly perform his duty. I will also suggest that the fund raised for the purpose of "winding up" the Company should in like manner come under his supervision.

Clanse No. 11 is as follows:

"That in making such distribution as is lastly herein-before directed, no person to whom any land has been allotted, or any advance of aid, money, seed, stock, or goods has been made out of the funds of the Company, shall receive any dividend. without first bringing into account and allowing for all arrears of rent which by the terms of the allotment made to him ought to have been paid in respect of the time of his actual occupation of his allotment, and also the amount or value of all such advances of money, seed, stock, or goods as have been made to him out of the funds of the Company; but no such allottee shall be accountable, otherwise than by way of set-off as aforesaid, for any such advances of money, seed, stock, or goods."

Here again is a cowardly thrust at the shareholders; but more particularly at those who have been allottees. But for the concluding proviso of this clause, some of those persons would urge their claims in common with other shareholders. Their additional misfortunes and sacrifices are, however, to bar their right to the satisfaction of those claims. The allottees driven off, or otherwise compelled to leave their allotments, and to seek anew the means of living elsewhere, bankrupt in purse and nearly, so in heart, are to be denied oven that small modicum of justice, which may he contained in a "di-vidend." Truly! to the "fortunate allottees," Mr. O'Connor proves himself a most loving father.
With the two following clauses, Nos. 12: and

13, the Bill concludes:—
"That it shall be lawful for the master, if he shall think fit, to direct that the assets of the Company shall be fully realised and converted, and the said costs, charges, and expenses and debts paid, before any advertisement is issued. requiring subscribers, to come in and prove their claims to participate in the division of the surplus assets, as aforesaid; an also if he shall think fit, to direct that any such claims, and also the claims of any creditors of the Company, may be proved before any commissioner of the Court of Bankruptcy, or before any county court judge, or before any master extraordinary in Chancery, or before the official manager, or any commissioners or commissioner, to be appointed for that purpose by the master; and also if he shall think fit, to direct that each subscriber, upon proving his claim, shall be furnished with a certificate of the amount of his proof, such certificate to be in such form, and to be issued, signed, and countersigned in such manner, and by such persons, as the master shall direct; and also to make any order or direction respecting the mode and place or places of payment of the dividends on such respective proofs, either to the respective bearers or to any endorsers of such certificates, or otherwise as the master shall think fit; and no such certificate, or any endorsement or assignment thereof, shall be liable to any stamp duty."

"That it shall be lawful for the master from time to time to direct that any part of the assets of the Company shall be invested in the purchase of Exchequer Bills, to be deposited in the Bank of England to the credit of the Official Managers Account, and from time to time to direct the salo of such Exchequer Bills, the proceeds of such sale to be paid into the said bank to the

credit of the said account."

The reader will observe that the two preceding clauses are supplementary to No. 10, which has

already occupied our attention. The injustice of the provisos of that elause is fully substiantiated and confirmed by those of the two last clauses. It may be pointed out that the characteristic feature of No. 12 clause, is procrastination of the payment of divideuds, which, after the exactions of lawyers, and other honest people, will be quite

superfluous.

With a brief summary of the particulars contained in the schedules, I shall conclude my criticism of the Bill. It appears from the first of the two schedules that 1,103 agres and 2poles have been purchased, at a cost of £42.544 0s. 6d. But of this sum £10,800 has been left unpaid, creating an annual charge upon the Company, for interest, of £461. To oncumber the operations of the Company with such a charge as this was, to say the least, most injudicious.

The second schedule shews that 108 aeres, 3 roods, and 5 poles have been sold for the sum of £4,759..17..6; which is within a fraction of £44 per aere, and the cost price of which was within £38.11.6 per aere.

Hoping that my humble endeavour to expose the real character of the Bill under consideration, may tend to arouse the shareholders to a sense of its demerits, and of their duty to bestir themselves in order to secure, if possible, that justice shall be done to all parties concerned, I conclude by thanking you, Citizen Editor, for your courtesy, and by subscribing myself respectfully yours.

UBIQUITY.

Tenues fram our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 17.)

" It is high time for you to return, signora, said she to the Porporina, in a voice trembling with indignation. 'We were really uneasy about Count Albert. His father, who would not breakfast without him, wished to have a conference with him this morning, which you have thought proper to make him forget. And, as for yourself, there is a young fellow in the saloon who calls himself your brother, and who awaits your arrival with rather ill-bred impatience,

"After having expressed herself in those extraordinary terms, the poor Wenecslawa, terrified at her own exploit, set off for her own apartment, where she coughed and wept for more than an

erour

The "brother" is no other than Consuclo's old lover, Anzoloto. Having heard of her residence at the Castle, and the rumour of Count Albert's love, Auxoleto resolves to attempt to regain his old influence over Cousuclo. He at first tries tears and prayers, and these failing has recourse to threats. Repulsed, he vows vengeanee, and in his character of "brother" does his best to disgust the family and prejudice them against Consuelo.

While Anzolcto is engaged in this detestable enterprise, Count Christian makes an offer of the hand of his son Albert to Consuelo, who requests

some days reflection ere she decides.

Anzoleto is requested to sing some of the songs of Venice. He does so, and afterwards at the entreaty of the family, Consuelo reluetantly consents to join her "brother" in singing a

hymn:-

"Consuelo sang in a soft and mellow voice, in imitation of the women of Venice, and Anzoleto in one somewhat rough and guttural, like the young men of the same locality. He improvised at the same time on the harpsiehord, a low uninterrupted yet cheerful accompaniment, which reminded his companion of the murinuring waters of the lagunes, and the singing of the wind among the reeds. She imagined herself in Venice during one of its lovely summer nights,

kneeling before one of the little chapels, covered with vines, and lighted by the feeble rays of a lamp reflected from the rippled waters of the canal. Oh! what a difference between this vision of Venice, with its blue sky, its gentle melodies, its azure waves, sparkling in the light of rapid flambeaus, or dotted with shining stars, and the harrowing emotions inspired by Albert's violin, on the margin of the dark, motionless, and haunted waters. Anzoleto had wakened up this magnificent visiou, full of ideas of life and liberty; while the caverns and the wild and dreary hymns of old Bohemia, the heaps of bones on which flashed the light of torches, reflected on waters filled perhaps with the same sad relics, and in the midst of all these, the pale, yet impassioned form of the ascetie Albert—the symbol of a hidden world—and the painful emotions arising from his incomprehensible fascination—were too much for the peaceful soul of the simple-miuded Consuelo. Her southeru origiu still more than her education, revolted at this initiation of hatred into a love so stern and forbidding. Albert seemed to her the genius of the north-deep, earnest, sublime, but ever sorrowful-like the frozen nightwinds or the subterranean voices of winter torrents. His was a dreamy inquiring soul that sought into everything-the stormy nights, the course of meteors, the wild harmonies of the forest, and the half obliterated inscriptions of ancient tombs. Anzoleto, on the contrary, hot, and fiery, was the image of the sunuy south, drawing its inspiration from its rapid and luxuriant growth, and its pride from the riches hidden in its bosom. His was a life of sensation and feeling, drinking in pleasure at all his porcs, artistic, rejoieing, earcless. fancy-free, ignorant and indifferent alike as to good or ill, easily amused, heedless of reflection—in a word, the enemy and the antipodes of thought.

"Between these two men, so diametrically opposed to caeh other, Consuelo was lifeless and inactive as a soul without a body. She loved the beautiful, thirsted after the ideal. taught and offered it to her; but, arrested in the developement of his genius by disease, he had given himself up too much to a life of thought. He knew so little the necessities of actual life, that he almost forgot his own existence. never supposed that the gloomy ideas and objects to which be had familiarised himself, could under the influence of love and virtue, have inspired his betrothed with any other sentiments than the soft enthusiasm of faith and happiness. He had not forseen nor understood, that, like a plant of the tropics plunged into a polar twilight he had dragged Consuelo into an atmosphere of death. In short, he was not aware of the violence to her feelings which it would have required, to identify her being with his own.
"Anzoleto, on the contrary, although wound-

ing the feelings and disgusting the mind of Consuelo at every point, had all the energy and warmth of character which the Flower of Spain (as he was wont to eall her) required to make her happy. In hearing him, she once more recalled her anthinking and joyous existence, her birdlike love of song, her life of calm and varied enjoyment, of innocence undisturbed by labour; of uprightness without effort, of pity without

"Consuelo sang with a voice every moment more sweet and touching, as she gave herself up, by a vague and dreamy instinct, to the reflections which I have just made, perhaps at too great length, in her place. I must, however, be pardoned. For otherwise how could the reader understand the fatal mobility of feeling by which this sincere and prudent young girl, who had such good reason, only fifteen minutes before, to hate the perfidious Anzoleto, so far forgot herself as to listen to his voice, and to mingle, with a sort of delight, her sweet breath with his. The saloon, as has been already said, was tool large man, to the counties that have it.

to be properly lighted, and the day besides was declining. The music stand of the instrument, on which Anzoleto had left a large sheet of music. concealed them from those at a distance, and by degrees their boads approached closer and closer together. Anzoleto, still accompanying himself with one hand, passed his other arm round Consuclo's waist, and drew her insensibly towards Six months of indignation and grief vanished from her mind like a dream-she imagined herself in Veuice-she was praying to the Madonna to bless her love for the dear betrothed her mother had given her, and who prayed with his hand locked in hers, his heart beating against her heart. At the end of a strophe she felt the burning lips of her first betrothed pressed against her own—she smothered a cry, and leaning on the harpsichord, burst into tears.

"At this instant Count Albert returned, heard her sobs, and saw the insulting joy of Anzoleto. This interruption had not astonished the other spectators of this rapid seene, as no person had scen the kiss, and every one believed that the recollection of her infancy and the lave of her art, had caused these tears. Albert's complete absence of prejudice or selfishness produced a total want of foresight, even regarding the most simple matters. It never occurred to him that Consuelo should think of submitting to sacrifices which he did not wish to impose. But although not perceiving this first step, he saw beyond, as he always saw; he penetrated to the heart of the tree and placed his hand upon the cankerworm. Anzoleto's true relation towards Consuelo. his real object, and the feeling which he inspired, were revealed to him in an instant. He looked attentively at this man, between whom and himself there existed a violent antipathy, and on whom he had not deigned till then to cast a glance, because he would not hate the brother of Consuelo. He saw in him a bold, a dangerous, and a persevering lover. The noble Albert never thought of himself—a whisper of jealousy; never entered his heart—the danger was all for Consuelo: for with his profound and lucid, yet delicate vision—that vision which could hardly bear the light, nor distinguish color and form he read the soul, and penetrated by mysterious intuition into the most hidden thoughts of the wicked and abaudoned. I shall not attempt to explain this strange gift by natural causes. Certain of his faculties appeared iucomprehensible to those around him, as they appear to her who relates them, and who, at the end of a hundred years, is not a whit more advanced in their knowledge than the greatest intellects of her time. Albert, in laying bare the vain and selfish soul of his rival, did not say 'Behold my enemy;' but he said 'Behold the enemy of Consuelo.' And without letting his discovery appear, he resolved to watch over and preserve her."

(To be continued.)

A "WRIGHT" GOOD PUN. -- Married, Jan. 22, at Salem, Indiana, by the Rev. Mr. Warren, Mr. J. P. Wright, of St. Pau, Minnesota, to Miss Addie Bliss of Salem. This is the Wright kind of Bliss, for Wright has secured Bliss, while Bliss is made Wright. And if it be true that "ignorance is Bliss," then ignorance for once is Wright. The worthy eouple doubtless found after marriage there was uo Bliss in matrimony, though it was

The history of a certain William Smith, who once lived at Penrhyn, is thus pithily summed up on a tombstone in the churchyard of that place :--

Here lies William Smith, and what is Semewhat rarish, He was born, bred, and hang d in This here parish.

THE rural police numbers about 3000, and eosts £200,000 per annum: or nearly £70 per

Lahour Record

Cosonerative Chronicle.

CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS. UNITED STATES.

NEW ENGLAND PROTECTIVE UNION .- The Committee on Trade of this body recently published the following report of progress for the quarter ending December 31, 1850:—The Committee have the pleasure of announcing to the Central Division the continued prosperity and progress of the mercantile affairs of the Union. The gradual increase of the trade through the Central Agency, and the continued approbation of those who have longest tested its utility, clearly demonstrate the practicability and superiority of the system, over the ordinary methods of mercantile transactions. The past quarter has been one of unusual interest. New Divisions have been organised with extensive means of prosecuting mittee on Trade of this body recently published the been organised with extensive means of prosecuting the business successfully; and many of our old members, enconraged by past success, have increased their capital to no inconsiderable amount. The reception of country produce has greatly augmented during the lat three months, and the Committee have the pleasure of knowing, that in most instances the expectations of all parties have been fully realized. All reasonable demands upon the agent, by those forwarding hutter, cheese, and other produce, from the several divisions in the country, have been met and discharged, while at the same time he has been able, in most cases, to give a good degree of satisfac-tion to the consumers of these products; thereby making important advances towards that much desired end-a just and economical system of exchanges between the producer and consumer, through which the rewards of industry shall accrue to the labourer. The great and overshadowing evil of the age is that of spoliating labour by commerce and traffic. It robs the labourer, first of his rightful share to the products of his own toil, so necessary to the physical, intellectual, and moral development of himself and family. Then it denies him the common comforts of his animal being, and finally offers him for sale on the auction block. or necessitates him to lead a miserable and disappointed existence between trembling hope and approaching beggary. The Protective Union aims to reverse this current of commercial oppression, which threatens destruction to the rights and interests of the labouring masses, by instituting juster relations between the producing classes of the community. The farmer in Vermont, and the mechanic in Boston, through its principles and operations are brought into the same neighbourhood, and the enormeus profits, per-centages, and commissions which have made rich the hordes of "middle-men," arethereby saved to minister to the fireside comfort andhappiness of the real artizan of the land. Committee feel confident, from the success which has thus far attended our efforts, that in a few years, should the members of the Union prove true to themselves and their cause, almost the entire exchanges of New England will be done on Protective Union principles. No valid reason exists why the labour and enterprise of New England should be taxed millions of dol ars annually, in support of a numerous class of mere exchangers, who simply alter the position of the products of labour, without adding one farthing to their true value. During the past quarter, a new interest has been manifested by the Divisions to purchase, as far as possible, of "first hands,"—to get as near the manufacturer and importer as circumstances would permit, and in securing this end, the importance of concentrating the entire monetary power of the Union has become more apparent than at any previous period of our existence as an organization. On the single article of Flour, by a timely arrangement, and the concentration of trade, the Agent has saved to the Union, for the last three months, nearly the amount of his entire commissions for that period. Divisions who formerly purchased their goods independently of the Central Agency, have been brought to see the loss they sustained by operating singly when they might, at less expense, enjoy the benefit of the concentrated capital of the Union; and at no period of our history have the practical affairs of the Union looked so permanent and consolidated as at the present moment. The current purchases, through the Central Agency for the quarter, amount to 180,026 dol. 46 cents. Signed by John G. Kaulback, W. F. Young, Nelson Warthen, Ralph P. Devereaux, John E. Abbott.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF FATHER GAVAZZI.

A FAIR pencil sketch of Father Gavazzi, which appears in our illustrated co-temporary, is accompained by a pen and ink sketch of his extraordinary career. The Father was born at Bologna, in 1809, and at the early age of sixteen entered the order called clerici regulares of St. Barnabas, in which he rapidly rose to a distinguished position. Professor of rhetoric at Naples, he not only taught the theory, but exemplified the practice of eloquence in the pulpits of that capital, and subsequently in most of the principle cities of Italy. His views were broad and generous; and, though little to the taste of Pope Gregory, that pontiff prudently refrained from molesting the popular missionary. The first appearance of Gavazzi on the political scene, was on the news of the Milanese insurrection, when the students of the University seized on the eloquent priest, carried him on their shoulders into the pulpit of the Pantheon, and called on him to pronounce the funeral oration of the patriots killed at Milan. The tricolour cross was now displayed on his cassock, and is the same decoration which he has worn during the whole campaign. In the colosseum he harangued for weeks crowds of citizens gathered within that gigantic structure, which became an arena of patriotic manifestations. The Pope encouraged his efforts to rouse the national energies, and conferred on him the office of Chaplin-General to the Forces, then organising by the levy of volunteers and the formation of national guards. In that capacity he marched from Rome with 16,000 men, and after a short hesitating halt on the frontiers, positive orders came from the Vatican. and private instructions to Gavazzi himself, to move forward and act against the Austrians. The onforward and act against the Austrians. ward progress of the Roman army was a succession of triumphs to the walls of Vicenza. Gavazzi's eloquence supplied ammunition, clothing, provisions, horses, and all the materiel de guerre, from a willing population. He was the Hermit Peter of the whole crusade, the life and soul of the insurrection. At Venice in the great area of St. Mark, he harangued day after day, congregated thousands, and filled the Venetian treasury by the voluntary oblations elicited by his irresistible appeals. "Women tore off their ear-rings and bracelets, and the wives of fishermen flung their large silver hair-pins into the military chest, and several thousand pounds worth of plate and jewellery was the result of his exertions." When the Roman division was ordered to fall back, the Father made Florence ring with his exhortations to uphold the cause. The Grand Duke, who had already begun his tergiversations, gave orders for the forcible expulsion of Gavazzi from Tuscany: he took refuge in Genoa; but the Bolognese having broken into open mutiny against the Pope on the 8th of August, and formed a Provisional Government, Gavazzi was recalled, as the only means of allaying the discontent of the legations; his return was in triumph, and order was restored by his presence.

General Zucchi was now sent from Rome to take the command of the troops at Bologna, when at the instigation of the Cardinal Legate, this lieutenant of Rossi seized on Gavazzi, and sent him off secretly, under a strong escort, to be incarcerated in Corneto, a sort of ecclesiastical prison, where clerical robbers, assassins, and adulterers, have been for ages confined by Popes; hut, on his passage through Viterbo, the whole city rose to rescue their patriot, and Pius IX. found it expedient to order his liberation amid the plaudits of the town. On the flight of the Pope, the formation of a Repulican Government, and the convoking of the Roman Assembly, Gavazzi was confirmed in his previous functions of Chaplain-General to the forces, and began his preparations for the approaching siege of the French, by organ-ising the military hespitals on a scale commensurate with the coming warfare. He formed a committee of the principal Roman ladies, to provide for the wounded (Princess Belgioioso, Counters Pallavicinio, and Pisacana at their head), and superintended the surgical ambulances during the whole struggle. At the lull of the fight against Oudinot, when a sortie of 14,000 Romans was made to repel the King of Naples, who, with his 20,000 men had advanced as far as Velletri, the Father went forth at the head of the troops, with the gallant Garibaldi, and, after the utter rout and precipitate flight of the invading army, assisted the dying and the disabled of both sides. Returning into the besieged capital, he sustained the spirit of the inhabitants throughout, and was ever at the hastions and in the front of the hattle. At the fall of Rome, he received an honourable testimonial and sauf conduit from Oudinot; and while his companion Father Ugo Bassi, was shot by the Austrians without trial and against the law of nations at Bologna, he was suffered to depart by the more civilised freebooters of France. In London he until lately lived in retirement, giving for his daily bread a few lessons in the language of his beloved but down-todden land. A few of his fellow exiles, anxious to hear once more the eloquent voice which cheered them in their hour of triumph, clubbed together the pittance of poverty to hire a room for the purpose, and the result has heen the course of extraordinary lectures from which we have from time to time given extracts.

Poetry for the People.

THE POET'S LOVE OF LIBERTY.

A boy—I dream'd of liberty; A youth—I said, "But I am free?" A man—I felt that slavery Had bound me in her chain;— But yet the dream which, when a boy,
Was wont my unusings to employ,
Fast rolling years could not destroy,
With all their grief and pain.

No! still the thought that mocks control. Whose only rest is freedom's gaol, Would mantling rise within my soul, Would manting rise within my soul,
Till every vein ran fire!
My spirit in a spell was bound—
The spell of an enchanting sound,
Which bade ine wake, and breathe around,
The murmurs of the lyre!

That spell is on my spirit still; Yes, lovely freedom; yes, I will The task by Heavens assigned fulfil. And wake the lyre for thee! The dream of boyhood still is bright And bursting through oppressions night, I see a radiaut form of light— Celestial Liberty!"

CHARLES COLE, a Labour Mechanic.

Advertisement.

NEW LIBERAL FAMILY NEWSPAPER.

On Saturday, 19th of April, 1851, will be published No. 1, Price Threepeuce, of

THE PIONEER, and Weekly Record of Movements; a Liberal Newspaper of Physical, Moral, Social, and Political Progress. Its columns will be devoted to the Illustration and Advocacy of All Progressive Movements, including the Temperance, Dietetic, Medical, and Spelling Reforms: it will explain and enforce the principles of Peace, Phrenology, Vital Magnetism, Homocopathy, and Hydropathy. It will elucidate the ideas and details of Co-operation; treat in a familiar style of Popular Anatomy, Physiology, and the Philosophy of Health; opening its pages to the discussion and euplanation of cory scheme of human odvancement, though pledging itself to advocate only those which have established themselves in truth and utility. It will besides a variety of instructive and entertaining matter, selected from the highest literature of the day, or contributed by original writers of established repute. Literature, Art, Science will contribute their beauces and wonders to its pages: the domestic hearth will be made more joyous by its flights of fancy, and the dwellers in the Ideal constantly refreshed by its poetic jeweis and gatherings from the world of beauty.

WILLIAM HORBELL, 13, Paternoster-row, London, and Sold by all Booksellers, and News-agents.

**Active Provincial Agents wanted. THE PIONEER, and Weekly RECORD of MOVEMENTS;

* Active Provincial Agents wanted.

London: Printed by the proprietor, GBORON JULIAN HABBEN, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury. in the county of Middleser; and Published by S. T. Collins, 112, Floet-street, in the City of London.

RRIEND THE PROPER

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 18.7

SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—
MILTON.

PROGRAMME OF CHARTIST AGITA-TION.

THE REVOLUTION is advancing-the Revolution of Opinion; the sure precursor of po-

litical and social change.

Only two years ago how jubilant were the enemies of the English democracy. The language of the country was ransacked for terms of opprobrium, scorn, and insult, with which to stigmatise the luckless Chartists. Hunted by the police, entrapped by spies, condemned to imprisonment and transportation by justice-hating jurors and judges; denounced by parliament, press and pulpit; made the sport of buffoonery on the stage; ridiculed, slandered, execrated on every hand, the Chartists seemed doomed to extinction. Nay, so sure were the usurers and "respectables" that the hated thing, Chartism, was already dead, that they commenced collecting a subscription to erect a monument to commemorate "the victory of order over anarchy on the Tenth of April." The monument is not yet raised; but raised is the spirit of Chartism. Let none suppose that this spirit is a mere spectre. It is the beginning of a new life. The bone and sinew, tho blood and muscle, will ere long be developed, and Chartism, buried, or supposed to have been buried, in 1848, will show itself, like LAZARUS, risen from the grave; will stand forth "a giant refreshed," the stronger for its recent repose.

I repeat, Chartism is entering upon a new life—is born again. The Chartism of '51 is not that of '39 or '48. It is a new mind, at this hour entering a new and superior form of organization, and destined to engage in a loftier mission than was ever dreamed of in '39 or '48. The outward and visible form of Chartism perished in 1848, or if ought remained, it was but a miserable wreck and remnant of former strength. But while the material force expired, the spiritual lived-it could not die. Men of power, and men of money, unprincipled lawyers, and corrupt present political and social abasement of the ers to Democr writers—in short, all "the superior and re-people. The principles enunciated will meet proletarians;

spectable classes,"-congratulated each other that Chartism had ceased to exist. Fools, and blind! They measured the power of Truth and Justice by their own grovelling standard. By killing Chartists in their prisons, and banishing others to the antipodes, they imagined they had extinguished and got rid of a never-dying principle. How were they deceived! Noisy propagandism there was none; apathy seemed to have taken lasting possession of the masses; but during all the time of seeming inaction the undying spirit of progress-unseen, unfelt, by the Sy barites of Society-was at work amongst the masses. Defeated, disappointed of the political victory they had hoped for in 1848, the hard-working thinkers turned their attention to social questions. Hence the rapid advance of co-operative experiments. Hence that far more important aspect of the public mind exhibited in the decisions of the recent Convention. In 1848, ERNEST JONES was sent to prison for having spoken figuratively, and with a poet's license, of the coming day when the green flag should fly over Dowing-street. In 1850 the released patriot was received by thousands of Yorkshiremen under the waving folds of the red banner. The change in the popular symbol was vastly significant. In 1848 a Chartist Convention was content to ask for the Charter, and nothing but the Charter, leaving the social question to the chances of the future. In 1851 the delegates of the people lift up their voices for THE CHARTER AND SOMETHING MORE, and that "something more," is not left to the vagueness of a popular phrase. It is defined in principle and in detail. Propositions, which the mind of every thinking man can compass, have been enunciated by the Executive, adopted by the Convention, and will speedily evoke the action of the people. Behold, ye victors of the "Tenth of April"—behold the fruits of your victory!

Without assuming that the Programme of the Convention is a synopsis of perfect legislation, it may be affirmed that it is the best suited to the circumstances of the time being. Its grand merit is that it opens discussion on a number of questions lying at the root of the

with the unanimous concurrence of all true democrats. If opposed at all, the opposition will come from the eternal enemies of Justice; and their objections will soon bo disposed of. As to the mode suggested of working out the principles enunciated—the details of the programme-difference of opinion may possibly be manifested. That difference, if expressed in a manner consonant with the dictates of the spirit of Fraternity, will be no ways mischievous, but, on the contrary, will be valuable as tending to hereafter produce a more perfect exposition of democratic legislation. The decisions of the Convention are binding on the present, but cannot bar improved legislation in the future. A future Convention may amend the Programme; and the people, once possessed of UNIVERSAL SUF-FRAGE, may dictate to their representatives, other-and it may be speedier-means of consummating the sovereignty of first principles and establishing THE REIGN OF JUSTICE.

If there are any true Reformers who are disappointed in consequence of not seeing the entire of their political and social theories adopted by the Convention, they will do well to bear in mind that that body represented many opinions—some conflicting—and had to take into account the numbers in the rear as well as in the van of the movement. Policy dictated a course which while giving irrevocable pledges to the most advanced Reformers, should not frighten the timid nor prejudice the unreflecting. The public mind must be led, not driven. It is all-important that a beginning has been made; and-not merely a step but-a vast stride taken in the right direction. Henceforth Chartism is Democratique et Sociale.

The several sections of the programme will afford subject-matter for future comment. In the meantime I appeal to all true democrats to rally around the Chartist Executive. All ye who earnestly desire-

The abolition of Class-legislation, and the establishment of the People's Sovereignty, through the enactment of the Charter;

The possession by the people of their municipal and parochial rights;

The conversion of the agricultural labourers to Democracy, and the union of all the The restoration (gradual but complete) of the LAND to its only rightful owner, the people;

The total abolition of religious monoplies, and the establishment of universal educa-

tion;

The abolition of pauperism, the progress of co-operation, and the gradual abrogation of Wages' Slavery;

of Wages' Slavery;
The Freedom of the Press, Reform of
Taxation, and the Regeneration of the

Army;-

Rally to the support of the Chartist Executive. Join the ranks of the National Charter Association, and with Men and Money enable the Committee to carry out the decisions of the Convention. FORWARD, FOR THE CHARTER AND THE SOVEREIGNTY OF LABOUR.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE CHARTIST CONVENTION.

The delegates adopted the following additions to the Programme published in our last number:—

CURRENCY.

The Convention considers that a change in our currency laws is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the producers of this country, and recommends that the Executive Committee of the National Chartist Association by addresses and tracts, direct the attention of the country to this subject.

THE PRESS.

Absolute freedom of thought and expression being one of the primary and most sacred of the rights of man, all restrictions on printing and publishing are unjust and iniquitous: this convention, therefore, declares its decided hostility to the taxes on knowledge, and recommends the total abolition of

The duty on Paper;

The duty on Advertisements;

The Penny Stamp Tax on Newspapers;
And the Import duty on Foreign Books and

And the Import duty on Foreign Books and publications.

THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS. TO THE DEMOCRACY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

BROTHERS.—It has been our fate to hear in these days of universal progress, sentiments more adapted to a former age, expressed in reference to the peoples of continental Europe, and more particularly that portion of them with whom we are more immediately connected by mutual principles and hopes. The hatred—deadly as it is cowardly — evinced towards the republican EXILES by the man Lord Lyndhurst (notorious by the name of IRELAND'S CURSE); the imbecile vituperation so characteristic in its vulgarity of the BRAVE COLONEL SIBTHORPE; and the vile calumny uttered by that worthy exponent of Austro-Russian policy STUART WORTLEY, have aroused the spirit of the people to vindicate the honour of their country from being implicated in the proceedings of these men. Another must be added to the list.

It is with sorrow, mingled with shame, that we have observed in the columns of a journal professing to be the organ and exponent of British democracy, statements false and perfidious, in reference to the refugees. The man who has made those statements, and proffered advice, to British workmen, which was as uncalled for as it was malicious, this man, Feargus O'Connor, we will not elevate by deigning to answer, we will but call on the people of Britain to review his past career and present position. We appeal to the people of Britain to reflect on the position of the men he has so vilely aspersed. These men,

whose love of fatherland, and family, of home and friends, whose love of life itself gave place to their holy love of liberty and humanity. We will not ask the people to weigh or to compare the deeds or character of the calumniator and the calumniated; but we call on them in their name of all that they hold dear, for the honour of our country, for the sake of persecuted patriotism, for the sake of justice and freedom, come forth from every village, town and city, and give your feelings form and expression. Cast off the stigma which the untutored savage fears more than death, the reproach of brokeu faith and treachcrous inhospitality. Baulk Russia of its prey, check Austrian influence and interference in the policy of our country; and let tyrants and traitors know that our sympathy is ever with the brave, who would be free.

Signed by the committee of the Fraternal

Democrats Association.

D. W. RUFFY, H. A. IVORY, EDW. SWIFT, JOHN MILNE, JOHN ARNOTT, WM. SHUTE, JAMES GRASSBY, Treasurer.
G. JULIAN HARNEY, Secretaries.
JOHN PETTIE,

THE FRENCH REFUGEES IN ENGLAND.

WE have been requested to publish the following letter:—

"71, Dean-street, Soho-squarc, London, April 7.

"We, the undersigned French Republicans, refugees resident in London, lay before the English people the following declaration:—

"The expulsion of the Republican exiles from Switzerland on the threats of Russia, Austria, and Prussia is now songht to be accomplished, as regards England, by trickery on the part of these Powers.

"But England, who had no idea of such a proceeding, would be in this case ruled by the

foreign Powers.

"There is a coincidence, however, which is very remarkable. At the moment when the Governments of Europe demand of the British Cabinet that we shall be put out of the pale of humanity, the mercenary journals of the counter-revolution in France redouble their accustomed violence against us; and two individuals (for diplomacy has not but official agents) unite to accuse us of the basest and most detestable designs.

"Who are these two individuals? One of them is a Frenchman, who is not a political refugee, although he has assumed that title, and whose coming to this country has not to our knowledge been satisfactorily accounted for. This individual, after having made before a police magistrate various allegations of a most odious character against us, has since, in an official examination made by order of the superior authorities, been obliged to deny their truth, which denial has been duly recorded in a formal report addressed to the Government.

"The other is a native of this country, who has forfeited the confidence of the political party, whose cause he pretends to espouse, and who seeks to recover his lost popularity by exciting among the masses old and nearly forgotten international hatreds. The antecedents of this individual were, however, so well known to us that not one amongst us would enter into any communication with him, notwithstanding all the advances he has made to that effect, which is no doubt our inexpiable crime in his eyes; but the English public will have no difficulty in divining that, without our being either assassins or incendiaries, we may be fully justified in regarding with mistrust such a false democrat as Mr. Feargus O'Connor.

"We, therefore, declare in the most solemn

"We, therefore, declare in the most solemn manner that whosoever attributes to us, the French Republicans, refugees, now residing in

London, designs such as those individuals have attributed to us, or in any manner, similar to them, is a vile slanderer.

"We make this solemn declaration, not because we dread to be driven from the refuge we have found in this country, for the revolution which has had power in France may resume that power, and in so doing exact, parhaps, too large a satisfaction for the wrong of which we should be the victims—an idea which resurrentered into our minds.

"We make this declaration voluntarily, we make it freely, we make it without afterthought, without any fear of menaces; we make it in the name of the eternal principles of brother-head and concord among nations and peoples—principles for which we now suffer the pains of exile.

"We may be calumniated, but the world will never believe that men the very first act of whose advent to power was the destruction of the scaffold—men who accomplished a great revolution without shedding a single drop of blood, without committing an act of violence, without imprisonment, and without confiscation—the world will never believe that we are assassins or incendiaries.

"J. P. BEZJEAU. " LUMARD. "F. BERTRAND. "J. MADAN. "E. FEBVRE. " V. CHUTELET. "C. DELESCLUZE. "E. M. DE MONTJAU, JL. "DIBON. "GUSTAVE NAQUET. " F. PARDIGON. " DUPONT. "TREMOND. "PETIT-JEAN. " D. PERZOO. "G. PHILIPPE "THEODORE KARCHER. " ROUSSIER. " LANGERON. " RIBETROLLES. " LEDRU ROLLIN. "A. RICATEAU. " LIONNE. " SUIREAU. " LABAT. "L. VILLAIN. " DARCANNITZ. " GOGUIN."

Mr. O'Connor has replied, in the Northern Star, to the above address. His reply is to the effect that he meant "no insult to the brave men who have been exiled from their country," that he is himself "a refugee," has "suffered eighteen months solitary confinement," &c. &c.

THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REFUGEES.

AT a general meeting of the associations of German working men and German refugees in London, held April 6th, 1851, it was unanimously rosolved:—

"That the statements made in the British Parliament, and the Times newspaper to the effect that the democratic refugees contemplate violence and revolution on the occasion of the approaching Industrial Exhibition are ridiculous, unfounded. false, and calumnious.

That Feargus O'Connor, M.P., having in his journal (the Northern Star) reiterated and sanctioued the calumnies above referred to, and added thereto expressions of his own, calculated to deprive the refugees of the brotherly sympathy of the British people, this meeting expresses its indignation at the conduct of that person, declares his assertions to be false and calumnious, and appeals to the working classes of this country to repudiate the conduct of a man whe in violation of his professed principals, has given his support to the persecutors of the refugees."

Signed on bchalf of the meeting -

Augusta Gebert,
Th. Hengsa.

Chairman & Secretary to the Association in Whitechapel.

J. Hartman.

Secretary to the Association near Blackfriar's Bridge.

H.Lüssel

Secretary to the Association, in Great Windmill

Street.

POLISH-HUNGARIAN REFUGEES.

The Central Committee formed for the purpose of procuring relief for the Polish Hungarian Refugees hereby publicly declare that in taking upon themselves the onerous duties to act as the medium of communication between the unfortunate refugees and the people of this country, their solo object was, and is, the manifestation of that duty of hospitality and humanity to strangers, who by misfortune, have been driven to seek refuge on our shores: a hospitality which Britons have never failed te exercise towards exiles of all shades of political and religious opinions, and which has ever been the pride and glory of our fatherland.

It is not true that the committee have dissuaded these exiles from going to America, or persuaded them to remain in this country; but knowing that they had resolved, of their own free will, to remain in Great Britain, the committee have the conviction that the people of this country will not disgrace themselves by leaving them to perish for want of the common necessaries of life in the midst of a superabundance of wealth, or by refusing the requisite aid to force them to resort to the alternative of quitting England against their will.

Several gentlemen who have heretofore been prominent in their profession of attachment to whatever contributes to the honour and glory of our country, and in their sympathy for the cause of liberty at home and abroad, have refused to interest themselves in the fate of the Polish Hungarian Refugees. From those sentimental profeszors of liberty better things were hoped; but they have steeled their hearts and buttoned up their breeehes pockets, both of which should have been generously opened in such a cause as this. thank God! a soul-destroying love of Mammon has not yet steeled the hearts of all Britons, numbers are still found in whom the generous spirit of our fathers yet live! A few, blessed with wealth, give cheerfully what they think proper, and the poor man bestows his mite.

Several kind-hearted mechanics have taken refugees to their homes, recognising and treating them as men and brethren, and have shared with them their humble means; whilst a certain rieh man of Liverpool has declared, that if one farthing would save them from starvation, he would withhold that farthing from them, and whilst another man of wealth had uttered the inhuman expression, that it would be well to force them on board ship, take them away, and sink them in the

Atlantic.

Seeing then the feelings which actuate those who condemn the committee for taking an interest in the welfare of the exiles, we appeal to all Britons, and ask them upon which side they will range themselves? Shall our renown for hospitality,—our acknowledged sympathy with those who have struggled for their just rights, and our commisseration for the stranger expatriated to our shores, remain untarnished? or will you, by playing into the hands of those base tyrants—those perjured and faithless inisercants, those ruthless destroyers of the liberties and lives of our fellowbeings—those women-flogging cowards of Austria and Russia, inflict indelible disgrace on your country!

"For inasmuch as ye have done it to one of these, ye have done it to me, saith the Lord:" and just 25 you shall act towards these men, you will show on which side your heart inclines; you will show yourselves either the friends of the victims or their torturers; will show whether your sympathies are with Hungary and Poland, or with Austria and Russia.

Britons! let us extend the hand of friendship to these few brave and noble, but unfortunate sons of Poland and Hungary: in so doing, we shall maintain the fame of our country for hospitality to the persecuted of all nations.

By order of the Committee,
THOS. BOTT, Hon. Sec.

Committee Room, Brunswick Hotel, Hanover-street.

Liverpool.

Subscriptions recoived by the officers of the Committee—Mr. J. Games, (Chairman). Highfield-street; P. Stuart, Esq., (Treasurer), Vauxhall Road; Mr. J. Hobbs, (Sub-Treasurer), Old Haymarket; and Mr. Thomas Bott, (Hon. Secretary), St. James's Street.

To the Editor of the Friend of the People.

Sir,-I eonsider it my duty to inform your readers of the present position of the six refugee's who are now in this town, (Bradford: Yorkshire.) By some strange and unaccountable bungling these men are in the hands of a self-elected committee of professing liberals, interspersed with a few chartists. An attempt has been made to get up a requisition to the Mayor for the purpose of holding a public meeting. Several of the leading liberals have been waited on by a deputation and have refused to give their signatures, stating as a reason that " The Refugee's ought to have accepted the offer made them, and proceeded to America," and some of the same party who attend this so-called committee, are doing all in their power to hinder a public meeting from being held, stating as a reason that such a proeceding would have a tendency to revive the agitation of 1848. They have also refused to allow several well known democrats to visit the refugees, who are residing at a notorious Whig tovern. From information which I have received from one of the chartist members of the committee, detailing conversations which have taken place between the liberal members of the committee and the chartists, I have reason to believe that a deep plot is at work between the respectable shams to drive these brave men from this country, and stifle the universal feeling of sympathy which the working classes cherish towards them.

Yours fraternally, Bradford, April 7, 1851. George White.

P.S. The six refugees are well provided for so far, and I have no doubt that several more would be taken by the neighbouring towns were we to have a public meeting, which we are resolved to have.

TO THE EARNEST AND THOUGHTFUL OF ALL CLASSES.

Let us have justice, and not tumult, to back us, and tor this good reason-Justice must at some time conquer. if tumult do not betray her.—D. JERROLD.

WHY IS THE CHARTER YET UNATTAINED ?

ALL great causes have at first suffered from inefficient advocacy—the Charter among the rest, and must suffer, till admonished by past failures, experience teaches the way to success. "Unfortunately experience to most men is like the stern lights of a ship, which illumines only the track it has passed."

Protestantism is in one respect like Chartism. It plays into the hands of its opponents by assailing them with hard words. Not content with having justice, reasonableness, and the instinct of freedom on their side, Protestants fall back upon abuse. Instead of showing that the triumph of Catholicism is the dirge of private judgment-that toleration is impossible by the Church of Romethat Catholicism must be despotie in the intellectual world. Instead of showing this, they call names—call their opponent "antiehrist," the "scarlet whore," and like delectable cognomenscall nunncries brothels, instead of showing that the worst forms of immorality are in most instances the inevitable results of ignoring the manifest necessities of human nature. To do this, is to play into the hands of opponents. It enables them to show the statements to be exaggerated—then lead you to infer that the wholo is false. They point out the virulence of the attack, then lead you to | American Paper.

believe that it is frightened error or startled ignerance, striving by passion to conceal its deformity, by abusive terms, to blind its votaries to its defeat in argument. Chartists, we have done the like! or our cause—the cause of all but a million—must have progressed faster than it has done. I leave you to make the parallel. If we had not greatly erred, the voices and energies of six millions of unenfranchised men would have been united to overcome the opposition of the priviledged few, who support the government against us.

The Charter is yet unattained, because our theory has been incorrect-because we have been ignorant of our real situation. Chartist ethics must be re-oast. Whilst our theory is false, our practice must needs be wrong. Whilst we are not accurately acquainted with our situation-our relative position, force, number, and influence-our efforts cannot be otherwise than ill-directed-consequently futile. We must not confound persons. Increasing the number and importance of opponents by classing all who are not with us as against us. As the first step towards the overthrow of an opponent is to ascertain his eapacity. We ought to ascertain who are our active opponents, and what they are-who are the merely indifferentwho the lukewarm; who (of watever elass) are with us heartily and without reserve.

In past times it has been forgotten or not adequately aeted on, that it is necessary to revolutionize opinion before we can revolutionize the country. Before we can hope to revolutionize opinion we must revolutionize our theories—our practices and ourselves.

The Charter is a theory of political justice and political efficiency. Why not put it in practice in our agitation? We all know how necessary all the points are for the preservation of the integrity of the suffrage. When properly organized, why not put them in practice omong ourselves? To do so would be valuable discipline.

We ought to have been wiser and prouder than to accept the services of any men without giving adequate remuneration. There is no argument that is in favour of payment of members that does not apply to payment of leaders. Efficiency in all trades commands a remuneration; -why not efficient leadership! We do not expect any man, however well disposed towards us, to make us shoes without payment,-why expect a man to make speeches? Emerson says that the hardest thing to do is to think. To think effectively, a man should have leisure, apart from the cares and extra exertion of earning a livelihood. That this has not been seen to, is one of the great causes of the unattainment of the Charter. It cannot be doubted that we have men among ourselves fit to fill the highest offices of trust. Honest artizans, too wise and with too much integrity to sacrifice their homes and means of subsistence for a precarious political existence. Could we remunerate them such men should be sought for leaders. We want doue for Chartism what Wesley did for Methodism, a thorough organization. Chartists must do as the Methodists did-pay for it. In these commercial times it is much more necessary to pay than to fight.

SERVO.

THE body is the shell of the soul, and dress is the husk of that shell; but the husk ofton tells what the kernel is.

A GREAT INVENTION IN THE ART OF PRINTING.—Mr. L. L. Burdick, of Utiea, has succeeded in inventing a new cylinder printing press, which is certainly far ahead of anything now in use. This press priuts both sides of the paper by one revolution; will print twice as fast as the Hoe's press, and do its work as well or better than the Adam's press, and it requires but half the labour in feeding it, while the cost of the machine, it is believed, will be less than that of any power press. There is one of these presses now at work in Utica.—

American Paper.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS,

Monies Received—For the Refugees at Liverpool:

Priends at Edinburgh, per. W. Pringle, 2s.; James Graham, 1s.; A. B. C. 4s; Woman's Shoemakers, Charlton Kings, near Cheltenham, 7s.6.; J. O'Connor, 6d.; G. Pirvis, 6d.; A. Vautry, 6d.; T. Skerrit, 6d.; B. Horsfall, 6d.; J. Woodworth, 2d.; J. Roherts, 6d.; J. Stead, 6d.; J. Poultou, 4d. (all of Leeds);—total 4s. G. Jones, Worcester, 1s. 9d. For the Convention. The following sums have been hauded to Mr. Arnott, Kettering friends, 1s. 6d. Friends at Berwick, 2s.; A few Chartists (and something more), Kincardine-on-Forth, 3s. 6d. For the Fraternal Democrats:—W. Shrimpton, 6d.; R. Mathison, 6d.

Liverfool.,—W. L. Costine desires to acknowledge 2s. 6d. for the Refugees from Mr. Bainbridge, Newcastle-on-Tyne, per J. Spurr.

The Chartists of Greenwich and Deptford, at a meeting, held at the Earl Grey, Straights Mouth, resolved on the motion of Messrs. Bligh and Morgan, "That the new programme of agitation adopted by the National Chartist Convention, he immediately printed and circulated,—it being the very best that has ever been put before the Chartist body; and further that as our funds are low, we earnestly call upon our friends of Woolwich, and Kent generally, to fo-ward their subscriptions to Mr. Floyd, Church Street, Deptford, (Treasurer) in aid of the Chartist Executive Fund."

C. M. B., objects to the decision of the Convention to advertise its resolutions in the Times, believing that the money could be better expended by printing the programme, &c., for gratuitous distribution, "thousands of copies might be slipped into letter boxes or under doors."

Herden Bridge, Yorkshire.

J. Bleno, woud feel obliged if any friend possessing the No. of the United Irishman containing the poem, "There's music in the rifle, go a-head!" would forward the paper, or a copy of the poem, to him at No. 4A, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street.

J. Pearcey, Rotherhithe.—The slander is unworthy serious notice. Let the curs snarl till they tire. The letter relating to the Refugees is rendered u

Son's Court, Fleet Street.

J. PEARCEY, Rotherhithe.—The slander is unworthy serious notice. Let the curs snarl till they tire. The letter relating to the Refugees is rendered unnecessary by the addresses from the exiles themselves, the resolution of the

addresses from the exiles themselves, the resolution of the Convention. &c., &c.

W. H. E.—The stamps, &c. came to hand. Thanks.
RECEIVED:—A. Bell, London; F. G., Edinburgh; and
D. Farquharson, Liverpool.
S. Worcell, desires to acknowledge 10s. 6d. from Howard Morton in aid of "keeping the Polish and Hungarian Refugees in Liverpool, from banishment to America."
Correction.—The sum subscribed for the Refugees at Liverpool, by the workmen in the employ of Messrs.
Baynes and Duffy, acknowledged in No. 17, should have been 10s. 6d. instead of 10s.

ROBERT OWEN AND THE EXHIBITION OF 1851.

THE Committee have received communications accompanied by subscriptions from Ashton, Bristol,

Derby, Paisley, &c.

The Committee are preparing a series of tracts written by Mr. Owen, of which they intend to circulate 60,000 copies in the English language, to be followed by translations in French and German for distribution among our continental brethren.

The Committee are also desirous of establishing a series of lectures by Mr. Owen and other gentlemen competent to develope the great principles of English Socialism, they trust therefore, that their friends throughout the country will lose no time in their contributions in aid of this important work.

A List of the subscriptions received will shortly HENRY A. IVORY, appear. Hon. Sec.

52, College Place, Camden Town.

STATE OF FRANCE.

Throughour the provinces, but especially in the east and centre of France, a vague presentiment of great changes and extraordinary events has been propagated among the people. The pre-parations and designs of the secret societies and The prerevolutionary leaders are said to be more directed to an extensive rising in the departments, followed by a popular insurrection in Lyons, than to a blow in Paris, where cverything is completcly prepared for the instantaneous repression of disturbance. These apprehensions have been immediately followed by the consequences which most powerfully contribute to realise themnamely, a fresh suspense of credit and an interruption of trade, while extreme agricultural distress is superadded to the decline of industry in the great towns.—Times.

TO THE DEMOCRATS OF SCOTLAND AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

FRIENDS,-Having, within the last six months, received numerous and repeated invitations to visit a variety of places in the north, I hereby announce my intention to proceed on a tour through Scotland and the north of England for the purpose of delivering public addresses in furtherance of the democratic cause. I wish to commence either at Edinburgh or Aberdeen, on the first or second Monday in May. After traversing the east and north, I propose to visit the west and south of Scotland, and, subsequently, the north of England on my way homewards. shall be glad to hear from the friends in Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, &c., &c., as early as possible. My route, when finally determined on, will be published in the Friend of the People.

G. JULIAN HARNEY, 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, London, April, 14, 1851.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, APRIL 19, 1851.

PROSPECTUS Of a New Weekly Democratic Newspaper. TO BE ENTITLED THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

IDEAS propounded, discussed, accepted-behold the only enduring foundation on which Revolutions in Government and Society can be securely based. The most glorious struggles to destroy oppression have resulted either in total failure, bitter disappointment, or fearful reaction, because the long-suffering millions have lacked the knowledge necessary to enable them to distinguish between pretended and real reforms, between their true friends and those political charlatans, who, masquerading in the guise of liberalism, traffic in the misplaced confidence of the people.

The advocates of Democratic Reform, and Social Regeneration, can hope for real and permanent success only through the general adoption of their principles. To expound and propagate those principles, democratic journals must be multiplied. THE PRESS, that great engine of Moral Power, must be employed more effectively than, hitherto, it has been, to spread abroad the all-saving truths of Democracy. Theories of political and social justice will be transformed into practical realities, the moment the great mass of the people are imbued with a correct knowledge of their rights, and are made to comprehend the means by which they may work out their own cmancipation.

Impressed with the views indicated rather than fully set forth in the foregoing observations, we whose names are hereunto subscribed have advised Julian Harney and Ernest JONES to respond to the many appeals made to them from all parts of the country to combine their energies for the production of a journal calculated to elevate and advance the people's cause. Having constituted ourselves a Committee to aid them in this enterprise, we have the pleasure of announcing that-

A New Weekly Newspaper of large size, to be entitled

THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE. Edited by Julian Harney and Ernest Jones, will be published immediately adequate support is guaranteed by the local committees at present formed, and in course of formation.

The elaborate details usually set forth in a Prospectus may very well be dispensed with in the present instance. The title of the projected journal has already the significance of a banner; and the names of the Editors afford a sure guarantee that its columns will be devoted to the exposition and advocacy of uncompromising Democracy, and the Social Rights of the Millions. Without, therefore, entering into minute particulars, it will be sufficient to state, that THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE will include in its leading features the following :-

I. CHARTIST ORGANIZATION AND PRO-RESS. Under which head will be given a GRESS. full and impartial account of all Chartist proceedings, together with original papers elucidating and vindicating the principles of the Charter, on the ground both of right and utility. The substitution of the democratic principle of popular election in place of hereditary and class usurpation in connection with governmental arrangements will be stre-

nuously advocated.
II. Social Rights. National proprietorship in the soil will be unccasingly contended for and familiarly popularised. The natural right to labour, and the consequent means of facilitating the exchanges of products, will find THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE a ready and fearless exponent.

III. Co-operative Progress and Asso-CIATIVE LABOUR, important phases of the age, will be earnestly advocated. Co-operative and Industrial Associations, Trades' Unions, &c., will find the proposed journal a faithful organ of their principles and pro-

cecdings.

IV. EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY To afford a correct representation of the movements of the Democrats of Continental Europe and America, will be one of the primary objects of THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE. Original sources of intelligence being at the command of the Editors, they will be enabled to give full and correct information of the aims and struggles of the Republicans, Socialists, Agrarian Reformers, and Communists of Europe and the United States. Lastly, it is intended to make the projected journal a medium of intercommunication between the Democratic and Social Reformers of all

Due space will be allotted to LITERATURE and the FINE ARTS. In conjunction with the useful and instructive, the romantic and entertaining will not be lost sight of.

Besides developing the above-mentioned features, THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE will be a complete news-paper, and will contain rcports of the debates in Parliament, Public Meetings, &c., also Legal, Police, Mercantile, and general intelligence.

"Quack Advertisements," and other offensive matter to be found in nearly overy existing journal, will be rigorously excluded from the columns of THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

It will be the aim of the Editors-in all departments of the projected journal-to elevate Democracy to a standard commensurate with the dignity of its principles. In fine, to produce a journal which will command the support of friends and the respect of foes-a journal that every democrat may dare to shew to men of opposing parties and classes, and say, "This is an organ of our movement, a reflex of our mind, a representative of our principles, the harbinger of our triumphant future."

GENERAL COMMITTEE.* Aberdeen David Wright Wm. Lindsay Brighton William Kent Barnsley Thomas Lingard Bradford Thomas Wilcock Abram. Robinson George White Edward Smith Bury, Lancashire ... John Jones Bridgwater C. Poole ... Alex. Yates Coventry Cambridge Weston Hatfield Dundee... James Graham John McCrae Deptford Joseph Morgan James W. Dean W. H. Davis $Edinburgh \dots \dots \dots$ Walter Pringle Henry Kay John Cameron Glasgow ... Uriah Hincheliffe Thomas Wood C. Shackleton Hebden Bridge James Mann ... James Sketchley Hinckley ... Huddersfield... Thomas Hirst Kilbarchan Kilmarnock James Gibson T. Thompson Peter Gorm Liverpool Alfred A. Walton W. L. Costine Richard Conolly George Robinson Lowmore Landport Henry Livesey
Lynn James Twaits Manchester John Cameron Edward Hooson G. J. Mantle Macclesfield John West Metheley W. Myddleton Merthyr Tydvil John Owen Newcastle-on-Tyne ... James Watson Martin Jude Peter Murray John Brown Nottingham Jonathan Barber T. Radford ... John Rymill Northampton James Rymill George Rymill New Radford Samuel Saunders Newport, Isle of Wight ... E. Wray Newtown, Montgomeryshire ... J. Rickards Wm. Cameron Paisley ... John Hull Padiham B. Pilling Rochdale Leigh Gleave Royton J. B. Horsfall John Young Ryde, Isle of Wight ... J. Barber St. Andrews... ... David Black South Shields Wm. Robinson Morton Royston Sheffield Sutton-in-Ashfield... ... W. Felkin George Kendal St. Leonards...... Edwin Mose
Tillicoultry Alex. Strahearn ... Thomas Fielden Todmorden W. M. Norman Ventnor, Isle of Wight Whitechurch near Blandford J. Smith THE METROPOLIS. James Grassby, John Milne, John Pettie,

This list does not consist of Agents—two or three names excepted—but of Friends willing to promote the circulation of the Paper. The full allowance will be given to the Trade. Local Agencies will not be interfered with.

H. A. Ivory, Robert Cooper, Edward Swift, W. Shute, Wm. Brafield, Augustus Delaforce, Isaac Wilson, Alfred Hunniball, John Shaw, John Godwin, Henry Wilkes, Henry Bloomfield, J. J. Bezer, Alexander Bell, Joseph Sale, J. I. Brisck, Augustus Piercey, Jacob Blake, John Pearcey, Edward Jacobson, John Athol Wood, John S.Clarke, T. Daniels, James Finlen, J. B. Leno, —— Greenslade.

ROBERT LE BLOND, Treasurer. DANIEL WILLIAM RUFFY, Secretary. 13, Tottenham Court Road, Now Road,

St. Pancras, London. All Moncy Orders to be made payable to Daniel William Ruffy, Money Order Office, Tottenham Court Road, London.

Friends desirous of adding their names to the above list, or who may be disposed to otherwise promote the success of the Friend of the People, are requested to communicate with the Secretary, who will furnish them with the requisite information.

TERMS OF PUBLICATION.—A Single Copy 41d. Quarterly Subscription, (paid in advance), 5s. Half-Yearly, 10s. Yearly, £1.

THE REFUGEES AND THEIR CALUMNIATORS.

A number of documents relating to the republican refugees and their slanderers will be found in this number of the Friend of the People. It is only necessary for us to add the following:-

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CHARTIST CONVENTION.

April 8th, 1851.—Moved by J. J. Bezer, seconded by A. Duncanson:—"That those portions of Feargus O'Connor's letters to the working classes, relative to 'foreigners,' as published in the Northern Star of March 29th and April 5th, are, in the opinion of this Convention, not only totally uncalled-for, but unjust in principle, anti-democratic in senti-ment, and calculated seriously to retard the progress of universal brotherhood; and the members of this Convention hereby express their unqualified disapprobation of the ungenerous sentiments contained in the said letters." John Shaw, Chairman. letters."

THE POLISH AND HUNGARIAN REFUGEES IN LIVERPOOL.

In number 17, we gave a specification of the refugees in Liverpool, already masters of certain trades; we now add one saddler to the twenty-six trades given in the abovementioned number, who, besides his own language, speaks French, German, and Italian.

In making this addition we cannot help thinking that, if the giving employment to the two brewers amongst the refugees in Liverpool depended upon Messrs. Barclay, Perkins and Co.'s workinen, they would already have been provided for, as there must necessarily be a strong sympathy between those who thrashed Marshall Haynau here, and those who did so in Hungary.

Wo understand that four of the refugees have gone to Padiham, and more to other places. There are still 148 at Liverpool,

chiefly young students.

Will our Liverpool friends oblige us by forwarding the names of the rich ruffians, one of whom declared he would not give one farthing to save the Refugees from starvation; and the other that it would be well to force them on board ship and sink them in the Atlantic? Such miscreants should be exposed to general execration. It is an act of criminality to conceal their names.

MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE.

Four years ago a few friends supped together at the home of the editor of this publication on the anniversary of the birth of Ro-BESPIERRE. A similar social meeting took place in the ensuing year. In 1849 it was resolved to extend the circle, and about forty persons assembled at the house of a liceused victualler to partake of supper. In 1850 the number of persons at the annual supper amounted to eighty. This year it was re-solved to lift the veil, and come boldly before the public. The Institution in John-street was engaged for the occasion. About a hundred persons partook of tea, after which the hall and galleries were well filled by an ardent and enthusiastic assembly, eager to testify their admiration of the great martyr.

The Editor of the Friend of the People presided, and excellent speeches were delivered by D. W. RUFFY, JAMES GRAHAM (from Dundee), JAMES WATSON (from Newcastle). SA-MUEL KYDD, G. J. MANTLE (from Manchester), Gerald Massey, John Pettie, and J. Bronterre O'Brien. The following sentiments were spoken to by the speakers:-

"The sovereignty of the people, the fraternity of nations, and the social regeneration of society."

"The memory of Maximilian Robespierre, and all who have suffered to advance the cause of Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity."

Prevented giving a report of the speeches, &c., we give the following invaluable docu-ment from the pen of the incorruptible martyr. *

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN, AND OF THE CITIZEN.

BY MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE.

THE representatives of the French people, assembled as a National Convention, acknowledged that all human laws which do not emanate from the eternal laws of justice, are but criminal attemps of ignorance and despotism against humanity; and convinced that the forgetfulness and contempt of the natural rights of man are the sole causes of the crimes and calamities of the world, have resolved to lay open, in a solemn declaration, those sacred and inalienable rights, to the end, that all the citizens being always able to compare the acts of the Government with the designs of all social institutions, may never suffer themselves to be oppressed and degraded by tyranny; and that the people may have perpetually before its eyes the bases of its liberty and happiness-the magistrate the rule of his duties—and the legislator the objects of his mission—in consequence, the National Convention proclaims, in presence of the universe, and of the Supreme Legislator if the World, the following Declaration of the Rights of Man, and of the Citizens .-

Art. 1. The end of all political associations is the maintenance of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man, and the development of all his faculties.

Art. 2. The principal tights of man are those of providing for the preservation of his existence

and liberty.

Art. 3. These rights belong to all men equally, whatever difference may be in their physical and moral force. Equality of rights is established by Nature. Society, so far from invacing it, constitutes its security against the abuse of force, which would render it illusory.

Copied from J. B. O'Brien's translation of "Buonar-roti's History of Babeut's Conspiracy for Equality," a work which should be read by every one desirous of learn-ing the causes and character of the Great French Revolu-

Art. 4. Liberty is the power which belongs to a safety, or against the property of man, by whomman of exercising all his faculties at pleasure. It has justice for its rule, the rights of others for its boundaries, nature for its origin, and the law for its safeguard.

Art. 5. The right of peaceably assembling—of manifesting opinions, whether through the press, or by any other means—are so necessary consequences of the principles of man's liberty, that the necessity of declaring them supposes either the presence or the recent remembrance of despotism.

Art. 6. Property is the right which each citizen has to enjoy and to dispose of, at his pleasure, the portion of fortune or wealth that is gnaranteed to

him by the law.

Art. 7. The right of property is limited, like all other rights, by the obligation to respect the rights

Art. 8. It can prejudice neither the safety, nor the liberty, nor the existence, nor the property of our fellow-citizens.

Art. 9. All traffic that violates this principle is essentially illicit and immoral.

Art. 10. Society is under obligation to provide subsistence for all its members, either by procuring employment for them, or by ensuring the means of existence to those that are incapable of labour.

Art. 11. The relief indispensable to those that are in want of necessaries is a debt due to the possessors of superfluities. It belongs to the law to determine the manuer in which the debt should be discharged.

Art. 12. Citizens, whose incomes does not exceed what is necessary to their subsistence, are dispensed from contributing to the public expenditure. The rest ought to contribute progressively, according to the extent of their fortnnes.

Art. 13. Society ought to favour, with all its power, the progress of public reason, and place instruction within the reach of every citizen.

Art. 14. The people is the sovereign; Government is its work and its property; the public functionaries are its agents and officers; the people may, when it pleases, revoke its mandatories.

Art 15. The law is the free and solemn expression of the people's will.

Art. 16. The law ought to be equal for all.

Art. 17. The law can forbid only what is hurtful to society; it can prescribe only what is nseful.

Art. 18. Every law that violates the imprescriptible rights of man is essentially unjust and tyrannical; it is no law at all.

Art. 19, In every free state the law ought, above all, to defend public and individual liberty against the authority of those that govern. Every institution that does not suppose the people good, and the

magistrate corruptible, is vicious.

Art. 20. No part of the people can exercise the power of the whole people; but the wish it expresses ought to be respected, as a wish of part of the people, which is to concur in forming the general will. Each section of the sovereign assembly ought to enjoy the right of expressing its will with perfect liberty; it is essentially independent of all constituted authorities, and competent to regulate its own policy and deliberations.

Art. 21. All the citizens are equally admissible to all public functions, without any other distinctions than those of virtue and talents-without any other title than the confidence of the people.

Art. 22. All the citizens have an equal right to concur in the nomination of the delegates of the people, and in the formation of the law.

Art. 23. In order that these rights be not illusory, and equality chimerical, society onglit to pay the public functionaries, and to provide that the citizens who live by their labour may be able to assist at the public assemblies to which the law calls them, without compromising their means of exist. ence, or that of their families.

Art. 24. Every citizen ought religiously to obey the magistrates and agents of the Government, whilst they are the organs and executors of the .law.

Art. 25. But every act against the liberty, the

soever exercised, even in the name of the law itself, if not comprehended within the cases determined by the law, and within the forms it prescribesevery such act is arbitrary and null. The very respect due to the law torbids submission to it, and if the attempt be made to execute such act hy violence,, it is permitted to repel force by force.

Art. 26. The right of presenting petitions to the depositaries of public authority belongs to every individual. Those to whom they are addressed ought to determine upon the points which constitute the object of them; but they can never either interdict, or restrict, or condemn the exercise of the right.

Art. 27. Resistance to oppression is the consequence of the other rights of man and of the citi-

Art. 28. There is oppression against the social body whenever one alone of its members is oppressed. There is oppression against every member of it when the social body is oppressed.

Art. 29. When the Government violates the rights of the people, insurrection is for the people, and for every portion of the people the most sacred of rights, and the most indispensable of duties.

Art. 30. When the social guarantee or compact fails to protect a citizen, he resumes his natural right to defend personally all his rights.

Art. 31. In either of the two preceding cases, to subject to legal forms the resistance to oppression, is the last refinement of tyranny.

Art. 32. Public functions cannot be considered as distinctions, nor as recompenses, but as public duties.

Art. 33. The crimes of the delegates of the people ought to be severely and premptly punished. No one has the right of pretending that he is more inviolable than other citizens.

Art. 34. The people has the right to know all the operations of its delegates. It is the duty of the latter to render to the people a faithful account of their behaviour, and to submit to its judgment with respect.

Art. 35. Men of all countries are brothers, and the people of each ought to yield one another mutual aid, according to their ability, like citizens of the same state.

Art. 36. He who oppresses one nation alone is the declared enemy of all.

Art. 37. Those who make war on a people, to arrest the progress of liberty, and to annihilate the rights of man, ought to be pursued everywhere, not as ordinary persons, but as assassins and brigand rebels.

Art. 38. Kings, aristocrats, and tyrants of every description, are slaves in revolt against the sovereign of the earth, which is the human race, and against the legislator of the universe, which is Nature.

THE POLITICAL MARTYR.

Aye, let out his life's blood—let the gurgling tide Roll red round the tyrants the martyr defied; They blasted shall sink in that murder'd one's blood, Like vineyards engulphed in the lava's hot flood.

Like lava, when cold, it shall harden to stone, And bridge a broad causeway for they who shall come, Armed in mail'd thoughts, with a deadlier blow, Heaven's doom on Earth's trembling Cains to bestow.

Go, tread in his steps, would ye honour the dead; Act out in Life's drama the high part which shed Fair everlastings* of patriot story, On a name girdi'd bright with green wreaths of glory.

* Alluding to the "immortelle" or everlasting flower.

The New York Tribune states that an Italian patriot named Papieri was found wandering in the Streets of New York, in an insane state of mind. He arrived in America in the frigate Constitution, and has several scars on his person from wounds received while fighting for the liberty of his native soil.

Teanes fram our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 18.)

Consuelo resolves to quit the castle of the giants-to fly from her tempter, Anzolcto, and from the lover she cannot fully love, Coun Albert. While reflecting on her unhappy posi-

"She saw through the window of her closet which opened upon an inner court-yard, a light from the stables. She examined attentively a man who went in and out without waking the other servants, and who appeared to be preparing for his departure. She saw by his dress that it was Anzoleto's guide, and that he was getting ready the horses, conformably to his instructions. She also saw a light with the keeper of the drawbridge, and concluded that he had been informed by the guide of their approaching departure, the hour for which had not been exactly settled. Considering these matters in detail, a bold and somewhat strange project rushed across Consuelo's thoughts. But as it opened out to her between two extremes a fresh point of departure in the events of her life, it seemed to her little less than inspiration. She had no time to inquire into the means or the consequence. She trusted the one to Providence, while she thought she could obviate the other. She began to write as follows, in haste as may be supposed, for the castle clock had sounded eleven.

" 'Albert, I am compelled to depart. I esteem and admire you, as you know, from my very soul. But there are in my nature contradictions, sufferings, and oppositions which I cannot explain either to you or myself. Could I see you at this moment I should perhaps tell you that I confide in you, that I yield you up the care of my future life, that I consent to become your wife. Perhaps I should even say that I desire it. Nevertheless I should be deceiving you, or at least make a rash vow, for my heart is not yet sufficiently purified from its old love to belong to you without fear, or to merit yours without remorse, I fly, I hasten to Vienna, to meet or await Porpora, who is to be there in a few days, as his letter to your father has recently announced. I swear to you that I shall only endeavour to forget the past beside him, and cherish the hope of a future of which you are the corner-stone. Do not follow me; I forbid you in the name of this future which your impatience might compromise and perhaps destroy. Wait for mc, and keep the oath, which you have sworn, not to return without me to-you will understand what I mean! Rely upon me; I enjoin it on you, for I go with the blessed hope of one day returning or asking you to come to me. At this moment I seem as if I laboured under a frightful dream. I feel that when I am again alone I shall awaken worthy of you. I am determined that my brother shall not follow me. I mean to keep all my movements secret from him, and induce him to take a direction opposite to that which I shall follow myself. By all that you hold dear on earth I implore you not to oppose my project, and to believe that I am sincere. By so doing I shall see that you love me truly, and I shall then be able to sacrifice, without blushing, my poverty to your riches, my obscurity to your rank, and my ignorance to your lofty knowledge. Adicu, Albert, but only for a time! To prove to you that I do not go irrevocably, I charge you to render your good and excellent aunt favourable to our union, and to preserve for me the esteem of your father—that best and worthiest of men. Tell him the truth in all respects. I shall write to you from Vienna,"'

The hope of convincing and calming by such a letter a man so much in love as Albert was rash, no doubt, but not altogether unreasonable. Consuelo, even while she wrote, felt her energy and rectitude of principle return. She felt everything she wrote, and everything she said she meant to do. She was aware of Albert's wonderful penetration-his almost second sight-and she did not hope to deceive him; she was sure, from his character, that he would believe in her and obey her punctually. At this moment, her judgment of ahe circumstances in which she was placed, and the conduct of Albert towards her, was as pure and lefty as his would have been in a similar po-

"Having folded her letter without sealing it. she threw her travelling cloak over her shoulders, covered her head with a thick dark veil, put on very strong shoes, gathered together the little money she possessed, made up a small packet of linen, and descended on tiptoe; with extreme precaution she traversed the lower storeys, arrived at Count Christian's apartment, and glided into the oratory, which she knew he regularly entered at six in the morning. She placed the letter on the cushion on which he usually opened his book before kneeling, then, descending still further to the court-yard without awaking any one, she proceeded straight to the stables.

"The guide, who did not feel very comfortable at finding himself alone in the middle of the night in this great castle, where every one was fast asleep, was at first afraid of this figure in black, which glided towards him like a phantom. He retreated to the farthest corner of the stable, neither daring to cry out nor question her. This was just what Consuelo wished. As soon as she saw herself out of sight and hearing, for she knew that neither Albert's nor Angoleto's windows opened on the court-yard, she said to the guide-'I am the sister of the young man you brought here this morning; he takes me with him. It has just been settled on. Put a sidesaddle quickly on his horse; there are several here. Follow me to Tusta, without saying a single word, and without making a single movement which could betray me to the people of the castle. You shall have double pay. You appear surprised? Come, make haste; the moment we reach the town you must return with the same horses to bring my brother.' The guide shook his head. 'You shall be paid threefold.' The guide nodded assent. 'And you will bring him full gailop to Tusta, where shall await you? The guide again shook his head. 'You shall have four times as much for the latter stage as for the former.' The guide obeyed, in an instant the horse was ready. 'This is not all,' said Consuelo, mounting even before the bridle was perfectly adjusted, 'give me your hat, and throw your cloak over mine, only for an instant. 'I understand,' said the man, 'to deceive the porter, that is easy! Oh it is not the first time I have carried off a young lady. Your lover will pay well, I suppose, although you are his sister," added he, with a

" You will be well paid by me first. But be silent-are you ready !

"'I am mounted.

"'Pass on then, and have the bridge lowered." "They crossed it at a foot pace, made a circuit in order not to pass under the walls of the castle, and at the end of a quarter of an hour had gained the sandy road. Consuelo had never been on horseback before. Happily the animal though strong was tractable. His master encouraged him with his voice, and striking into a steady and rapid pace through woods and thickets, the lady arrived at her destination in a couple of hours.

"Consualo sprang down at the entrance of the town. 'I do not wish that they should see me here,' said she to the guide, at the same time placing in his hand the money agreed upon for heren and Angoleto. 'I shall proceed through here whom I know a carriage to convey me on said that my mother's child is no longer able to she had proposed putting off till mid-day, weighed

the road to Prague. I shall travel quickly, in order to get to a distance from the places where I would be recognised, before the break of day. In the morning, I shall stop and await my brother.' \

" 'But in what place ?

"'I cannot say; but tell him that it will be at a post-house. Let him not ask any questions until he shall be ten leagues from this. Then let him enquire for Madame Wolf; it is the first name that occurs to me; do not forget it, however. There is but one road to Prague?"

"'Only one as far as-

"'It is well. Stop in the saburbs to refresh your horses. Do not let them see the side-saddle -throw your cloak over it; do not answer any question, and start off. Stay-another word-tell my brother not to hesitate, but to set off at once without being seen. His life is in danger in the castle.

"'God be with you, my pretty maiden,' said the guide, who had had time enough to count his 'Even if my poor horses should he monev. knocked up, I shall he glad to have served you. I am sorry, however, he said to himself, when she had disappeared in the obscurity, 'that I could not have a peep at her. I would like to know if she is handsome enough to run away with. She frightened me at first with her hlack veil and resolute step; besides they told me so many stories in the kitchen, that I did not know what to think. How foolish and superstitious those people are with their ghosts, and their man in black of the oak of the Schreckenstein! Pooh, I passed it a hundred times, and never saw anything. I took good care to look aside when I passed the ravine at the foot of the mountain.'

"Thus reflecting, the guide having fed his horses, and having taken a good dram by way of rousing himself, turned again towards Riesenburg."

Anzolcto follows, but in vain. He reached Tusta, and asked for one Madame Wolf, who was to meet him there with a carriage. But no one

could give him any news of her.

"There was indeed a Madam Wolf in the village, but she had been established there fifty years, and kept a mercer's shop. Anzoleto, tired and exhausted, concluded that Consuelo had not thought it best to stop in this place. He inquired for a carriage to hire, but there was none. He was therefore obliged to mount on horseback again, and ride post once more. He thought every moment that he was certain to overtake the welcome carriage, into which he could throw himself, and be recompensed for his anxieties and his fatigues. But he met very few travellers, and in no earriage did he see Consuelo. At last, overcome by excess of fatigue, and finding no vehicle to be hired anywhere, he resolved to stop, although with much reluctance, and to wait in a little town on the roadside until Consuelo should join him, for he was certain he must have passed her. He had plenty of time during the rest of the day and the following night to curse the woman, the inns, the roads, and all jealous lovers. The next day he found a public passenger coach, and continued to hurry towards Prague, but without being more successful."

Albert resigns himself to suffer and to hope. Consuelo pursues her course in the direction of Vienna. She loses her way in a forest.

"She paused in a shady and retired spot, where a spring gushed from between rocks sheltered by lefty trees. The ground around seemed marked by the footsteps of animals. Were they those of the neighbouring flocks, or of beasts of prey who occasionally came to quench their thirst at this secluded fountain? Consuelo knelt down on the dripping stones, and satisfied both hunger and thirst with a draught of the cool and limpid water; then remaining in her kneeling posture, she reflected on her situation. 'I am a weak and helpless ereature, thought she, 'if I cannot carry out what I have planned. What! shall it be

bear cold or hunger, fatigue or danger? I have dreamed to little purpose of freedom and poverty in the bosom of that plenty from which I always longed to free myself, if I am to be thus terrified. Was I not born to suffer and to dare? Or am I changed since the time when I used to journey on foot, sometimes before day-break, and often hungry, with my poor mother, and all the nonrishment we had was perhaps a draught at some road-side fountain? I am a worthy Zingara truly, who can only sing in a theatre, sleep upon down, and travel in a coach! What dangers did I incur with my mother? Did she not say to me, when we met doubtful characters, ' Fear nothing; those who possess nothing have nothing to dread; the wretched do not prey upon each other.' She was young and handsome in those days, yet was she ever insulted by the passers by? Even the worst men respect the defenceless. How do those poor mendicant girls do, who go about with nothing but the protection of God? Shall I be like those damsels who cannot move out of doors without thinking that the whole world, intoxicated with their charms, hastens in pursuit of them? Shall it be said, that, because alone, and journeying on the broad and free highway, I must be degraded and dishonoured, without some guardians to watch over me? My mother was as bold as a lion, and would have defended herself like one. Am not I also strong and courageous, with nought but good plebian blood flowing through my veins? Besides, I am in a quiet country, with peaceful inhabitants; and were I even in some unknown land, I should be very unfortnnate if in the hour of need I did not meet with some of those upright, generous spirits, whom God has placed everywhere, as a sort of providence for the weak and helpless. But courage! -this day I have incurred no worse evil than hunger. I shall enter no cabin to purchase hread till towards the evening, when it hecomes dark, and when I shall he far, far from this. I know what hunger is, and how to comhat it, notwithstanding the constant feasting at Riesenburg. A day soon passes over. When it hegins to get warm, and my limbs grow weary, I shall recall the saying which I heard so often in my infancy, 'He who sleeps, dines.' I shall hide in some cave in the rocks, and you shall see, O my poor mother, who watchest over me, and journeyest at this hour invisible by my side, that I am able to repose without pillow or couch !

"While thus engaged in devising plans for her conduct, the poor girl forgot for a short time her distress. She had gained a victory over herself, and Anzoleto was already less dreaded. From the very moment when she had resisted his solicitations, she felt her soul partially relieved from her fatal attachment; and now, in putting into execution her remantic project, she experienced a sort of mounful gaiety, which made her repeat every instant to herself, 'My body suffers, hut it saves my soul. The bird which cannot defend itself by strength has wings to flee; and when it soars. through the fields of air it laughs at nets and stra-

"The recollection of Albert, and the pictura she drew of his suffering and terror, presented themselves very differently to Consuelo; but she combated with all her might the tenderness which this thought was calculated to inspire. She determined to repel his image, until she should be beyond the reach of sudden repentance or imprudent amotion. 'Dear Albert! noble friend!' said she, 'I cannot help sighing deeply when I think of thee! But in Vienna alone shall I pause to sympathize with thee; here I shall only permit my heart to say how much it venerates and regrets thee.

"'Forward!' continued Consuelo, endeavouring to rise, 'I must proceed on my journey.' But in vain she attempted, twice or thrice, to leave the wild and pretty fountain, whose plea-

sant murmur invited her to repose. Sleep, which

heavy on her eyelids; and hunger, which she was unable to resist so well as she had supposed added to her exhaustion. She would gladly have deceived herself on this point, but in vain. She had been too much agitated to take any refreshment the evening before. A mist crept over her eyes, while langour and uneasiness took possession of her frame. She yielded to fatigue without being aware of it, and, firmly resolving to get up and proceed on her journey, she gradually sank on the grass, her head fell upon her little bundle, and she slept soundly. The sun, warm and glowing as it often is during the short summers of Bohemia, rose gaily in the sky, the fountain murmured over the pebbles, as if it had wished to lull the slumbers of the traveller, the birds fluttered overhead, warbling their melodious carols."

(To be continued.)

FRANCE AND THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.—Centuries hence this base, this devilish action, will be a black spot in the history of France. In all the annals of infamy, one can hardly find its parellcl. The republic of France, founded an Universal Suffrage, gave this most fraternal embrace to the republic of Rome, founded on a like basis,-the fraternal embrace of Cain to his brother Abel. 'And the Lord said unto him, where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper? And He said, what hast thou done? the voice of thy brothers blood crieth unto me from the ground.'-British Quarterly Review.

PRIESTCRAFT AND KINGCRAFT-HORRIBLE BON-DAGE OF ITALY.-Italy is once more the chained victim of the most horrid despotism. Rome is once more a cage of pricsts; every twenty-third man met in her streets is a priest; the puppet-Pope and a wretched set of cardinals are her systematic mis governors; her prisons are full of state-offenders; her best and noblest spirits are living in sad exile; her populace are in a worse condition than they were in before. In Naples it is the same. There, the newspapers tell us, all the greatest literary productions of the human mind—the works of Shakspeare, of Goethe, of Sophocles, and those of our most distinguished contemporaries—are forbidden to be sold or read. Is a single argument more needed to prove that the system of government under which Italy now subsists ought to be torn to pieces by the united indignation of all mankind? Were such a decree issued in our country, should we not rise in universal insurrection, and hang our whole Queen's cabinet on one gibbet for their pains? And are Italians less of men than ourselves?—British Quarterly Review.

WAR TO THE PAPACY.—Let us swear war against the temporal papacy as a political institution, and pledge ourselves, in all our diplomatic relations, in all our public literature, in all tho methods in which we can excrt our collective activity, as inhabitants of one of the most powerful countries on the earth—to work for the destruction of the papal sovereignty of central Italy. Let us throw all our petty diplomacies and anti-republicanisms aside, and give full burst to our best and bravest instincts; thus helping a gifted and generous people to regain their rights in their own way, doing ourselves a good turn, and rendering a grand service to the future civilization of the world.—British Quarterly

A COMMITTEE of English gentlemen has been formed in Calcutta, for the purpose of publishing translations of good English books into the native languages; and among the first works that will be issued will be 'Robinson Crusoe.

A PEOPLE may let a king fall, yet still remain a people; but if a king let his people slip from him he is no longer a king.

Boetry for the Beople.

ETERNAL TRUTH. BY CHARLES MACKAY.

THE man is thought a knave or fool, The man is thought a knave or fool,
Or higot plotting crime,
Who, for the advancement of his kind,
Is wiser than his time.
For him the hemlock shall distill,
For him the gibbet shall be huilt,
For him the gibbet shall be huilt, For him the stake prepared:
Him shall the scorn and wrath of men
Pursue with deadly aim;
And malice, envy, spite, and lies
Shall desecrate his name. But truth shall conquer at the last,
As round and round we run; The Right shall yet come uppermost, And Justice shall be done.

And Justice shall be done.

Pace through thy cell, old Socrates,
Cheerily to and fro;
Trust to the impulse of thy soul,
And let the poison flow.

They may shatter to earth the lamp of clay
That holds the light divine,
But they cannot quench the fire of thought
By any such deadly wine;
They cannot blot thy spoken words
From the memory of man,
By all the poison ever poured,
Since time its course began;
To-day abhored—to-morrow adored,
So round and round we run;
The Right shall yet come uppermost, The Right shall yet come uppermost, And Justice shall be done.

Plod in thy cave, grey Anchorite,
Be wiser than thy peers,—
Augment the range of human powers,
And trust to coming years;
They may call thee wirard and monk accursed,
And load thee with dispraise;
Thou wert born five hundred years too soon,
For the comfort of thy days,—
But not too soon for human kind;
Time hath reward in store,—
And the demons of our sires become
The saints that we adore. The sight shall yet come uppermost,
And Justice shall be done.

Keep Galileo to thy thought,
And nerve thy soul to bear,—
They may gloat o'er the senseless words they wring
From the pangs of thy despair;
They may veil their eyes, but they cannot hide
The sun's meridian glow;—
The heel of a priest may tread thee down,
And a tyrant work thee wwe;
But never a truth has been destroyed,—
Let them curse and call it crime,
Pervert and hetray, and slauder and slay
Its teachers for a time;
But the sunshine aye shall light the sky,
As round and round we run;
And ever is Justice done. Keep Galileo to thy thought.

And there liveth now such men as these. And there liveth now such men as these. With thoughts like the great of old,—Many have died in their misery,
And left their thoughts untold;
And many live and are ranked as mad,
And placed in the cold world's han,
For sending their bright far-seeing souls
Three centuries in the van. Three centuries in the van.
They toil in penury and grief,
Unknown, if not maligned,—
For orn, forlorn—hearing the scorn
Of the meanest of mankind.
And yet the world goes round and round,
And the genial seasons run;
The Right shall yet come uppermost,
And Justice shall be done.

THE COMING STRUGGLE.—Two facts are at present conspicuous in the contest between continental absolutism and continental democracy, considered as affecting the character of the latter. (1) The gradual passage of democracy out of the form of constitutionalism into that of republicanism; an ominous change, for which the monarchs of continental Europe have their own infatuated cruelty and treachery to blame; and (2) the growing spirit of revenge which is at the same time accumulating in the democratic counsels, the growing conviction that to be thoroughly successful, a. revolution must be clothed in terror to its cuemies, and baptised in the blood of a king.—British Quarterly Review.

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NEW FAMILY NEWSPAPER.
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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

THREATENED PERSECUTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC REFUGEES.

AT A PUBLIC MEETING, convened by the FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS, held on the 15th of April, in the large hall of the Literary Institution, John Street, Tottenham Court Road, it was unanimously resolved :-

1st.—That this meeting, convinced of the fallacious character of the statements made in Parliament, and reiterated by a portion of the Press, in reference to the character and intentions of the political exiles at present residing amongst us, condemns such statements as maevoking a spirit of persecution against our brave and unfortunate brethren; and also, because they are calculated to sever the peoples, and thereby strengthen their oppressors

2nd. That this meeting sympathising deeply with the noble-hearted patriots, whose efforts in the cause of liberty and humanity have resulted in exile or imprisonment, hereby express our admiration of their conduct, our grief for their present sufferings, and our sincere hope that the principle of their present sufferings, and our sincere hope that the principle of their present sufferings, and our sincere hope that the principle of their present sufferings and our sincere hope that the principle of the princ ciples for which they have combated may have a complete and peedy triumph.

The Times while sncering at "those interesting specimens of humanity, the foreign democratic refugees," acknowledges that "the meeting was numerously attended," and that one spirit of fraternal enthusiasm animated all present—the *Times* reporter excepted. I speak advisedly in saying, that the like spirit could be evoked anywhere within the Seas encircling the British Isles.

It is well. But let the refugees be on their guard. Their enemies are indefatigable, and will hesitate at no means, however base, to attain the diobolical end they have in view. The monstrous lies of the New York Herald are being regularly re-produced in the London papers-both aristocratic and sham-democratic. Rumours are circulated of Chartist processions to be led by German Socialists &c., &c.

instantly and openly refuted on the part of the German exiles; and as to the Chartists, it is sufficient to say, that no procession, nor any other kind of demonstration, has ever been hinted at by any one in their confidence. But the authors of these lying rumours silenced one day, invent a new falsehood the day after. Hence the necessity for extreme circusmpection on the part of the exiles. Let them beware of enemies amongst themselves, and whether he be traiter or madman—let them instantly denounce and expel from amongst them, any one whose words or acts may be calculated to impart even the slightest colouring of truth, to the lying inventions of the foes of democracy.

The ridiculous fabrications in the New York Herald concerning Ship-loads of Socialists, Anti Renters, &c., on their way from America, to fraternize with English Chartists, Irish Repcalers, and Red Republicans from continental Europe, for the purpose of effecting a revolution in this country, need only this answer: the New York Herald is a journal utterly devoid of principle; and is scouted by all honest Americans, as a disgrace to the United States press. No matter the mischief and misery he may cause, the proprietor of the Herald will hesitate at no falsehood, so that he may make a sensation, and obtain an increased circulation for his vile broad sheet.

This much, may be said in favour of the Whigs:—they made no use of the Bill passed against "Aliens" in the spring of 1848. The attempt now being made to force the government to renew that measure, or to have recourse to other means of persecution against the refugees, calls for the severest reprobation. "Lord" Lyndhurst, STUART WORTLEY, and others, desire to make the Government of this Country a party to the odious conspiracy formed by the crowned brigands of continental Europe, to immolate the last of the defenders of freedom. Against this the people must protest. More than enough of disgrace was inflicted upon the name of England, by the infamous conduct of Graham, the letter-opener, the mean and despicable lacquey of the blood-lapping tyrant of Naples. Remember, countrymen, the blood This last fabrication has been of the Bandiera is yet unavenged, and that

blood, shed by the Neapolitan tiger, stains the hem of Britannia's robe. Execrated for ever be he who inflicted that crimson shame upon our country; and may perdition seize those who, under any pretext, in any form, would repeat his crime.

It is said that the refugees conspire against governments with whom England is on terms of peace and amity. The more shame for England that her "allies" include the atrocious despots of Russia, Austria, &c. What if the French refugees conspire against the traitors who have abrogated universal suffrage, and are at this moment in full conspiracy for the total annihilation of the Republic; - what if the Germans conspire against the royal perjurers and tyrants who first accepted and then assassinated the Revolution; -what if the Italians and Hungarians conspire against Pope, King, and Kaiser, names synonymous with infamy and blood; -what if the Poles conspire against NICHOLAS, the scourge and desolator of their native land? It is their right and their duty to conspire. In their position, Englishmen would do the same. If they did not, they would be unworthy of ought but stripes and chains—unworthy of life itself. What have we in common with the tyrants of Europe that our police should act as their bloodhounds, and this "inviolable island" be transformed from a house of refuge into a den of destruction for the soldiers of Liberty? As a people, we have failed in our duty in not aiding the nations around us in their struggles for freedom. We should have prevented the assassination of Rome and Hungary. Why did Venice—the elder sister of Britannia—appeal to us in vain? Why is the desolation of Poland, connived at by our fathers, so tamely borne with by their sons? Alas! the curse of selfishness is upon us-a sin that never yet failed to bring forth its retributive reward. O! ye great and wealthy of England, ye have heard unmoved the groans of trodden-down nations ruthlessly trampled upon by the iron-heeled legions of military tyranny; did the thought ever strike you that-

"If cternal Justice rule the ball, So shall your country and your children fall, And Albion, in turn, become the conqueror's prey?"

What avails it that another hand wielded the sword of tyranny? Inasmuch as you made no effort to save the victim, you share the guilt of the assassin. If anything can save you from "the wrath to come," it is the virtue of the powerless poor, who have not failed to protest against your selfishness. while condemning the more direct and bold criminality of the avowed enemies of the Human Race.

It will be some atonement for national neglect of duty in not giving direct aid to our brethren if the people of this country stand firmly by the resolution thus far taken, to maintain the right of asylum for all political fugitives, in spite of the machinations of tyrants without and traitors within. Any call for the expulsion of the democratic refugees should be met by a counter demand on the part of the people, for the expulsion of the Russian and Austrian ambassadors, and a complete severance of all connexion with the despotisms of the continent. The reenactment of the Alien Bill would be disgraceful to the country; and any attempt to enforce the provisions of a measure so repugnant to the instincts of Humanity, could hardly fail to provoke a cry of indignation from one end of the country to the other. It is virtuous, patriotic, and praiseworthy to disobey a bad law; and such a law the people should declare null and void. Under all circumstances let one British domocrats do their duty, never forgetting that-

"MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES ARE BROTHERS, AND THE PEOPLE OF EACH OUGHT TO YIELD ONE ANOTHER MUTUAL AID, ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY, LIKE CITIZENS OF THE SAME STATE."

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE REFUGEES AT LIVERPOOL.

Amonds the falsehoods circulated to the injury of the Refugees in general, it has been asserted that the men of the Polish Legion, who arrived at Liverpool on the 4th of March last, have been seduced to remain in this country in order that they may be made use of in the Revolution projected, or invented, by LOED LYNDHURST, STUART WORTLEY, FEAR-GUS O'CONNOR, and JAMES GORDON BENNETT, proprietor and editor of that infamous journal, the New York Herald. Once again let it be repeated, that the Polish Refugees, of their own accord and their own free will, determined, before they left Constantinople, to seek a home in England, and not to abandon Europe, unless compelled by force. They came to this resolution, not because they desired to take part in English politics, but because they wished to remain as near as possible to Poland. Believing that their suffering country will again summon them to arms, they would have preferred to have passed their days of exile in Turkey rather than in England; but that having been found impossible, they naturally prefer England to America.

Certainly, they desire to take part in a revolution, but it is that revolution whichcommenced in 1830, and continued in 1846-48 is destined, sooner or later, to burst forth anew, and end in the national, political, and social emancipation of Poland. Here they are men of peace; their mission is to labour, not to fight. Those who assert the contrary are unscrupulous calumniators.

As usual, the Refugees have found their best friends amongst the poor working men. It will be seen, from the subjoined address, as well as from a similar document published in our last number, that the rich men of Liverpool-including not a few liberal politicians, financial reformers, &c .- have treated the claims of the poor exiles with heartless indifference; some have even exhibited a feeling of bitter hostility to the brave men and their friends. The consequence has been, that upon the working men of Liverpool has fallen almost the entire responsibility of finding food and shelter for the large number who, up to this time, have been unable to obtain employment. Thus far the pecuniary assistance afforded by the country at large has been very inconsiderable; those places excepted where employment, or temporary support, has been found for small bands drafted from the main body of the Legion.

Let the democrats throughout the country give their earnest and immediate attention to this matter. We entreat, 1st, that some pecuniary assistance be forthwith forwarded to the Liverpool Committee; 2nd, that Committees, or lists of friends, to guarantee support for a given number of the Refugees, one or more, for a short term, by each contributing sixpence (more or less) per week, be forthwith commenced, in accordance with the advice of Mr. LINTON, in the Friend of April 5th. 3rd. That strenuous exertions be made to find employment particularly for those who are already masters of trades, or who are able to work in manufactories. The performance of this good work needs only that two or three earnest men make a beginning. Surely such men are to be found amongst the democrats of every town in Great Britain.

THE POLISH-HUNGARIAN REFUGEES.

HAVING been called upon to exercise our energy in the cause of Humanity, we solicit attention to the position we occupy in reference to the "Polish-Hungarian Refugees." On the 4th of March, 1851, two hundred and sixty-two bravo men claimed the hospitality of our country. Wo desired that their call should not be made in vain. For this purpose men of wealth and influence were applied to-men of all religious denominations, of all political parties, - for in this case neither politics nor sectarianism ought to have been a barrier to the promotion of a duty, that duty the most sacred of all—the duty we owo to the stranger, more especially those who claim our protection. How has this appeal been met? By the most callous refusal on the part of those who had at command this world's goods! Liverpool stands pre-cminently forward as containing Constitutional professors of liberty: Liverpool contains men of immenso wealth, whose wealth and countenance has ever been at the command of the alien stranger-but to their discredit let it be understood, in this instance, these false professors have turned their sympathy into hatred, and their generosity into persecution. Upon the exertion, therefore, of the operatives, with a few-very few honourable exceptions, has fallen the pleasing task of giving that welcome response which the honourable and brave deserve at all times from those who desire human redemption.

After every effort had been made for the putpose of enlisting the sympathy of the so-call d respectable portion of our town, we were compolled under these trying eiroumstances, either to come boldly forward in our humble capacity, or submit in the face of the world to eternal disgrace. Hence the existence of this Committee.

Bear in mind that these brave men do not desire to live upon your hospitality, but are most anxious to obtain their subsistence by their own exertions in any honourable employment that may offer it-To enable parties willing to assist in finding them work the Committee present the following:-

Statistical Table of Polish-Hungarian Refugees desirous of maintaining themselves by their own Labour :-

* The number of Refugees unemployed is now reduced to Acquainted with the German Language German and French Languages Possessing a Liberal Education, (competent to teach Mathematics, and other sciences -49 Competent to teach French, German, and Piano Forte Wishing to learn any Trade Want to be employed in Manufactories, (iron, wool, hardware, &c.) Desirous of situations as Clerks in Commercial Houses Tradesmen, who want employment at their respective eallings 38 Joiners 8 Locksmiths and Blacksmiths 6 Tailors 5 Bookbinders 2 Draughtsmen 3 Confectioners Ironworkers, (rolling, &c.) 3 Bricklaver -Chemists 2 Stonemason -Lithographer (pressman) Brewers Sugar Refiners Grooms 2 Doctor (M.D.) W. L. COSTINE, President. T. PINNINGTON, Treasurer.

J. SPURR, Secretary. Subscription books may may be had by applying to the Committe any evening, from 8 to 10.

Central Committee Room of the Operatives for the Relief of the Polish Refugees, 10, Williamson Square, Liverpool, April 15th, 1851.

* They are are nearly all young men not above twenty-five years of age.

ALL MEN ARE BRETHREN.

You are the sons of the same father, and the same mother has nursed you; why then do you not love one another like brethren? And why is it that you rather treat each other as enemies?

He who loves not his brother is accursed seven times; and ho who makes himself the enemy of his brother, is accursed seventy times soven.

This is wherefore kings and princes. and all those whom the world calls great, are accurred: they level not their brethren, but they treated them as encmies.

Lovo one another, and you will fear neither the great men of the earth, neither the princes, nor the kings.

They are only powerful against you, because you are not at unity with yourselves, because you love not each other as brethren.

Say not, He is of such a nation, and I am of another nation; for all nations have had on earth tho same father, who is Adam, and in Heaven the same father, who is God.

If one member be struck, the whole body suffers. You are all one body; if one amongst you be oppressed, the whole are oppressed.

If a wolf springs upon a flock, he devours not the whole of it immediately: he seizes a sheep and eats it. Presently, when his hunger returns, he seizes another, and eats it also; and so on until the last; for his hunger returns continually.

Be ye not then as the sheep, who, when the

wolf has carried off one of them, are in terror for a moment, and then return to their pasture. For, think they, Perchance he will be satisfied with a first or a second prey: why should we disquiet ourselves about those whom he consumes? What is that to us? There will but remain to us more grass.

Verily, I say unto you, Those who think thus within themselves are marked out to be the first food for the beast who lives upon flesh and blood!

LAMENNAIS.

GENERAL BEM.

The late Hero of the War of Independence in Hungary, 1848 and 1849. (From the Leader.)

Joseph Bem was born in 1795, in Tarnow, a small town in Gallicia. His father was a barrister of some eminence, and a landed proprieter in tho palatine of Cracow. His son, the subject of this sketch, entered the Jagellonian University of Cracow, to study the law; but when in 1809 the Polish army, after having defeated the Austrians (who invaded the grand duchy of Warsaw), made its triumphal entry into Cracow, Bem was so overpowered by a patriotic enthusiasm that he abandoned the study of the law, and, with the consent of his father, became a pupil of the school of Artillery and Military Engineering in Warsaw, organized by General Pelletier, a Frenchman, who was then commander-in-chief of the Polish artillery and engineers. Bem, after two years' study, passed a most successful examination, and was promoted to the rank of a second-class lieutenant, and as such entered a battery of horse artillery. At the opening of the French campaign, of 1812, against Russia, Bem's battery was attached, first to the corps of Marshal Davoust, then to that of Macdonald. When the debris of the French army retreated and crossed the Niemen, and Rapp shut himself up in the fortress of Danzig, Bem, whose battery belonged to the besieged garrison of that fortress, so greatly distinguished himself, that he was raised to the rank of first-class lieutenant and decorated with the cross of the legion of honour.

In the year 1815, when a portion of the Grand

Duchy of Warsaw was patched up by the Congress of Vienna, as a kingdom of Poland, and the Grand Duke Constantine reorganized the Polish army, of which the remnants of the army of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw-amounting to about 8,000 men, formed the basis—Bem was re-appointed lieutenant

in a newly-organized battery of horse artillery.

The tyrannical system of the Grand-Duke was such, that a considerable number of the most distinguished Polish officers manifested their discontent in various ways; Bem, of course, was amongst the number; and was, eonsequently, put on the inactive list. However, owing to the exertions of General Bontemps, a favourite of the Grand-Duke he was in 1819 rejected. Duke, he was, in 1819, reinstated, and appointed professor of artillery in the so-called school of artillery for non-commissioned officers during the winter months, established at Warsaw, on the plan and under the auspices of Bontemps. About this time Bem was promoted to the rank of captain of the second class, and published a pamphlet on the manufacturing of Congreve rockets, introduced into the Polish army by General Bontemps. He discharged his duties as professor with the greatest talent and ability; and in 1821 was even promoted to the rank of captain of the first class; but his unflinching patriotism drew upon him first the suspicion, then the inexorable hatred of the Grand-Duke, who incessantly persecuted him; so that, from 1821 t 1826, he was three times tried by court martial, or rather by the Grand-Duke himself, for the decrees were always prospectively dictated by him, and woe to the judges who should venture to deviate from them! He was, consequently, twice imprisoned for various terms, and lastly sent to a small town, where he was placed under the surveillance of the police, England, at the beginning of 1847, he obtained admission to the hospital of University College,

1826, he gave in his resignation, in order, at last. to be rid of his constrained position, and repaired to Lemberg, in Gallicia, where he devoted his time to literary pursuits, and composed a work on mechanics.

The Polish revolution of 1830 roused Bem from his studies to the battle-field. He hastened back to enter the ranks of the national army, where he was entrusted with the command of the fourth battery of horse-artillery, composed of twelve pieces of ordnance, and promoted to the rank of major. At the battle of Iganie, (April 8, 1831), Bem showed what a single battery against several others is capable of doing, when well commanded. For the service he rendered in this battle he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-coloncl, and decorated with the golden cross of Poland, whose motto was "Virtuti militari." At the battle of Ostrolenka, (May 26, 1831), he actually charged the Russian troops with his artillery, and by desperate volleys of grape shot stopped the progress of the enemy's storming columns, thus saving the main army from certain destruction, and enabling it to accomplish an orderly retreat. He was now raised to the rank of colonel, decorated with a higher class of the Polish cross, and invested with the command of the whole artillery. Soon after he was promoted to the rank of major-general. When Warsaw was besieged by the Muscovite army, Bem suggested, in a council of war, a nocturnal attack upon the whole line of the besiegers; but his bold suggestion, being unsupported by the majority, was not carried out. When, after two days' storming (Sept. 6 and 7, 1831), the metropolis capitulated, and the Polish army crossed the Vistula, concentrating itself in the suburbs of Praga, Bem made another salutary suggestion, viz., to destroy the bridge over the Vistula, and to rejoin the 22,000 men of choice troops, commanded by the traitor Ramorino, but that also fell to the ground. The 22,000 men were thus lost, and with them the cause also. The army now effected its retreat northwards, via Modlin and Plock, and on the 5th of October, 1831, entered the Prussian territory near Brodnica. Bem was with the army, and during his stay in Prussia made the greatest efforts to obtain from the Prussian Government permission for all the private soldiers to proceed to France, but without success; for the Government was determined to deliver them to the Muscovites; and in this resolution it went so far as to compel the poor fellows by force of arms to re-enter the Polish territory, and thus to fall into the insatiable maw of Nicholas. Bem now proceeded to France as an exile.

He published an historical and statistical work on the Polish provinces, under the title of La Pologne dans ses Anciennes Limites, &c. 1836, Paris. He likewise published two pamphlets, containing his views on a future insurrection in After considerable opposition, he succeeded in introducing into the public institutions of Paris a system of mnemonics, invented by M. Jazwinski, one of his old comrades. He came over to England twice to endeavour to introduce the system here, but was not successful.

When quite a young man, he had a quarrel with a Polish captain of the corps of Veterans, the consequence of which was a duel. His adversary had the first shot, and Bem being hit in his right thigh, fell to the ground; whereupon the captain was about leaving the spot, when Bem cried out—
"Stop, it is my turn now!" and, supported by his
second, he aimed at his adversary, and sent a bullet through his heart. In spite of the bullet remaining embedded in his thigh for a period of thirty-one years, in spite of the most excruciating suffering, especially upon every change of the weather, he never, as we have already shown, relinquished his active pursuits. However, when his sufferings bccame insupportable, he submitted to an operation performed by the celebrated Dupuytren, of Paris, which was unsuccessful. Upon his second visit to

and there underwent an operation under the skilful hand of the late Mr. Liston. The operation was performed under the influence of æther, but Bem unhappily became conscious at the very moment of the greatest pain, viz., when the bullet was being extracted, together with a scooped out piece of bone in which it was embedded. Exfoliation taking place some time after Bem had left the hospital, he was obliged to return.

At the beginning of 1848, Bem published A Letter from a Pole to the Statesmen of Great Britain, on the present Commercial and Financial Crisis; in which he laid bare the injury inflicted by Russia upon British commerce, pointed out both the opening for our trade which an independent Poland would afford, and the immense stores of grain rotting in the granaries of Poland, which would secure us against any future fear of famine.

The French revolution of February, 1848, recalled Bem to an active life. He first hastened from London to Paris, and from thence (after a stay of two months, where he vainly endeavoured to obtain some help) to his native country Gallicia; but when there, perceiving that the Austrian Go-vernment only awaited a favourable opportunity again to crusli the new born liberty, he repaired to Vienna, there to worm out the real intention of that Government. When he found that that inctropolis was preparing for a second outbreak, he accepted the command of the national guard, which they offered him. We know the result.

Discretion does not allow us to name the nobleminded person to whose skilful exertions Bem was indebted for his almost miraculous escape from certain death.

From Vienna he proceeded to Presburg, in Hungary, where, having offered his services, he was invested with the command of the army destined to reconquer Transylvania. The extraordinary heroism and military skill Bem cvinced during the war carried on in that country, which he entirely reconquered, has been ably related by eye witnesses, and especially by General John Cretz, who fought under him, in his work entitled, Bem's Feldzug in Siebenbürgen in den Jahren 1848 und 1849, (Bem's Campaign in Transylvania, during the years 1848 and 1849), reviewed by the British Quarterly Review of February 1, 1851; we must, therefore, owing to our limited space, refer our readers to that work, or its review. But we cannot abstain from giving a fact, which is not mentioned in the above-quoted work, and which shows that the policy which Bem pursued in Transylvania was as sagacious as his tactics and strategy were perfect, and for which he obtained the promotion to the rank of lieutenant general, and the Hungarian national decoration. The fact to which we allude is, that when Bem found that the two inimical races in Transylvania, viz., the Saxons and Wallachs, were all armed by the Austrians to keep the unarmed Magyar inhabitants in check, thus disabling them from taking an active part in the struggle, he announced that he would pay for every gun with its bayonet delivered to him twenty-five zwanzigers (£1), and, thus allured, the Wallachs surrendered their arms to him one by one, and when no more remained in their hands, they set about disarming the Saxons in order to get more money; so that he not only disarmed the antagonistic portion of the population, but was also enabled to arm his own troops, and even to send a large quantity to Szegedin.

After the melancholy issue of the Hungarian struggle, owing to the armed intervention of Russia, and the treachery of Georgey, Bem, with Kossuth and other Hungarian and Polish patriots, took refuge in the Turkish territory. Once there, he acquired the conviction that Turkey would be compelled, sconer or later, to take up arms against the unremittingly invading and encroaching power of Russia, and thought that in such a case he again could render an efficient service to his fatherland; he, therefore, not only entered the Ottoman service as a pasha, but did not even hesitate to embrace Mahemedanism, thinking by

so doing, to win the confidence of the Porte, and thus be enabled better to serve his native country.

In his new position, Bem assumed the name of Mourad Pasha, and eventually resided in Aleppo. The night of the 23rd of November, 1850, he was suddenly seized with Febris perniciabilis (pernicious fever), which never left him, ultimately proving fatal. He died on the 10th of December last, at half-past two o'clock in the morning, and was buried on the very same day at noon,—Sic transit gloria mundi!

We will conclude this narrative by giving an extract from a letter addressed to General Wysocki, written by Bem's aid-de-camp, Tabaczynski, dated from Aleppo, ten day's after the General's decease, viz., the 20th of December, 1850. It gives some details about his last moments, which faithfully pourtray his love of country, and his wish to render justice to those whom he had in life mistaken. The extract runs thus:

The extract runs thus:—

"After you left Shumla for Kutayah, and when Zarzycki was dismissed, I was attached to General Bem's staff, together with Major Fiola, of the 9th battalion, whom I already found with the General. Some days afterwards we likewise left Shumla, and arrived at last in Aleppo. Once here we all three formed, as it were, but one family; we frequently conversed about the Hungarian war, the surrender of arms by Georgey, the infamous execution and those who are captives in Kutayah, and personally about yourself (Major Fiola knows you well, having been in your brigade). General Bem became gradually convinced that the misunderstanding which had arisen between him and you originated with inprincipled individuals, intriguers, and flatterers, for, in his last moments, when he felt himself fast sinking, he grasped my hand, thank you for your devotedness and care about me:—

Poland! Poland! I shall no more contribute to save thee! After a short pause, he added, 'Write to General Wysocki in my name, that all misunderstanding between us is at an end, that I respect him, and that I bequeath to him the sacred duty never to cease to act, as he always has done, for the salvation of Poland—for the hour of her salvation will yet strike.'"

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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Moneys Received. For the Refugees at Liver pool: E. Cottrell, 2s. 6d.; H. Bowles, 2s.; W. Small, 6d.; W. Whitehead, Braco, 1s.; R. Topham, 6d; Mr. Wood, 1s.; Mr. Sanson, 1s.; Mr. Wooldridge, 6d. For the Turnmill Street Refugees:—R. Topham, 6d. For the Chartist Executive [handed to Mr. Arnott]:—R. Topham, 1s.; W. Whitehead (to defray Convention expenses), 2s.; A few Chartists at Kettering, per J. F. (ditto), 1s. 4d. For the Fraternal Democrats:—R. Topham, 6d.

The Refugees.—R. Topham suggests that some of the Refugees might be profitably and pleasantly employed in making letter envelopes with "Cap of Liberty," seal-impression coloured.

making letter envelopes with "Cap of Liberty," seal-impression coloured.

STATE OF THE WORKING CLASSES IN KETTERING.—A friend, sending a sum for "Convention expenses," acknowledged above, writes:—"The principal means of employment in this town are Shoc-making, and Silk-plush-weaving. The former, being Government Contract Work, is very badly only to drag out a miserable existence; and to make bad worse, 'the Master' held up his finger last Wednesday, weeks since he reduced our wages."

ALEXANDER BELL.—Your excellent article shall appear in No. 21.

in No. 21.
GREENVICH.—At a meeting of Chartists at the Earl Grey, a resolution was adopted, strongly condemning the statements of Mr. O'CONNOR, respecting "foreigners," &c.,—and recommending that gentleman "to write no more such uncharitable sentiments, unless he intends to disgust all true democrats."

E. STALLWOOD wishes to say, that, in his opinion, the democrats of this country will fail in their duty unless they demand of the "False Democrat" that he resign the democratic functions he has so grossly outraged.

Poverty and W_{BALTH} .—Such is the diligence with which, in countries completely civilized, one part of mankind labour for another, that wants are supplied faster than they can be formed, and the idle and luxurious find life stagnate, for want of some desire to keep it in motion. This species of distress furnishes a new set of occupations; and multitudes are busied from day to day finding the rich and fortunate something to do. - Johnson.

A too great disproportion of wealth among citizens weakens any state. Every person, if possible, to enjoy the fruits of his labour in a possession of all the necessaries, and many of the conveniences of life.—Hume.

TO THE DEMOCRATS OF SCOTLAND AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

FRIENDS,—Having, within the last six months, received numerous and repeated invitations to visit a variety of places in the north, I hereby announce my intention to proceed on a tour through Scotland and the north of England for the purpose of delivering public addresses in furtherance of the democratic cause. I wish to commence either at Edinburgh or Aberdeen, on the first or second Monday in May. After traversing the east and north, I propose to visit the west and south of Scotland, and, subsequently, the north of England on my way homewards. shall be glad to hear from the friends in Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, &c., &c., as early as possible. My route, when finally determined on, will be published in the Friend of the People.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.
4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury,
London, April 14, 1851.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1851.

THE NEW DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER. (From The Leader, April 12, 1851.)

"THE Republic, Social and Democratic, is to have a new organ in the London press-the Friend of the People, edited by JULIAN HARNEY and ERNEST JONES. Its leading eharaeteristie will be the union of Chartist and Associative principles; but it promises to be a complete exemplar of the weekly newspaper. Ernest Jones is a practised and adroit leader of the English Democratic party; JULIAN HARNEY possesses the influence due to a comprehensive grasp of his subject, strong feeling, and powerful eloquence. The journal is likely to give a new elevation to the literature of the democracy."

THE PIETY OF "THE TIMES."

IF the reader will look into the Times of April the 18th, he will find theroin an account of "glorious victories" gained over the Caffres, enriched with details of slaughter and plunder, vengeance and rapine, perpetrated by the British in emulation of their semisavage foes. Destroying crops, laying waste fields and villages, and killing the natives by wholcsale, are amongst the Christian and civilized means now being employed to pacify the Caffres, and put down what is falsely termed "the rebellion"—the truth being that the Caffres are no more "rebels" than were the Scotch in the days of WALLACE, or the Swiss in the days of Tell. By the side of this sanguinary intelligence appears a long editorial articlo on the approaching Exhibition. The pious editor intimates that there is very generally entertained a presentiment of disaster. Plague, pestilence, famine, fire, &c., are anticipated by some, "while a considerable number of intelligent (?) persons firmly believo in the existence of a conspiracy on the part of all the rovolutionists and socialists in Europe, to seize our metropolis and destroy our constitution." To avert these evils, the Times suggests a religious ceremonial in connexion with the opening of the Exhibition!

"O! for a forty parson power, To sing thy praise, Hypocrisy!"

The piety of the Times is quite edifying. Having taken to preaching and praying, let us hope "the truculent" will pray for grace to abstain, henceforth, from lying and slandering; and will at the same time put in a good word for our rulers and rich men, that their hearts may be turned from injustice and oppression, and be moved to acknowledge the social and political claims of the helots whose industry and skill will have mainly contributed to the wealth and glory of the Exhibition.

The seizure of "our metropolis and constitution" by those terrible fellows, "the revolutionists and socialists, "might be a rather serious affair for the denizens of Belgravia, and, therefore, they will do well to pray. The dwellers in Bethnal Green, having nothing to lose, have nothing to pray for. They have no part in "the constitution;" and they know only the worst of "the metropolis" where they suffer all the evils without enjoying any of the advantages of town life. Instead of praying, let them laugh-laugh at the cowardly fears of "the intelligent persons" whose selfishness and hypocrisy are so worthily represented in the new-born piety of the Times.

SAVE US FROM OUR FRIENDS.

Mr. Feargus O'Connor informs his readers in the Star of April 19th, that "reflection is a good thing." Indeed it is, and sorely is it needed by the honourable member for Nottingham; witness his reiterated advice to his readers, not to take part in "the bloody revolution "-announced to come off during the Exhibition, and now regularly advertised in the Times, Northern Star, and New York Herald. If there are any "foreigners" who intend anything of the kind they are confined to the circle of Mr. O'CONNOR'S OWN friends, if he has any; and if so, he should speak out, and name them. His vague denunciations and pitiful warnings can only serve the enemies of the people. By the side of his own letter, Mr. O'CONNOR prints a manifesto from the pen of Mr. Patrick O'HIGGINS, "lineal descendant of an ancient race of Irish chieftains!" who advises "a great Chartist demonstration on the second day of the Exhibition, as near as possible to the Crystal Palace itself." Anything more mismisehievous was never suggested. Another "glorious day" like the "Tenth of April" would be a godsend to the enemies of democracy; affording, as it would, an opportunity for displacing the "Vision"." tunity for displaying the "vigour" of the government, and the "loyalty" of the "speeials;" and a pretext for persecuting the Chartist leaders and Republican exiles. Good cause have the democrats of this country to cry, "Save us from our friends."

FRANCE, ITALY, AND PORTUGAL.

THE Imperial "Special" has at last succecded in forming a ministry, or rather he has succeeded in reconstituting the gang who a short time since, were cashiered by the Assembly-FAUCHER, BAROCHE, and Co. Assassins of Universal Suffrage and the Liberty of the Press, they are intensely hated by the French people, and hence are well calculated to accelerate the final ruin of the wretched adventurer, under whom they have taken office. The printer and publisher of the speeches and toasts of the refugees who

celebrated the anniversary of the 24th of February, at Highbury Barn, have been found guilty of sedition by a Paris jury, and condemned, the former to one year, the second to six months' imprisonment, and each of them to a fine of one thousand francs. A new revolution is inevitable. In Italy the priests and Austrians are doing their best to goad the people to acts of despair. Torture in the courts of justice (?), and terror everywhere, fail to arrest the march of revolutionary principles. In Milan, RADETZKY feels so little secure of his position that instead of an ordinary night-police that city is patrolled during the hours of darknes by masses of troops with loaded cannon. That royal hell-hound, the King of Naples, has been amusing himself by marching the state prisoners across the kingdom, on foot, handcuffed, and loaded with heavy chains; they are now lodged in the fortress of Pescara, in the midst of murderous swamps on the Adriatic shore. In Portugal, Lord PALMERSTON'S handy-work has resulted, as we foretold, in another civil war. Thus far the insurrection is purely military, and seems to have no better end than to displace the infamous Costa Cabral to make way for SALDANHA, and a knot of "liberal" aristocrats. Possibly the movement may become more democratic, in which case there will be another "British intervention" to prop up the throne of Donna MARIA. That is, if the people of this country are so utterly base and spiritless as to permit any such aping of the policy of NICHOLAS by the pretended "liberal" PALMERSTON.

THE SUFFERERS FOR FREEDOM AND RIGHT.

When you see a man led to prison or to'punishment, be not hasty within yourselves to say, Such a one is a wicked man, who is guilty of crime against his brethren:

For, peradventure, he is a good man, who has endeavoured to serve his brethren, and who is

punished for it by their oppressors.

When you see a whole nation laden with fetters, and given over to the executioner, be not hasty within yourselves to say, This nation is a violent nation, and has endeavoured to trouble the peace of the earth.

For peradventure such a nation is a nation of martyrs, who die for the salvation of the human race.

Righteen centuries ago, in a city of the East, the priests and kings of that time nailed to a cross, after having beaten with rods, one whom they called a Seditious and a Blasphemer.

But on the day of his death, there was in hell an exceeding terror, and in heaven great joy:

For the blood of the just had saved the world.

LAMENNAIS.

LEDRU ROLLIN.—She Courrier de la Somme having stated that Madame Ledru Rollin purchased, in 1848, some houses at Paris for 600,000f., and sold them recently, and having made these transactions the subject of insinuations, to the effect that the money was improperly obtained by her husband when in power, M. Ledru Rollin has addressed a letter to that journal, stating that in 1843, 1844, and 1845, his wife placed nearly 600,000f. on mortgage on the houses in question; that the houses haging been put up for sale at less than their value, she, in Agust, 1848, was obliged to purchase them, in order not to lose a considerable sum; that the sales recently made were forced ones, to repay previously existing mortgages; and that Madame Ledru Rollin-had been compelled to make such sales at a loss by his political edemies. In the course of this letter, M. Ledru Rdllin states that his wife, on her marriage, had a fortune of 1,000,000f.

Boetry for the People.

[REVIEW.]

Voices of Freedom and Lyrics of Love. By T. GERALD MASSEY, Working Man. Loudon: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head-passage, Paternoster-row.

ENTERTAINING a high opinion of GERALD MASSEY'S poetry, there is that about him which we esteem of much greater value than the noblest gifts ever bestowed by Genius on her favourite sons; we allude to his chivalrous devotion to his order - the long suffering children of Labour. True he is a "working man." That not with standing, there are many who, occupying his present position, would play a widely different part. We have known such—men of some ability, and more self-conceit, who, having made some little progress from misery and obscurity, have forthwith aped "the respectables," offered themselves for purchase to those who had occasion for needy and unscrupulous in-struments, and turned their backs upon the class from whom they sprang. GERALD MASSEY is not one of this rotten tribe. On the contrary, he is proud that

"His ancient and right noble blood, Has flowed through workers ever since the flood." Do you admire titles? Here is his :-

"WORKING MAN."

Down on your knees, miserable sycophants of rank and riches, and pay homage to that title which-ere kings and lords arose-Adam won by the sweat of his brow; a title unsullied by brigandage or corruption, which will survive all other titles, and cease to exist only when all being workers, all present dis-

tinctions will have passed away.

A "Working Man," GERALD MASSEY, dedicates his poems to another working man, his friend Walter Cooper. This is nobly done. We happen to know that GERALD MASSEY has friends and admirers-admirers of his poetry, if not of his politics-amongst "Men of wealth and station," more than one of whom would have been gratified by being the recipient of the compliment paid to Walter Cooper. A schemer would not have missed so good an opportunity to win the "Golden opinions" of influential friends. Happily, for his fellows, GERALD MASSEY was "not made merely for money-making." In days long gone by, a poet must needs dedicate his rhymes to some lord, or 'squire, or knight of the shire. What a revolution, when poets spring not from colleges, but from field and factory; and the young aspirant, poor but proud, turns from the dazzling temptations of wealth to dedicate his "thoughts that breathe, and words, that burn" to Walter Cooper— Working Man!"

Let us quote from this dedication :-

My DEAR FRIEND, -You have lived the life of the poor, you have wept our tears, despaired our despairs, hoped our hopes, brooded over our wrongs, and dreamed glorious dreams of a proud destiny in the future, for our sorrow-worn human-As the toiler-teacher you have won your diploma in the sohool of our suffering, and can well appreciate the difficulties which the self-educated working man has to encounter; and to you do I dedicate these first-fruits of my awakenment in the dawn of Thought. No one knows better than myself how unworthy they are of our common cause; no one knows so well as myself how far I have fallen short of what I had thought to perform; but

the builder can only erect his edifice according to his material, and I have not much book lore. know that from my infancy I have had to toil hard for the bread that perishes, at the cost of which I have often had to procure the unperishable; and that, until of late, I have been quite shut out from the great masters of the lyre, and the mighty in the realms of thought. In my "Voices of Free-I have endeavoured to utter what is stirring in poor men's hearts. The thoughts may be unripe, and the utterance erude, but what is written, is written in my own life's-blood; and you, at least, will not despise my earnest sincerity.

I shall be accused of sowing class-hatred ;-and yet, my friend, I do not seek to fling fire-brands among the combustibles of society. raise my brethren into loveable beings; and when I smitc their hearts, I would rather they should gush with the healing waters of love than the fearful fires of hatred: but looking on the wrongs which are daily done in the land, will sometimes make the blood rush hot to the heart, and crimson to the brow. Who can see the masses ruthlessly robbed of all the fruits of their industry, of all the sweet pleasures of life, and of that nobleness which should erown human nature as with a crown of glory, and not strive to arouse them to a sense of their degradation, and urge them to end the bitter bondage and the murderous martyrdom of toil? Not he who feels concentrated and crushing upon himself the slavery of millions.

In these heart-stirring words the poet indicates, without narrating, the pain and sorrow of his early life. Born in poverty, and bred in suffering, the wounds of his childhood'r. conflict with the world are yet fresh and bleeding. A native of Tring, in the county of Hertfordshire, he first saw the light in the month of May, 1828; he is, therefore, as yet, not quite twenty-three years old. At eight vears old, GERALD became "a factory slave," in the silk-mill at Tring, where he workedwinter and summer-upwards of twelve hours daily, for the miserable stipend of a shilling or fifteen pence per week. Imagine this poor child at the age of eight or nine years forced by imperious poverty from his bed at five o'clock on a winter's morning to toil through darkness, storm, and snow, to the child-slaying den where Moloch and Mammon sat enthroned on bleeding hearts and ruined souls! GERALD MASSEY could tell from his own bitter experience the wrongs of the factory children. Not merely those wrongs naturally and perhaps necessarily associated with the kind of labour inseparable from factory life, but those wrongs which spring from the unbridled tyranny of heartless employers, and their brutal underlings. Thanks to the influence of Public Opinion and the control of the Law, the factory workers of the present dayalthough they have much to complain ofare protected from the abominable eruelty which once made every mill a veritable hell. For ever blessed be the names of OASTLER, FIELDEN, SADLER, and the other good men who fought and won the battle, for the factory children. But for their holy endeavours neither Opinion nor Law would have been called into existence to restrain that proneness to cruelty which ever accompanies a lust for riches, and which, commencing with the tyrant, is speedily shared in by his satellites. Of a surety, the hour shall come when all the abominations of the Factory System shall be swept away, and women and children shall be finally freed from the bondage which made the childhood of GERALD MASSEY a term of suffering and sorrow.

A fiery visitation brought relief to the poet-The mill was burned down, to the great delight of GERALD. But his joy was of short duration. He had to exchange one kind of miserable life for another. Put to the work of straw-plaiting, he suffered, while at this employment, three years' martyrdom with ague. The rest of the family were afflicted in like manner.

Of education, GERALD MASSEY had next to none. During'some portion of his childhood he had attended "a penny school," and had there been taught to read. The Bible, some religious tracts, the wonderful dreams of the inspired tinker, Bunyan; and DE FOE's deathless story of "Robinson Crusoe," were the only works Gerald could command, as long as he remained at the home of his parents. At the age of fiteen he entered upon a new stage of existence. He came to London, and obtained employment as an errand boy, and subsequently as dra-per's assistant. Thrown upon the great metropolis, he found no end of readinggood, bad, and indifferent. Still having to bear with poverty and tyranny, his love of reading helped him to reflect on men and institutions; and he was not slow in arriving at the conclusion usually come to by those who are under the influence of youth, poverty, and enthusiasm-he saw and pronounced that all was very bad. In February, 1848, name the French Revolution, and from that hour he was a Republican—aye, a Red Republican.

On the 10th of April he attended the celebrated Chartist meeting on Kennington Common, and for so doing, suffered loss of employment. He subsequently obtained a situation at Uxbridge, and there, in conjunction with two or three more young men, started The Uxbridge Sprit of Freedom, a penny political periodical, published monthly. A number of the poems in the collection before us first appeared in that publication. His "extreme opinions," and the ardour with which he urged them, again caused him loss of employment. Under such circumstances, without money or friends, his position in the Great Babylon may be imagined by most, but can only be thoroughly appreciated by thoso who have themselves wandered through the streets of this brick and mortar wilderness,

"Homeless amidst a myriad homes."

Happily, brighter days dawned. The Working Men's Associations were commenced, and GERALD MASSEY obtained the appointment of Secretary to the Tailors' Association, 34, Castle-street, Oxford-street; which office he has continued to fill to the present time.

Our limited space compels us to pause. We hope to resume and conclude in our next number; in the meantime commending the following to the admiration of our readers :-

THE WORKER.

I care not a curse, though from birth he inherit,
The tear-bitter bread, and the stingings of scorn,
If the man be but one of God's nobles in spirit,
Tho' pennyless—ricbly-sould, beartsome, tho' worn—
And will not for golden bribe, lout it, or flatter,
But clings to the right, aye, as steel to the pole,
He may sweat at the plough, loom, or anvil—no matter,
I'll own bim the man that is dear to my soul.
His hand may be hard and his raimant he tattoold. His hand may be bard, and his raiment be tatter'd,
On straw-pallet nightly his weary limbs rest—
If his brow wear the stamp of a spirit unfettered,
I'm mining at once for the geme in his breast.
Give me the true man who will fear not, nor falter,
Tho' want be his guerdon, the workhouse his goal,
Till his heart has burnt out npon Liberty's altar,
For this is the man I hold dear to my soul.

True hearts in this brave world of blessings and beauty, Aye scorn the poor bravery of losel and lurker,
And Toil is creation's crown, worship is duty.
And greater than gods in old days, is the Worker!
For us, the wealth laden world laboureth ever. For us, harvests ripen, winds blow, waters roll, And he who gives back in his might of endeavour I'll cherish, a man ever dear to my soul.

NO JEWELLED BEAUTY IS MY LOVE.

No jewelled Beauty is my love,
Yet in the heaven of her face,
There's such a radiant tenderness,
She needs no other gift or grace.
Her smile, and vcice, around my heart
In blessed light, and music, twine;
And dear, O very dear to me,
Is this sweet love of mine.

O joy! to know there's one fond heart, That ever beateth true to me; It sets mine leaping, like a lyre, When sweetest strings make melody.

My soul up-springs, a Deity,—

Heaven-erowned! to hear ber voice divine, And dear, O very dear to me, Is this sweet love of mine.

If ever I have sighed for wealth, 'Twas all for her dear sake, I trow, And if I win Fame's victor-wreath, I'll twine it on her bonnie brow. There may be forms more beautiful,
And eyes of love, with sunnier shine,
But none, O none, so dear to me,
As this sweet love of mine.

Teaues from our Tibrary.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 19.)

"Consuelo had slept thus about three hours when she was roused by another noise than that of the fountain and the warbling birds around her. She half opened her eyes, without having power to rise or well knowing where she was, and saw at two paces distant a figure leaning over the rocks, drinking, like herself, without much ceremony, from the stream, by dipping his mouth into the water. Her first feeling was one of terror, but a further glance at the companion of her retreat restored her confidence; for whether he had had leisure to observe her features while she slept, or perhaps that he was not much interested in the matter, he appeared to take little notice of her; besides, he was rather a boy than a man. He appeared about fifteen or sixteen years of age at most, and was little, lean, sallow, and weather-beaten, while his countenance, which was neither handsome nor otherwise, expressed only calm indifference.

"By an instinctive movement Consuelo drew down her veil, thinking that if the traveller troubled himself so little about her it would be better to appear to sleep than run the risk of provoking troublesome questions. Through her veil, however, she closely observed the unknown, expecting every moment that he would take up his knapsack and stick, and continue his journey.

"But she soon discovered that he was resolved to rest also, and even to breakfast, for he opened his bag and took out a huge lnmp of bread, which he gravely cut and began to eat, casting from time to time a timid glance towards the sleeper, and taking care to make no noise in opening and shutting his knife, as if he feared to awaken her suddenly. This mark of respect inspired Consuelo with perfect confidence, and the sight of the bread which he ate with such relish aroused the pangs of hunger. Being assured from the careless attire and dusty shoes of the youth, that he was a poor traveller, and a stranger in the country, she believed that Providence had sent her unexpected aid by which she ought to profit. It was an immense hunch, and the boy, without stinting his appetite, could spare her a morsel. She rose therefore, pretended to rub her eyes as if she had just awakened, and looked boldly at the youth, in order, if needful, to keep him within bounds.

"This precaution was unnecessary. As soon as the boy * the sleeper standing up, he became

aged by the sweet and gentle expression of Consuelo's countenance, he ventured to look at her, and addressed her in a tone of voice so mild and harmonious, that she was immediately prepossessed in his favour.

"" Well, mademoiselle, said he smiling, 'you are awake at last. You slept so soundly, that, only for the fear of being rude, I would have followed your example.'

"' If you are as kind as you are polite,' replied Consuelo, assuming a maternal tone, 'you can render me a slight service.'

"'Anything you please,' replied the young traveller, to whom Consuelo's voice seemed equally agreeable and penetrating.

"'You must sell me some bread for breakfast then, if you can do so without inconvenience to yourself.'

"' Sell you some,' he exclaimed, surprised and blushing; 'oh! if I had a breakfast worth offering, I should not sell it. I am not an innkeeper, but I will give it you with all my heart.'

". You must sell me some bread for breakfast then, if you can do so without inconvenience to yourself.

"'No, no,' he replied; 'by no means. Are you jesting? Are you too proud to accept a bit of bread? Alas! you see I have nothing else to

offer you.'

""Well, I accept it,' said Consuelo, holding out
her hand; 'your kindness makes me blush for my pride.'

"' Here! here! my dear young lady,' exclaimed the young man, joyously, 'take the bread and cut for yourself. Do not hesitate, for I am not a great eater, and have had sufficient already for the whole day.

"" But will you have an opportunity of purchasing more?"

"' Is not bread to be had every where? Eat then, if you wish to oblige me.

"Consuelo did not requre to be asked again, fearing that she might otherwise seem ugrateful to her host, she sat down beside him and began to eat with a relish which the most dainty food at the tables of the rich had never given her.

The youth turns out to be a musician-by name, JOESPH HAYDN, the subsequently celebrated composer. He is on his way to Vienna, and in quest of Porpora, from whom he desires to receive lessons. A mutual explanation takes place, and they determine to journey together to the Austrian capital.

"'Let us set out,' said Consuelo. 'I feel perfectly refreshed; my sleep and your good bread have restored my strength, and I can accomplish at least ten miles to-day. Besides, I am anxious to leave this neighbourhood, where I expect every instant to meet some one who knows me.

"'Stop!' said Joseph; 'a strange idea occurs

" 'What is it ?'

" 'If you did not object to put on man's attire, you could then preserve your incognito perfect, and you would escape all the disagreeable consequence which might result from seeing a young girl travelling alone with a youth.'

"'It is not a bad idea; but you forget our scanty means. Besides,—where could I find clothes that would fit me?'

" 'Listen: I should not have proposed this step if I had not had the means of putting it in execu-We are precisely the same height-which is more honourable to you than me-and I have in my bag an entire suit of clothes, perfectly new, which will disguise you completely. The reason I happened to have them is that they are a present from my good mother, who thought they would be useful to me when going to the embassy, and giving lessons to young ladies. They were made by the village tailor, and certainly the costume is sufficiently picturesque, and the materials well selected, as you may see. But imagine the sensation I would have produced at the embassy. and the wicked laughter of Mctastasio's niece, if I uneasy, cast down his eyes; and at length, encour- had appeared in this rustic doublet and puffed-out

pantaloons. I thanked my poor mother, but promised to myself that I would sell the dress to some peasant or strolling actor. This is how I happened to have the suit with mc, but fortunately, as it has turned out, I was unable to get rid of it. The people here have an idea that it is some old Polish

or Turkish fashion.'

" Well the opportunity of doing so has arrived at last,' said Consuelo, laughing. 'Your idea is an excellent one, and the travelling actress will be content with your Turkish dress, which is not very unlike a petticoat. I shall take it on credit. or rather on condition that you will take charge of our strong box, as Frederick of Prussia used to call it, and advance the needful funds until we

reach Vieuna.'
"'We shall see about that,' said Joseph, putting the purse into his pocket, firmly resolved not to let her pay. In the mean time we must see if the dress fits you. I shall take myself off to the wood, and you will find many a spacious secluded

boudoir among these rocks.'

"'Enter upon the stage,' replied Consuelo, pointing towards the forest, 'while I retire behind the scenes.'

"She hastened behind the rocks, and proceeded to transform herself, while her respectful com-

panion removed to a distance.

"The fountain served her as a mirror, and it was not without pleasure that she saw herself converted into the prettiest little peasant that the Sclavonie race ever produced. Her slender and agile figure was encircled by a large woollen belt, her ancles, slender as those of a roe, appeared below the hoavy folds of her Turkish pantaloons, and her dark hair, in which she had never worn powder, had been cropped short during her illness, and curled naturally about her face. She ran her fingers through it, in order to give it the rustic negligence becoming a young shepherd. She wore her costume with theatrical grace, and assuming, thanks to her mimic talents, an air of rustic simplicity, she found herself so completely disguised, that on the instant a sense of courage and security returned, and as it happens to actors when they have donned their costume to appear on the stage, she identified herself with her part so thoroughly, as to experience all the careless freedom and innocent gaiety of a schoolboy playing truant in the woods.

"She had to whistle three times, before Hadyn, who had withdrawn further than was necessary into the wood, either to testify his respect, or to escape the temptation of turning his eyes towards the openings in the rocks, returned to her. He uttered a cry of surprise and admiration on seeing her, and although he had expected to find her completely disguised, could hardly believe bis eyes.
The transformation become Consuelo prodigiously,

and at the same time gave an entirely different turn to the young man's imagination.

"The kind of pleasure which the beauty of a woman produces on an adolescent is always mingled with fear, and the dress that makes her, even in the eyes of the most daring, a being so veiled and so mysterious, has much to do with this feeling of

agitation—disquietude.
"But the change of costume, which was so completely successful as to seem a real change of sex, suddenly changed also the disposition of the young man's mind. He no longer apparently felt anything more than that warm and brotherly attachment which springs up between two travellers of kindred feelings and sentiments. The same desire to travel and see the country, the same security as to the danger of the road, and the same sympathizing gaiety, which animated Consuclo at this instant, took possession of him also, and they began their journey through wood and meadow as gay and joyous as two birds of passage.

"' By-thc-bye,' said Consuelo, we must have suitable names; yours is quite new to me. I should, conformably to my Italian manners, call you Beppo; it is the contraction of Joseph.

"'Call me what you will, I shall be equally unknown by one name as by another. quite different with you; you must positively have a name. What do you choose?'

"'The first short Venetian name that occurs -Nello, Maso, Renzo, Zoto-oh! not that,' she exclaimed, after having uttered involuntarily the

childish abbreviation of Anzoleto. "'Why not?' replied Joseph, who observed

her hasty exclamation.

"'It would be an unlucky one; they say there are such names.'

"'Well, then, what shall we call you?"
"Bertoni. That will be an Italian name, and a kind of a diminutive of Albert."

"'Ill Signor Bertoni! that sounds well,' said Joseph, trying to smile. But this indication of Consuelo's regard for her noble betrothed struck

a dagger to his heart.

"They soon found the boundary of the forest, and turned toward the south-east. Consuelo's head was uncovered, but Joseph, although observing the sun scorch her beautifully clear complexion, dared not express his regret. The hat which he himself wore not being new, he could not offer it to her; and feeling his anxiety use-less, he did not wish to say anything about it. But he placed his own hat under his arm with an abrupt movement which his companion re-

"'That is a strange idea,' said she; 'it would seem as if you found the air close and the plain shaded shaded trees. It reminds me that I have nothing on my own head; but as I have not always had every comfort within my reach, I know many ways of procuring them at little cost. So saying, she snatched a clustering vine-branch, and rolling it into a circle, she made of it a cap of verdure.

"'Now she has something the air of a Muse," thought Joseph, 'and the boy vanishes afresh!' They were now passing through a village, and Joseph seeing one of those shops where they sell everything, rushed in suddenly ere she could prevent him, and immediately appeared again with a little straw hat with broad rims flapping over the ears, such as is worn by the peasant, of

"'If you begin by luxuries,' said she, trying on this new head-dress, 'we may want bread before our journey is over.'

"'Want bread?' exclaimed Joseph, eagerly; 'I would rather beg by the way-side and tumble in the streets for pence! Oh, no! you shall want for nothing with me.' Then seeing that Consuelo was surprised at his enthusiasm, he added somewhat more composedly: 'Reflect, Signor Bertoni, that all my prospects depend on you, that you are as it were in my charge, and that I am bound to bring you safe and sound to Master Porpora.

"The idea that her companion should fall in love with her never entered Consuelo's mind. Modest and single-minded woman rarely entertain such ideas, which coquettes, on the contrary, are for ever hatching. Besides even very young women usually esteem men of their own age as children, and Consuclo was two years older than Haydn, who was so small and meagre that he seemed harly fifteen. She knew very well that he was more, but she never could have supposed that love had dawned upon his imagination. It was evident, however, that Joseph experienced some extraordinary emotion, for once when she stopped to breath a little, and admire the lofty prospect, she detected him gazing at her with a sort of extacy.

"'What is the matter with you, friend Beppo?" said she, artlessly, 'methinks you are melancholy; I cannot get it out of my head that I am a burthen to you.'

"'Do not say that,' said he, with much emotion; 'it were to refuse me that esteem and confidence for which I would gladly gave my life."

"'In that case do not look so sad unless you

have some vexation at heart that you have not told me of.

Joseph proposes that his companion shall teach him Italian. Consuelo agrees, and sings in that

language.

"The remainder of the day was passed in serious study of gay and animated conversation. In the midst of his intoxication, Joseph did not know whether he was a trembling adorer of beauty or a devoted admirer of art. At once a dazzling idol and a delightful companion, Consuelo filled all his thoughts and transported his whole being. Towards evening he perceived that she walked with difficulty, and that fatigue had quenched her gaicty. Indeed for several hours previously, notwithstanding their frequent halts in the shady parts of the road, she had felt very weary. But she wished it to be so, and even had it not been evident that she must soon leave that part of the country, she would have sought in motion and a sort of forced gaiety, for forgetfulness of her mental pain and suffering. The shades of evening, which now gave a melancholy aspect to the country, brought back to her mind the sad feelings which she had so courage-ously combatted. She then imagined to herself the mournful evening that was about to commence at the Castle of the Giants, and the dreary night which Albert might spend. Overcome by this idea, she involuntarily stopped at the foot of a large wooden cross on the summit of a naked hill, which marked the scene of some miracle or traditional crime.

"'Alas! you are more fatigued than you are willing to allow, said Joseph; 'but a resting-place is at hand, for I see in the distance the light gleaming from the cottages of a hamlet. You think, perhaps, that I would not be strong enough to carry you, nevertheless if you will

trust-

"'My child!' replied she, smiling, 'you are very proud of your sex; but I beg of you not to despise mine, and to believe that I have more strength left than you have yourself. I am out of breath climbing this ascent, that is all; and if

I pause it is because I wish to sing.'
"'Heaven be praised!' exclaimed Joseph.
'Sing then at the foot of this cross; but it will

only tire you still more.'
"'It will not take long,' said Consuelo; 'it is a fancy which seized me to sing a little Spanish hymn, which my mother made me repeat every morning and evening, wherever we met a chapel

or a cross,

"Consuelo's idea was even more romantic than she was willing to admit. In thinking of Albert she recollected his almost supernatural faculty of seeing and hearing at a distance. She fancied that at this very moment he thought of and perhaps saw her; and thinking that it might soothe his pain were she to sing to him, though night and distance separated them, she mounted the stones which supported the cross, and turning towards Riesenburg, she sang at the full pitch of her voice the Spanish hymn, commencing-

'O Consuelo de mi alma.' "'Oh Heavens!' exclaimed Hadyn, when she had finished, and speaking to himself, 'I never heard singing before. I did not even know what singing was. Are there other human voices like this? I will never hear anything similar to what has been revealed to me to day. O, music—thrice sacred music! O, genius of art, thou dost consume me—thou dost terrify me!

"Consuelo came down from the stone, where like another Mandonna, her profile stood out in relief against the clear azure of the night. Inspired like Albert, sho fancicd she saw him through the intervening woods and mountains, seated on the stone of Schreckenstien, calm, reciprod and filled with holy expectation. 'He signed, and filled with holy expectation. 'He has perhaps heard me,' thought she, 'recognised my voice and the hymn which he loves, and will soon return to the castle, embrace his father, and perhaps spend a tranquil night.'

"'All is going on well,' said she to Joseph, without heeding his passionate admiration. Then returning once again, she kissed the rude wood-work of the cross. Perhaps at this very moment, by some strange sympathy, Albert felt an electric impulse thrill through his melancholy being, and flood his soul with divine rapture. It might be the very moment when he was sinking into his calm and refreshing slumber, in which his father would have the satisfaction of finding him on the returning dawn."

Labour Record Co-operative Chronicle.

OPERATIVE TAILORS OF SCOTLAND FEDERAL UNION.

To the Editor of the Friend of the Prople.

SIR,—At a meeting of the Western Executive Council of the Operative Tailors' of Scotland Federal Union, I was instructed to send you their thanks for the disinterested manner in which you have helped them, by publishing unasked their late address, which we are led to believe has had the effect of opening communications with parts of England who other-wise would not have heard of us. Accept their thanks, therefore, for yourself, and you will confer a further favour by publishing this. Hoping that other towns in England (with whom we are desirous of opening communications) will send the addresses of

their secretaries to me,

I remain, dear Sir, in behalf of the Council, Your obedient servant,

JOSEPH KERR, Sec.

Democratic Hall, 48, Nelson-street, Glasgow, April, 14th, 1851.

NEWTON, MONTGOMERYSHIRE.—Dear Sir,—I take the liberty of informing you that a Co-operative Association has been recently established in this town, called the Newtown Working Men's Redemption Society. It is to consist of thirty members who non Society. It is to consist of thirty members who are to take out shares of £l each, payable by instalments of not less than 3d. per week. The objects of the society are to supply the members with every article of consumption, free from adulteration, at a fair price. The profits are to go to the fund, until it will amount to a sufficient sum to find employment for each of its members. The society is progressing rapidly, the requisite number of shares have been nearly taken, and its members are in high rejets. mearly taken, and its members are in high spirits. They are about to commence business by supplying themselves with the necessaries of life. The society meet every Wednesday evening, and every information means to abstract the supplying themselves with the necessaries of life. tion may be obtained by applying to
WILLIAM JONES, Sec.

I cannot call riches better than the baggage of virtue; the Roman word is better, impedimenta; for as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue; it cannot be spared or left behind, but it hindereth the march, yea, and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory: of great riches there is no real use, except it be the distribution: the rest is but conceit. Bacon.

Advertisements.

Every Saturday is published, price 3d. THE PIONEER, AND WEEKLY RECORD OF MOVEMENTS. A Stamped Liberal Nowspaper of Physical, Moral, Social and Political Progress, devoted to all Progressive Movements, including the Temperance, Dictetic, Medical and Spelling Reforms, Peace, Phrenology, Vital Magnetism, Homeopathy, Hydropathy, Co-operation, Anatomy, Physiology, and the Philosophy of Health. It also contains all the ordinary news of the week.

Office, 190, High Holborn, London, and all News Agents. on sale a few unout clean copies may be exchanged for the

On May Ist, will be published No. 1, (24 pages for three halfpence) of the

MXPONENT: A MONTHLY REVIEW FOR THE PEOPLE.

To "expound" popular principles, and to aid in their practical development.

London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row. Cambridge: Nicholls.

PROSPECTUS OF A NEW WEEKLY DEMOCRATIC JOURNAL, TO BE ENTITLED THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

Ideas propounded, discussed, accepted—behold the only enduring foundation on which Revolutions in Government and Society can be securely based. The most glorious struggles to destroy oppression have resulted either in total failure, bitter disappointment, or fearful reaction, because the long-suffering millions have lacked the knowledge necessary to enable them to distinguish between pretended and real reforms—between their true friends and those political charlatans who, masquerading in the and those political charlatans who, masquerading in the guise of liberalism, traffic in the misplaced confidence of

the people.

The advocates of Democratic Reform and Social Regeneration, can hope for real and permanent success only through the general adoption of their principles. To expound and propagate those principles, democratic Journals must be multiplied. The Ress—that great engine of Moral Power—must be empleyed more effectively than hitherto it has been, to spread abroad the all-saving truths, of Democracy. Theories of political and social justice will be transformed into practical realities, the moment the great mass of the people are inbued with a correct knowledge of their rights, and are made to comprehend the means by which they may work out their own cmaneipation.

Impressed with the views indicated, rather than fully set forth, in the foregoing observations, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, have advised Julian Harrest and Ernest Jones to respond to the many appeals made to them from all parts of the country to combine their energies for the production of a journal calculated to elevate and advance the people's cause. Having constituted ourselves a Committee to aid them in this enterprise, we have the pleasure of announcing that—

A NEW WEBELY NEWSPAPER OF LARGE SIZE, TO BE

ENTITLED THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE,

EDITED BY JULIAN HARNEY AND ERNEST JONES,
Will be published immediately adequate support is guaranteed by the local committees at present formed and in course of formation.

The elaborate details usually set forth in a Prospectus may very well be dispensed with in the present instance. The advocates of Democratic Reform and Social Re-

The elaborate details usually set forth in a Prospectus may very well be dispensed with in the present instance. The title of the projected journal has already the significance of a banner; and the names of the Editors afford a sure guarantee that its columns will be devoted to the

cance of a banner; and the names of the Editors afford a sure guarantee that its columns will be devoted to the exposition and advocacy of uncompromising Democracy, and the Social Rights of the Millions. Without, therefore, entering into minute particulars, it will be sufficient to state that the Friend of the People will include in its leading features the following:

I. Chartist Organization and Progress, under which hend will be given a full and impartial account of all Chartist proceedings, together with original papers elucidating and vindicating the principles of the Charter, on the ground both of right and utility. The substitution of the democratic principle of popular election, in place of hereditary and class usurpation in connection with governmental arrangements will be strenuously advocated.

II. Social Rights. National proprietorship in the soil will be unceasingly contended for and familiarly popularised. The natural right to labour, and the consequent means of facilitating the exchanges of products, will find THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE a ready and fearless advocate.

III. Co-Operative Progress and Associations, Trades Unions, dec., will find the proposed journal n faithful organ of their principles and proceedings.

IV. European and American Democracy.—To afford a correct representation of the movements of the Democrator of Continental Europe and America, will be one of the

IV. EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.—To afford a correct representation of the movements of the Democrats of Continental Europe and America, will be one of the primary objects of the Friend of the People. Original sources of intelligence being at the command of the Editors, they will be enabled to give full and correct information of the aims and struggles of the Republicans, Socialists, Agrarian Reformers, and Communists of Europe and the United States. Lastly, it is intended to make the projected journal a medium of intercommunication between the Democratic and Social Reformers of nll countries.

Due space will be allotted to LITERATURE and the FINE ARTS. In conjunction with the useful and instructive, the remantic and entertaining will not be lost sight of.

Besides developing the above-mentioned features, the FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE will be a complete news-paper, and will contain reports of the debates in Parliament, Public Meetings Are also Legal Police Mercantile and general Meetings, &c., also Legal, Police, Mercantile, and general intelligence.
"Quack Advertisements" and other offensive matter

to be found in nearly every existing journal will be rigor-ously excluded from the columns of the Friend of the

It will be the aim of the Editors-in all departments of It will be the aim of the Editors—in all departments of the projected journal—to elevate Democracy to a standard commensurate with the dignity of its principles. In fine, to produce a journal which will command the support of frieuds, and the respect of foes—a journal that every democrat may dare to shew to men of opposing parties and classes, and say:—"This is an organ of our movement, a reflex of our mind, a representative of our principles, the harbinger of our triumphant future."

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Friends desirous of adding their names to the above list, or who may be disposed to otherwise promote the success of the Friend of the People, are requested to communicate with the Secretary, who will furnish them with the requisite information.

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* This list does not consist of Agents—two or three names excepted—but of Friends willing to promote the circulation of the Paper. The full allowance will be given to the Trade. Local Agencies will not be interfered with.

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REED OF THE PROPER.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 21.]	SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1851.	PRICE ONE PENNY.			
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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

THE TIME FOR ACTION.

Precious hours, never to be recovered, are on the wing. Days of inaction come and go, find us and leave us maundering over evils which exist only because we permit them; and dreaming of the joys of Freedom, Glory, and Happiness, which might be ours would we but bravely, zealously, and perseveringly work for our redemption.

A sufficiency of time has elapsed since the dissolution of the Convention to enable the democracy to decide on the merits of the programme of agitation adopted by the delegates. As none but a few miserable traffickers have objected to the programme, it may be farly inferred that the Chartists, generally, approve of, and adopt, the decisions of their representatives. Approval must be followed by corresponding action. There must be neither rest nor pause if the partisans of the Charter desire to regain their influence, and (still more) achieve the success which hitherto they have failed to win.

ACTION is less necessary for the success of oratory—the authority of Demosthenes notwithstanding - than for the triumph of a political party. Now's the day and now's the hour to commence the work before us. Apathy at this time will seal the ruin of Chartism. Action will ensure its progress and not distant supremacy.

To reorganize the localities is the first, the most imperative, duty. It has been asserted that the present organization exhibits the spectacle of a head without a body. This is in some measure true. But whose the fault? Had the Executive not existed during the past twelve months, the Chartist party would have had no organized existence. Chartists there would have been, but as a party they would have been as non-existent as the "Levellers," or "Spenceans."

A great movement must have its founda-

tions widely ramified. The most elaborate

programmes, the most fervid addresses, the most eloquent speeches, will effect nothing for the people unless responded to and supported by the people themselves. Instead of being elected by a few hundreds, the Executive should be appointed by hundreds of thousands. Were such the case, the influence of Chartism would be felt, acknowledged, and would become all-powerful. There are hundreds of thousands who have adopted the principles of Chartism; is it impossible to enrol them in one body, strong as the Mace-donian Phalanx, faithful as the Theban Sacred Band?

It is both possible, and comparatively easy of accomplishment. All that is needed is to make a beginning. Let only two men in every locality come together and pledge each other heart and hand, and the all-important beginning will have been made. Let each of those two obtain the adhesion of one; let each new member-whether veteran or convert-hold himself bound to obtain the adhesion of one-only one-more; the grand army of democracy will be forthwith formed.

The Executive appeal to the constituents of the late Convention to contribute the " national subscription of three-pence from every professing democrat;" also to carry out the resolution for holding simultaneous meetings to petition for the Charter. To collect the subscriptions, prepare the petitions, and summon the meetings, existing localities must be properly organized, and where localities do not exist, they must be formed. A general election is approaching, and, in accordance with the resolution of the Convention, candidates pledged to the principles of the Charter should be brought forward to confront the champions of Privilege and Class Oppression. That resolution will remain a dead letter if the localities are not at once organized. Who can doubt that, despite their exclusion from the polling-booth, the Chartists could most materially influence the elections. Timely organization and unfaltering energy would enable them to secure the return of at least a few men resolved to carry Chartism into, and the Charter through, the House of Commons. Where it would be

of the electors in favour of the Chartist candidate, the moral effect of promulgating and vindicating Chartist principles on the hustings, although the contest stopped there, would richly repay the cost and trouble of engaging in the strife. Local enrolment in the ranks of the Charter Association is the first indispensable step in preparation for the struggle in which the proletarians must take their

It was an epoch memorable in the history of Democracy, when in the summer of 1841 the working men of England and Scotland first placed men of their own class on the hustings to compete with aristocrats and usurers for the uplifted hands of the veritable people. The lesson was repeated in 1847. Shall it not be followed up by a still more effective demonstration when next "the Queen" appeals to the people? That is exactly what she would be very sorry to do. On the occasion of dissolving Parliament, the "chief of the nation" (?) appeals in reality to the enemies of the people-to usurping land-robbers, blood-sucking usurers, and the respectable rabble of "ten pounders" in general. It is for the Chartists to carry the "appeal" to the veritable people. By the side of insolent Feudalism and purse-proud Mammon, Labour must stand forth. The wrongs of the Millions must be proclaimed on the hustings, their rights enunciated, and their sovereign will declared. Chartist participation in the next general election may be made the most effective of all moral demonstrations in support of the demand for the enactment of Universal Suffrage, and the rest of the points of THE CHARTER.

The pioneers of the new organization have only to work "with a will," and they cannot fail to rally old "companions in arms," and enlist a multitude of new converts. Thousands who were once with us have abandoned, not the principles, but the party. It will not be difficult to satisfy them that the causes which led to their secession have ceased to The dictation of individuals or of cliques is no longer possible. Freedom of opinion and free action in our own ranks are henceforth secure. The past returns not. impossible to command the votes of a majority British Democracy has outgrown its child

hood; and any man who would attempt to repeat the anties of the past would soon find his dictatorship confined to self-dictation, or rather self-stultification. The impure and the corrupt have been driven from our ranks, and the game of mercenary adventurers trafficking in the confidence of the people is at an end. Egotism and Corruption banished from amongst us, Chartism, henceforth, may ehallenge respect, even where failing to command adhesion.

I have commented on the necessity of being prepared to take part in the next election contest. That contest, although important, sinks into absolute insignificance, when contrasted with the mighty struggle, which, within twelve months is likely to rage over Europe. The Buonapartists are resolved to violate the constitution of the French Republic, in order that their miserable chief, the imperial ape, Louis Napoleon, may prolong his Presidency, or exchange that office for the dignity (?) of Emperor. The Bourbonists—both legitimists and Orleanists -are on their part conspiring to restore the monarchy. The republicans are watching both, and are determined to rise en masse in defence of the republic. It is the opinion of Europe at large, that the year 1852, will witness a decisive struggle between the French democracy and their enemies. Woe to humanity, if our brothers are erushed! But if they triumph! Then will come the mighty contest long foretold, not confined to France, but covering the whole of continental Europe. Not since the hour when France, as a gage of defiance, flung the head of a king at the feet of the erowned brigands of . Europe, has there been seen any such spectacle as the world will then witness. The accursed despots are already sweating with fear, and in their rage, inspired by terror, are plotting the dismemberment of France, and the prostration of Western Europe beneath the Cossaek yoke. It is announced that a secret treaty has been agreed to between Russia and Austria, which Prussia is invited to share in, for the purpose of meeting "the eventualities" of 1852. The purpose of the parties to this treaty, may be inferred from the demand just made by Austria, for permission to march 200,000 troops through Piedmont, to the French frontier. Fortunately the French republicans have allies wherever oppression exists. Millions in Germany, Italy, Poland, and Hungary groan under the weight of their chains, and wait for the hour which shall afford them the opportunity of retaliating upon their oppressors. In the great struggle, what part will this country take? Will Britain, as in '93, side with the tyrants of the HUMAN RACE, or as in '48-'49, stand aloof, and permit the people to be crushed by the satellites of gore-reeking despotism? Or will this nation obey the dietates of duty, and stand forth the avenger of the oppressed, the terror of oppressors? O! my countrymen, in the great time coming, spurn the babblers, the sympathisers, the spouting sentimentalists, the peace and humanity-mongering erew. Aet, not talk; do your duty to your brethren, or cease to prate of "sympathy." Do your duty also to yourselves. Wiser than in '48, use no threats, make use of no menaces, patiently and perseveringly organize, work, agitate, employ all the means at your command, to win a bloodless triumph, tion requires funds.

and never fear but you will sueeeed. Show yourselves in earnest, and you will find the earnest with you; for as the Athenian orator rightly observed, "All men are willing to confederate with those whom they see prepared, and resolved to exert themselves as they ought."

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

ADDRESS OF THE EXECUTIVE COM-MITTEE OF THE NATIONAL CHARTER ASSOCIATION TO THE PEOPLE.

Fellow Countrymen !- The time for actionfor calm, thoughtful, energetic action, has arrived. The Programme adopted by the National Convention must be carried out, step by step; and we now direct your attention to the first practical measure we can adopt—the National Petition.
Clause 3 of the first section of the Programme

runs as follows :-

"That a national petition for the Charter be presented to parliament, such petition to be prepared on the following plan:—Simultaneous meetings for passing the petition to be held in every town or borough where practicable. At such meetings two tellers to be appointed to count the numbers present; the petition, together with the declaration affirming the numbers in favour of such petition, to be signed by the tellers and the chairman of the

meeting."
We, therefore, now call on you to hold wellprepared and efficient meetings, as above alluded to, as it is requisite that a Petition to Parliament should be presented before the session closes. We are aware of the prejudice against petitioning, it is therefore that a detailed plan of petitioning has not been adopted, but that the easy method of petitioning, en masse, by aggregate meetings. We implore you not to let prejudice stand in your way; it is decided that the question of the Charter shall be brought forward in the House. The Programme of the Convention has now been read by all sections of the community; the country knows that public meetings have been summoned by that Convention for the purpose. It is, therefore, necessary that such meetings should be held. is most important that those meetings should be sufficiently general to give weight and dignity to our cause; -again, shall the motion for the Charter in the House be merely supported by an individual voice, or shall it be backed by an expression of popular will? At a time when minor franchise measures are coming before Parliament, shall ours, the greatest, the most important of all, be the only one that is not urged with adequate voice and power?

Recollect that the petition is expected—the public knows that the Convention decided thus; these meetings are looked forward to-if, from any little prejudice, you abstain from holding them, and holding them efficiently, you cast a stigma on your delegates, you create a belief in your weakness a weaknesss which does not exist. The power of your cause is engaged in the measure. We, therefore, now summon you to hold public meetings throughout the country, on the plan proposed by the Convention-such meetings to take place during the month of May. Do not shrink, in any place, from holding meetings, from the belief that their numbers may not be large. Hold them wherever you can-let the numbers in favour of the Charter be well verified, and send the petitions up to us as soon as passed.

These meetings will be the first opportunity for the aggregate expression of your views since the issue of the Programme hy the Convention. As such, they are necessary on this ground alone; and, since a new phase of our movement will be developed from the basis laid by that assembly, it is requisite that a national gathering of Democracy should give the impulse to our renewed and improved agitation.

Another duty also devolves on you-that agita-

We refer you to the resolution of the Convention relative to a national subscription of threepence from every professing Democrat. Surely many could give more-let all give what they can. shilling each from a million men would enable us to carry the Charter. That money is wanted, and wanted now, if you wish to be prepared for the future. That money is wanted for you-not for ourselves—we are your gratuitous servants—for your cause—for the eause of all mankind.

It is our aim to guide the Chartist movement through the dangers of the approaching timewith calm dignity—gathering strength from converted mind, and baffling opposition by disarming We will have no stormy broil-no prejudice. dangerous demonstration, that may be used to advantage by our enemies; for the turning-point of our movement is at hand-class government is falling of its own corruption, alienating its own supporters by its errors. They shall not father their sins on our shoulders.

We caution you not to listen to the idle tales afloat, relative to conspiracies and insurrectionsweak devices of the enemy, to ensnare unwary friends, and distance wavering allies.

We caution you not to follow any rash advice—it is your calmness, more than your violence, that your enemies fear.

Give us the means, and this summer shall see such an advance in Chartist progress, such an increase in Chartist numbers, as have not been witnessed yet. We are not of those who promise largelybut we have calculated our strength, we have counted the elements of democracy that are in existence—and we feel, we know, that we can work them up, if you supply us with the means.

Signed on behalf of the committee,

JOHN ARNOTT, General Secretary.

TO THE PEOPLE.

Ir has been customary with a certain portion of society to attempt to place the hrand or infamy upon Robespierre, and all those who have laboured to make equality a blessed reality, and to render freedom other than the bitter mockery it now is, and ever has been, hy establishing such political and social institutions as would render it impossible for one man ever to be the slave of another.

It is a favourite doctrine with the "respectable" people of no principle, that the greatest amount of real liberty is to be obtained under the sway of moderate tyranny, and that the rule of democracy would be one of terror and cf bloodsbed. In support of the latter opinion, they point to the bloody scenes of the French revolution, and sneeringly say — Behold the workings of your boasted liberty! Yet, we know full well that the Yet, we know full well that the hlame of that bloodshed lay not with the friends of freedom, but with the ahettors of despotism. The armics of the kings of Europe hung threateningly upon the frontiers of France; therefore, it was meet that her defenders should deal powerful vengeance upon the traitors within, who conspired for the overthrow of the Republic. The tongue of a Lamartine could not have upheld young Free-The tongue of dom for a day. The impending danger rendered it imperatively necsssary that the righteous sword of the free-man should be bravely and unhesitatingly drawn in her defence. But a moment's weakness, or indecision, and the bright flame of freedom would have been at once quenched by the myriad slaves of tyranny.

Is there any honest, and really thoughtful man, who has watched attentively the events of the last three years, who will now say that the course pursued by Robespierre and his compatriots, was the eause of the downfall of freedom, and the restoration of kingly power? We have seen the victorious, but too forgiving, and confiding peoples' who, in 1848, extended the hand of fraternity even to those who bad been their oppressors, betrayed and trodden down, one by one, until European freedom has been extinguished in the blood of its

martyre, and her armies have been decimated by the sword of the reaction. Who does not now regret that mercy should have altogether usurped the seat of justice; that we should have made, in place of men of action, mere men of words; that we had not men who would have launched the armies of the Republic over the frontiers, and, while the tyrants turned pale in their consternation, have attacked the enemies of liberty in all their strongholds, and have planted the banner of freedom in every land, amid the blessings of every people?

Men of Britain! why should it not be your mission to give freedom to the world? Why should not our land be in the van of that glorious army, which shall yet root out every tyranny, and abolish every injustice? "Slumber is the death of nations," saith Theodore Karcher, and no nation hath slumbered longer than we. Miserable whig expediencies, and the soulless chicanery of trade, crush the British people, and dishonour the British name, but we wake not. The lordlings in their palaces revel in the property of the slaves of toil, and laugh to scorn the famine-prompted murmurings of the "vile multitude," and still we slumber. Freedom dawns hrightly on Europe, thrones totter and fall, and tyrants flee in terror from the seulstirred peoples - and what does England then ? Her rulers go forth with open arms and smiling brow to welcome Liberty, and hid her all hail! while they plot her downfall. They eagerly embrace the peoples struggling for right; yet, in those hands, stretched forth in apparent good-will and sympathy, are concealed poisoned daggers for the hearts of the enemies of despotism. And the sons of the heroes of Marston Moor, and of Worcester, slumber on unheeding. Unheeding, when, by one bound, they might have leapt into freedom, and thundered forth from their island home-"All men are brothers; we will lahour to make all our brethren free!" Then had not Rome fallen hy the fratricidal hayonets of France, nor would the spear of the Cossack have heen hathed in the heart's-blood of gallant Hungary; but Britain slumbered while the nations were stirring around her, and Italian and Hungarian freedom was trampled in the dust by the mass of allied despotism; and Europe, which had made so many glorious, though unavailing endeavours to acquire freedom, sank prostrate beneath the sceptre of the Tzar, and now calculating on our lethargy, the re-action having placed the continent in fetters, has the audacity to carry the war even to our very doors. Well knowing that their reign is one of terror, and that their thrones rest on such an insecure basis, that the mere word of a freeman is sufficient for their overthrow, they, urged onward by the instinct of self-preservation, added to that insatiable thirst for blood, which tyrants alone can know, pursue, unceasing, the noble exiles for liberty who are now resident among us. Will ye stand quietly by, and see delivered to the dungeon or the gibbet those brave men who have fought for the great cause of Democracy—the cause of every people? Remember the words of the great martyr for Liberty and Equality :-- "Men of all countries are brothers, and the people of each ought to yield one another mutual aid, according to their ability, like citizens of the same state.

Fellow Countrymen ?-You have been motionless while Europe was convulsed. You have seen the rise, progress, and fall of every insur-rection for liberty during the last three years. Have you profited from so many lessons? Have you, free from the tumult and confusion of con-flict, been able to discern clearly all the people's errors and misfortunes, all the causes of their failure! Have you seen their most holy aspirations smuggled by the jugglings of cunning foes; all their enthusiasm in the cause of freedom lulled asleep, or perverted into a wrong path by the destructive eloquence of traitors; as a new birth, as the parties brave armies shed their blood under life. Amen.—Lamennais.

the banners of those who led them on to preconcerted defeat? If you have, you will know that the main cause of the failure of the revolutions of 1848 was their isolation.

There can never be any real Republic in Europe but the universal one. There is no middle path-Europe must be Republican or Russian. Any isolated rising would be speedily crushed by the combined forces of European monarchy. We can conquer the holy alliance of kings only by a holy alliance of peoples.

Do not let us be the last to enter into this brotherly compact with the oppressed nations, Let it not be said that in the great struggle between Liberty and Despotism, Britian inscribed nothing on the page of history.

That struggle is approaching swiftly, and ye would do well to prepare for its coming. This will be best done by actively propagating the great principles of democracy, and by promoting more cordial intercourse amongst the holders of our faith, thus laying the foundation of an organization which will enable us to act unanimously and successfully when an opportunity shall arise for acknowledging our freedom.

Toil on, Brothers !-hopefully, and zealously toil on! the day of our triumph is not far distant.

ALEXANDER BELL.

KINGS.

And I was carried in spirit into the times of old, and the earth was heautiful, and rich, and fruitful; and the inhabitants thereof lived in happiness, for they lived as brethren.

And I saw the serpent creeping in the midst of them; upon many he fixed his potent glare, and their souls were troubled within them; and they drew near, and the serpent spoke in their ear.

And when they had listened to the voice of the serpent, they arose and said, We are kings.

And the sun was darkened, and the earth took a funereal tinge, like that of the shroud that wraps the dead.

And a hoarse murmur arose, a long wail, and each trembled in his heart.

Verily, I say unto you, it was the day when the abyss hurst its hounds, and the flood of great waters overflowed the earth.

And Fear spread from hut to hut (for palaces were not yet in those days), and whispered se-cretly to each words that made them shudder.

And those who had said, We are kings, took a word, and followed Fear from hut to hut.

And great mysterics came to pass there: there were there chains, and tears, and blood.

And man being in terror exclaimed, Murder has reappeared in the world! And this was all for Fear had numbed their soul, and taken strength from their arm.

And they suffered themselves to be laden with irons, they, their wives, and their children. And those who had said, We are kings, dug as it were a great cavern; and there they shut up the whole human race, like as the beasts are shut up in a stable.

And the tempest arose and scattered the clouds. and the thunder growled, and I heard a voice which said, The serpent has overcome a second time, but not for ever. And after this I heard only confused voices, and laughter, and groans, and blasphemies.

And I understood that there was to be a reign of Satan before the reign of God. And I wept, and I hoped.

And the vision which I saw was true; for the reign of Satan is accomplished: and the reign of God will be accomplished also; and they who said, We are kings, shall be in their turn enclosed in the cavern with the serpent, and the human race shall come out from it; and it shall he to them as a new birth, as the passage from death unto

A DEVIL INCARNATE.

To the Editor of THE FRIEND OF THE PROPLE. SIR, - Looking over the South Australian Register, of October 12th, and 26th, 1850, I saw the following advertisement and Letter from that Whig tool, Powell. It appears he is trying it on again on the other side of the world!:-

"COMPLETE SUFFRAGE LEAGUE. "The objects of this Association are Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Short Parliaments, No. Property Qualification, and Equal Electoral Districts. Fellow Colonists, -the evils resulting from class legislation are too numerous; the wrongs it inflicted upon us in the Mother-country were too great to render any proof necessary of the benefit which will accrue from a full and fair representation of the people in this colony. The opportunity now presents itself for obtaining that desideratum; let us not allow it to pass without achieving our object. We, therefore, cordially invite your co-operation in this good cause. Rally round the standard of equal laws, and success is certain. Show the unenfranchised and ill-fed millions of Great Britain and Ireland that freedom, like plenty, is to be found in South Australia.

"The League meets every Tuesday evening at the "Black Horse," Leigh Street."

S. A. Register, Oct. 12th. (From the South Australian Register, Oct. 26.)

"The following letter was read by the secretary at the meeting of the Committee of the Complete Suffrage League on Wednesday evening last. As the Committee decided on holding no communication with the writer, nor taking any notice of his overture, our reporter considered the only way to give it the publicity it deserved was to print it-particularly as it appeared to him to breathe a spirit of genuine sympathy with the avowed objects of the persons who soouted his co-operation :-

"To the Committee of the Adelaide Complete Suffrage League.
"October 14, 1850.

Gentlemen,-Having at heart the welfare of my countrymen-the working classes of this country-allow me to address a few lines to you. by the way of stimulating the working classes and shop-keepers of this colony in the attainment. of our just rights-the rights of labour ;-and as the friend of every well-disposed working man, convey to you my readiness to co-operate with you by lawful means, in obtaining universal suffrage, vote by ballot, short parliaments or legislative assemblies,—no property qualifications, equal electoral districts, and payment of members. I regret in not being able to take part in your proceedings of last meeting, at the "Black Horse." Leigh Street, Hindley Street,-my absence being occasioned through the distance from my home and the lateness of the hour I should have reached it. I close by calling upon the working classes in this colony, to a man, in joining the League, and assure them I shall—at my first opportunity-call a public meeting of the working classes of this colony, to address them upon the Government prosecution of 1848.

Tremain, gentlemen,
"Yours and the public's obedient servant,
"THOMAS POWELL

"Carpenter, Prospect Village,

" Adelaide, South Australia. "Be so good as to announce this at your next

public meeting."

Sir,-Thinking it would be some little conselation to his "Friends" in this country to know that he is universally scouted, I have taken the liberty to send you a copy of this sham democrat's hypocritical letter, hoping you will print it in the Friend of the People.

Yours fraternally, THOMAS DOLBY. 64, Hercules Buildings, Lambe h. April 24th, 1851.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mondys Rechiven (For the Refugees at Liverpool).—A young Irish Red, Is.; Friends at Leeds, per B. Horsfall, 3s. 4d.; a few friends at Darlington, Is. 6d.; H. Bryces, Aberdeen, Is.; Thomson, ditto, Is.; George McGregor, ditto, 6d.; J. Gibson, Kilbarchan. Is. For the Poles a. Turnmill Street: A few London painters, Epping, 3s. 6dt For the Fraternal Democrats: J. Hemmin, and Mr. E. Adams, Cheltenham, 2s.; W. Z. Bowley, Malmsbury, 2s.

JAMES SPURR (Liverpool) acknowledges the receipt of \$12s. 3d. for the Refugees from G. Julian Harney, being the amount of severals mall sums previously acknowledged in the Friend of the People.

POEMS AND NOTES BY ERNEST JONES,—We understand that the long-promised publications of Ernest Jones's Poems will commence this very week. The scries will be published by Mr. Pavey, 47, Holywell Street. No. 1 (price twopence) will contain "The New World," a democratic poem, dedicated to the people of the United Queendom and the United States. No. 2 will be published next week.

- G. Hemmin.—It is intended to publish The Red Republican Song Book, compiled by J. B. Leno, in a series of penny numbers. No. I only has yet appeared. Published by Collins, 113, Fleet Street.
- B. Horsfall (Leeds) .- Send your full address.
- J. Thomson (Abordeen), -Received and paid over to the
- J. Gisson (Kilbarchan) and "A young Irish Red." We regret we cannot find room for your letters.

THE ROYALISTS—A SPECIMEN.—We have received the following:—To the Editor of the Friend of the People—"I never saw such a thing written in any public paper as you placed in yours, jeering at the thought of praying. I think never was there a better proposal. Should we not pray that it may go off properly! I mean the Exhibition; but I let myself down in reasoning with such a set of menyes! that don't deserve the name, for men would not write such a thing, leading the poor people astray with your bad advice. I remain—A ROYALIST.

POERRY—Most of the following pieces will a set of the following pieces will be set of the follo

POETRY.—Most of the following pieces will appear when we may he able to find room for them:—"Welcome to the Refugees." "The Poet and his Child," "The Song of the Suffrage," "The Rebel's Grave." "Courage," "What is the Poet's Office?" The lines headed "Liberty," and "Freedom's Progress," are respectfully declined.

the Suffrage," "The Rehel's Grave," "Courage," "What is the Poet's Office?" The lines headed "Liherty," and "Freedom's Progress," are respectfully declined.

J. CAPEWELL.—When you may favour us with anything worth publication, we shall be happy to insert it in the Frind of the People. We commend the following and many similar opinions which you may find by looking for —to your careful perusal (From the Northern Star):—Nottingham.—Resolution passed by the District Conneil: Moved by Mr. Radford, seconded by Mr. Evely, and carried unanimously:—"That this Conneil liaving well considered the statements made by Mr. O'Connor, in his letter published in the Star of the 5th inst., are of opinion that such statements are calculated to call down the vengeance of the government upon the heads of the Foreign Refugees now in this country; believing, as we do, that those patriots are deserving of the hest wishes of all true democrats, and it is our duty to throw around them the shield of projection, instead of endeavouring to injure their present prospects, we therefore heg to dissent from the sentiments expressed by Mr. O'Connor in his letter, they being, in the opinion of this Council, entirely uncalled for."—(From Reynolds's Newspaper):—GlarGow.—At the weekly meeting of the members held on Tuesday, after a very animated discussion, it was unanimously resolved,—"That we, the members of the Glasgow Locality of the National Charter Association, are deeply convinced, from long and careful observation of the course pursued by Feargus O'Connor, that he has instly forfeited the confidence and respect of the Chartist body. His weekly denunciations of the men of I ondon as 'poor gentlemen, too proud to work, and too poor to live without Isbour,' and his refusal to name the parties when called upon to do so,—his declaration of opinion respecting Chartist spitators generally, as founded on his long experience and attentive observation, that ninety-nine out of every hundred are trafficking politicians, his particular anti-democratic c

IN TYPE-TO BE INSERTED NEXT WEEK: The address of the Democratic Social Propagandists. The letter of a Welsh Proletarian.

THE EX-PRESIDENT OF THE VENETIAN RE-PUBLIC.-M. Manin, has been offered a pension by the French Government; he has, however, firmly but modestly declined it. He is poor, but can work for his bread; and requests the French Minister to turn his benevolent care to such of his fellow-sufferers as cannot help themselves.

It was a maxim of Euripides either to keep silence, or to speak something better than silence.

THE STAMPED "FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE."

NOTICE.

It being the earnest wish of the editors and proprietors of the projected newspaper to publish the first number in the course of the month of May, those friends who have promised, or undertaken to obtain, subscriptions are hereby requested to forward the same to the committee immediately.

D. W. RUFFY, SEC. 13, Tottenham Court, New Road, St. Pancras, London.

All money orders to be made payable to DANIEL WILLIAM RUFFY, Money Order Office, Tottenham Court Road, London.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1851.

CHARTISM IN AUSTRALIA.

MISTER POWELL ONCE MORE!

WE direct attention to an important communication from a friend residing in the metropolis, in which will be found extracts from The South Australian Register, showing that Chartism has taken root even at the Antipodes. So much for the effect of Persecution. It is true that Democracy must sooner or later, in the natural course of things, have appeared in Australia, as in the colonies generally. A similar state of society to that which exists in England, the Land becoming gradually monopolised by a crew of robbers and swindlers, Labour subservient to Capital, and this system protected by class legislation, would naturally produce "excessive competition," "surplus population" "pauperism" and all the rest of the devilries of our "highly civilized state of society," accompanied by "discontent" and "revolutionary tendencies." That the birth of Democracy in Australia should have anti cipated the period of working-class depression, is owing partly to that general march of enlightenment which is one of the characteristics of the present age, but also partly to the impression caused by the banishment to that region of the earth of British and Irish democrats. We do not say that Frost and ELLICE, MITCHELL and MEAGHER, have participated in the forming of a democratic party; that is not at all likely. It is, how-ever, morally certain that the expatriated patriots have largely contributed to the birth of Democracy in the land of their exile. It is impossible but that thinking men in that part of the world must have reflected on the alleged "crime" for which FROST, MITCHELL, &c., were banished from "the mother country;" and reflecting, must have come to the conclusion that instead of deserving chains and infamy, such men were entitled to the approbation and applause of their countrymen. Thus, thinking men would not be slow in adopting the political creed of the proscribed. In their attempts to maintain their usurpation by terror and proscription, our rulers hardly thin the ranks of the disaffected at home, while, by banishing selected victims, they cause the dreaded principles against which they vainly contend, to be propagated to the uttermost ends of the empire. The very presence of the proscribed, dence. We can understand the English

without word or act on their part, suffices to set the colonists thinking, and Thought is the parent of Democracy, the destroyer of Despotism.

It will be seen, that the men of Adelaide have formed an association to expound, advocate, and cause to be enacted, principles identical with the six points of the Charter.

We wish them every success, and will gladly aid in making their progress known to their countrymen in the old world.

We rejoice to observe that the Australian democrats are on their guard against advances of the scoundrel Powell, the spy and exciter of the foolish pot-house plot of 1848. The miscreant assures the Committee of the Suffrage Association, that, "having at heart the welfare of his countrymen," he is anxious to "stimulate the working classes," &c., to join in the democratic movement. He has the audacity to announce that he intends to hold a public meeting, to address the colonists on the Government Persecution of 1848. We trust if he has held any such meeting, he has been stoned by his audience. No doubt, if he could get any one to believe him, he would picture himself a martyr, and declare that but for his disinterested evidence, on the trials of CUFFAY and others, they would have been hanged. Either he is still in the pay of the Government, or is anxiously seeking a new job. Judas was an angel compared with this devil incarnate. The betrayer of JESUS repented, and went and hanged himself; but his miserable imitator, so far from hanging himself, is even now plotting to add to the number of his victims. What a pity that any law should exist to punish an honest man for putting such a reptile past the power of further mischief. We wish some one of of further mischief. We wish some one of his friends—Sir Geo. Grex for instance—would persuade "lying Tom" to emigrate from Australia to Texas or California. Once he was within the jurisdiction of "Judge Lynch," we would try to get him a letter of introduction-from ELIHU BURRITT or some other American philanthropist-to that renowned functionary. A short shrift and a stout cord, are the requisites for Mister POWELL.

THE REFUGEES-SWITZERLAND AND ENGLAND.

THAT the countrymen of WILLIAM TELL, the sons of the men who so heroically threw off the Austrian yoke, should consent to play the part of base slaves and lacqueys to the government of Vienna is indeed a melancholy fact. That the "free Switzers" should expel from their country the proscribed victims of despotism, is a matter to excito the sorrow of the friends, and the exultation of the enemies of democracy. But can it be true that England is playing a part not less base, without having the excuse the Swiss may urge-that they are not in a position to defy the military power of Austria, Prussia, and Russia? Can it bo true, as stated in the Journal des Débats, that the Swiss Government has received a communication from the English Government protesting against the refugees being sent to England? The correspondent of the Débats adds: "The United States, therefore, is now the only country open to the refugees."

We have asked "can this report be true?" We will not believe it without further evi-

government protesting against the expulsion of the refugees, both on the ground of humanity, and for the sake of the honour and independence of Switzerland. But we cannot comprehend by what right, what authority, the English government could protest against the refugees coming to this country. If, indeed, any such protest has been made, and if that protest is to be followed up by acts corresponding thereto, then we shall see the refugees-expelled from Switzerland and elsewhere-prevented setting foot on the soil of this island. That would be usurration, tyranny, fratricidal dishonour perfectly unendurable; or, if endured, would prove the British people to be the basest set of wretches under heaven. Surely such shame is not in store for us!

We have received No. 1 of The Refugee Circular, published by the Liverpool Committee, with the motto, from the card of the Fraternal Democrats, in English and Polish; "All men are brethren" (Wszysey Ludzie sa Bracmi). It is intended to continue the circular weekly, "for the purpose of laying before the public a correct statement relative to the Polish Refugees, and to disabuse the public mind of the talse reports circulated by the Liverpool Press." All communications to be addressed to the office, 49, Pitt Street. All communications for the central operatives' committee for the relief of the refugees, to be addressed to James Spurr, 10, Williamson Square, Liverpool.

The committee's report dated the 18th of April states, that "From the number 148, now located here (Liverpool), we have, this week, made arrangements to dispose of 53, as follows:--6 to Bradford, making in all, 12 for that town; 2 to Padiham, making for Padiham 6;—2 to Barhead, in Scotland; and through the untiring zeal of that benevolent man. Peter Stewart, Esq., assisted by C. E. Rawlins, Esq., employment has been procured for 13 at St. Helens and locality. We purpose sending also 30 to Halifax, to be distributed in the West Riding of Yorkshire, amongst our friends there.

"From Sheffield, which has at present 14 men, we have received a Banker's Bill for the sum of £5. From Barhead, 15s.; and from three friends at Dublin, 8s. 3d.; with promise of further assistance from Padiham and Sheffield."

We have received a copy of a very excel-lent memorial in behalf of the refugees, addressed to the Home Secretary, by 18 members of the Sheffield town council: also a very spirited address to the inhahitants of Padiham. We regret we cannot find room for these documents. A friend at Padiham informs us, that five out of the six located in that town have obtained work, and give their employers the greatest satisfaction. It is with much pleasure we see the country generally beginning to assist and emulate the good men of Liverpool, in their noble efforts for the protection of our exiled

Why have mankind groaned so long under so terrible a system as that of arbitrary rule? Because over the greatest part of the world they have not had it in their power to make use of their intelligence, or to communicate it; and where the chosen few who could enlighten mankind as to their condition have been willing to do so, they have been prevented, by restrictions having been put upon their circulating or publishing their writings.—Maltravers. THE AGGRANDIZEMENT OF RUSSIA.

The New York Tribune of April 7th contains some curious and important revelations touching the rapid march of Russian supremacy in Asia; founded on certain official and other documents, which have come into the possession of our American contemporary. "These documents," says the Tribune, "consist of letters from a Polish geologist, whom we judge to he an officer in the Imperial Engineers, employed in seeking for coal beds on the shores of the Sea of Aral, and in the vicinity of the Caspian, and of an account furnished to a Russian periodical by a Russian merchant, of his journey, on business, from Petropavlosk, in the Siberian Department of Omsk, to Tashkend, an important city about midway between the former southern boundary of Siberia, and the northern limit of Afghanistan, and between the Sea of Aral and the Chinese dominions.

According to these documents, Russia has lately acquired an extent of territory about a thousand miles in length, by four hundred in The addition includes the entire terribreadth. tory of the Kirghis or Kirguis, a tribe of warlike Tartars some 1.200,000 strong, who have long been partly in Russian pay, and who doubtless saw no reason to object to the building of the line of forts which now exends through their desertsand about half of Kokand, a district occupied by some three millions of Usbecks, Tadshiks, and Kirguis together. The wealth of the Kirguis consists in herds of camels, horses, sheep and goats, for which they find pasturage by moving from place to place. Streams and lakes not yet known to geographers are frequent, and game of new species is found in abundance. Tashkend does not seem yet to be in Russian possession; but as the line of forts is on the river below it, and comes within some seventy miles or so, it cannot fail of being soon annexed; indeed, as a centre of commerce, it is doubtless a chief object of Russian ambition. From Tashkend caravans start every week for Cashgar, Buchara, Chiva, and other places, taking cloths, plush, cottons, and iron articles of Russian manufacture, and distributing them to the most remote regions. In fact, the commerce of Central Asia is already in the hands of Russia. Into Chinese Tartary her traders have opened new routes, now traversed by their caravans to China. Afghanistan already buys Russian wares instead of English. Persia, as is well known, has long been merely a Russian province; and unless England awakes from her sleep and bestirs herself more effectually than ever, it cannot be long before the Muscovite, peerless alike for cunning and persistence, obtains complete possession of the Oxus, has Chiva and Bucharia perfectly under his control, and may establish his frontier posts in the fastnesses of tho Hindoo Coosh and Paropamesan Mountains.

The length of time through which Russia has pursued the objects she has now so nearly gained, and is so sure of gaining completely, justifies our admiration of her tenacity. She gains her end by taking the route east of the Aral, and following the path of the old Mongol and Tartar Conquerors. On that path went forth Ghengis-Khan, Tamerlane, and Babur; under them and their descendants, the Tartars seeking for universal dominion, conquered China, India, and the Byzantine Empire, and threatened to overwhelm Europe with their hordes. Christendom alone they were unable to conquer.

Russia, too, aims at universal dominion. Her armies are larger, her courage as desperate and fanatical, her resources greater, her faith in her destiny more deeply rooted, her wisdom a thousand times shrewder than that of her predecessors in this career, and her commerce a means they did not possess.

Will she succeed where they did, and succeed, too, where they failed? That question the future will answer. For our part we have no anxiety as to the result.

Boetry for the People.

[REVIEW.]

Voices of Freedom and Lyrics of Love. By T. GERALD MASSEY, Working Man. London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head-passage, Paternoster-row.

(Concluded from No. 20.)

It is a somewhat remarkable fact that GERALD MASSEY, although an untiring reader, had originally not the least predilection for poetry. "In fact," he writes, in a letter to the editor of a contemporary publication, "I always eschewed it; if I ever met with any, I instantly skipped it over, and passed on, as one does with the description of scenery in a novel." But a change came over our young friend-as Tennyson sings-

Love took up the glass of Time, and turned it in glowing

hands,
Every moment, lightly shaken, ran itself in silver sands.
Love took up the harp of life, and smote on all the chords
with might,
Smote the chord of self, that, trembling, pass'd in music

out of sight.

In short, GERALD "fell in love;" and, no doubt, like Byron's "Don,"—

He pored upon the leaves, and on the flowers, And heard a voice in all the winds; and then He thought of wood-nymphs and immortal bowers, And how the goddesses came down to men.

As a matter of course, he betook himself to rhyme. When our young friend writes his "Confessions," we hope he will impart to his readers the name of the fair one who worked this all-important change. knows, but that for the influence of Love, GERALD'S reading might have led him to write Malthusian essays for Chambers's Journal, or skim-milk twaddle for Household Words. instead of revolutionary politics and love lyrics for the Spirit of Freedom! Nay, he might have written a volume of "political economy," a la M'Crowdy, instead of the welcome work before us. We beg to propose a testimonial to the lady who first captivated GERALD MASSEY, and inspired him to rhyme!

It does not follow that because our poet commenced with songs or sonnets to his ladye-love that therefore his love lyrics in the volume under notice should be his best; yet, considered as poetry, they are so. Notwithstanding the force and fire of his political effusions, there is a ruggedness about them by which their effect is much lessened. In elegance and felicity of expression the love lyrics decidedly surpass the political songs. Even the worshippers of Burns and "Anacreon" MOORE must admire the following:-

All glorious as a rainbow's birth,
She came, in springtide's gelden hours,
When Heaven went hand-in-hand with Earth,
And May was crown'd and flusht with flowers.
The mounting devil at my heart
Clomb faintlier, as my life did win,
The charmed heaven she wrought apart,
To wake the slumbering angel in;
With radiant mien she trode serene,
And past me smiling by: And past me smiling by;
O, who that lookt could chance but love?
Not I, sweet soul! not I.

Her budding breast, like fragrant fruit,
Peered-out, a-yearning to be prest;
Her voice shook at my heart's red root,
Yet might not break a-babe's light rest;
Her being mingled into mine,
As breath of flowers doth mix and melt,
And on her lips the honey-wine,
Was royal rich as spikenard spilt;
With love a-gush like waterbrooks,
Her heart smiled in her eye,
O, who that lookt could chance but love?
Not I, sweet soul! not I.

The rosy eyelids of the Dawn. Ne'er opt such heaven as hers let down, O love, such eyes have surely shone O love, such eyes have surely shone
As jewels in God's starry crown!
Her brow flasht glory like a shrine,
Or lily-bell with sunburst bright,
Where came and went love-thoughts divine,
As low winds walk the leaves in light,
She wore her beauty with the grace
Of Summer star-robed sky;
O, who that lookt could chance but love?
Not I, sweet love! not I.

A CHAUNT.

Night trembles o'er earth's beauty, now, Like silvery bridal-veil, hung low! While I with feverish heart and brow, Awake, to weep for thee, love!

The spangled glories of the night,
Earth—saint-like—swathed in splendour light,
These cannot win my charmed sight,
Or lure a thought from thee, love!

I'm pondering o'er that short sweet time, Our hearts drank in a summer's prime, And blossom'd in love's Eden-clime, When I was blest with thee, love! There burned no beauty on the trees— There woke no song of birds or bees; But love's cup for us held no lees, And I was blest with thee, love!

Then grand, and golden faucies spring From out my heart, on splendid wing, Chrysalis, from life's wintering—Burst bright and summeringly, love! And as a chief of battle lost, Counts, and recounts, his stricken host—Stands, tearfu! Memory, making most Of all that's toucht with thee, love!

I know in Pleasure's flower-growned bower, Thy heart may half forget love's power,
But at this still and starry hour,
Does it not turn to me, love
O! by all pangs for thy sweet sake, In my deep love, thy heart-thirst slake, Or all-too-full, my heart must break— Break! break! with loving thee, love!

The "Song," at page 37; "A Lyric of Love," page 60; "A Lover's Fancy," page 63; and "Love Me," page 69, deserve honourable mention.

Turning to the political songs, we find them disfigured by a fault common to all young writers, whether of poetry or prose,—that of a painful striving for effect by means of big words and monstrous fantasies. "God," "Christ," "Hell," &c. are terms used far, far too often. In the course of eighty pages the name of God is employed upwards of a hundred times. This cannot but be offensive both to believers and unbelievers. There is far too much of "Christ's blood," "Christ's tears," "God's immortal wine," &c. Here are two lines from one of the finest pieces in the collection made highly objectionable by the very unpleasing idea expressed in the last half of the second line :-

O! Hungary! gallant Hungary! proud and glorious thou wert,
The world's soul-feeding, like a river, gushing fom God's
heart.

What kind of a river may that be? We know what like is the heart of a man, and we know what kind of "river" might be made to gush therefrom—a stream of blood. We presume this is a specimen of what our American cousins term "piling the agony"a kind of thing "more honoured in the breach than the observance."

Enough of fault-finding. With all their faults, the "Voices of Freedom" constitute for us the most attractive portion of the col-lection. Certain alleged faults (discovered by sharp-eyed critics) in these compositions, we esteem their chief merit. It has been said that they are "in idea beyond Chartism, and in expression Red Republican." that they are the effusions of "a partizan." Of course they are. GEBALD MASSEY is a partizan of the Right against the Wrong-Justice against Oppression-Liberty against Ty-

ranny,-the suffering many against the pitiless few. One of his reviewers trusts that "Time and experience will render him more catholic and tolerant." Never, we earnestly pray. He is now so catholic as to believe all men are brethren-all men, be it understood, not brutes in the shape of men; -- of such may he never be tolerant: Should the time ever come that will witness GERALD MASSEY repudiating his "Song of the Red Republican," as Southey repudiated his Wat Tyler, then may the Muse cast him off—may his brain perish, his hand lose its cunning, and may he be as despised as he is now worthily honoured and applauded. Bide in the straight path, dear GERALD. and preserve thy soul pure, come what may. In storm and sunshine remember thine own picture of a true

Though Want be his guerdon, the Workhouse bis goal, Till his heart has burnt out upon Liberty's altar, For this is the man I hold dear to my sout.

Of the political compositions, there are wooing for extract many more than we can find space for. Some of the best have already appeared in the Red Republican, and Friend of the People. We select the following :-

A CALL TO THE PEOPLE.

1848.

People of England! rouse ye from this dreaming,
Sinew your souls, for Freedom's glorious leap!
Look to the Future, lo! our day-spring's gleaming,
And a pulse stirs, that never more shall sleep
In the World's heart! Men's eyes like stars are throbbing,
The traitor-kings turn pale in Pleasure's bower,
For at the sound which comes like thunder—sobbing,
The leaves from Royalty's tree, fall hour by hour;
Earthquakes leap in our temples, crumbling Throne and
Power! People of England! rouse ye from this dreaming,

Vampyres have drained the human heart's best blood,
Kings robbed, and Priests have curst us in God's name;
Out in the midnight of the past we've stood—
While fiends of darkness plied their hellish game.
We have been worshipping a gilded crown,
Which drew heaven's lightning-laughter on our head;

Chains fell on us as we were bowing down,
We deemed our gods divine, but, lo! instead—
They are but painted clay—with morn the charm has
fled!

And is this "Merrie England,"-this the place-And is this "Merrie England,"—this the place—
The cradle of great souls, self-deified?
Where smiles once revelled in the peasant's face,
Ere hearts were maskt by gold—lips steept in pride—
Where Toil with open brow went on light-hearted,
And twain in love, Law never thrust apart?
Then, is the glory of our life departed
From ns, who sit and nurse our bleeding smart;
And slink, afraid to break the laws that break the

Husht be the Herald on the walls of Fame,
Trumping this people as their country's pride;
Weep rather, with your souls on fire with shame,
See ye not how the palaced knaves deride
Us facile-flattered fools? how priestcraft stealthy,
Stabs at our freedom through its veil of night,
And grinds the poor to flush its coffers wealthy?
Ilear how the land groans in the grip of Might,
Then quaff your cup of wrongs, and laud a Briton's
"Right." Husht be the Herald on the walls of Fame,

There's not a spot in all this flowery land, Where Tyranny's curst brand-mark has not been;

O! were it not for its all blasting hand,
Dear Christ, what a sweet heaven this might have been,
Was it not hunted forth our spirits brave—
Killed the red rose, which crowned our darling

daughters,
Wedded our living hopes unto the grave—
Filled happy homes with strife, the world with slaughters,

And turned our thoughts to blood-to gall the heart's

Gone! is the love that nerved our ancient sires,

Gone! is the love that nerved our ancient sires,
Who, bleeding, wrung their rights from tyrannies olden,
God-spirits have been here, for Freedom fires
From out their ashes, te earth's heart enfolden;
The mighty dead lie slumhering around—
Whose names smite as if God's soul shook the air,
Life leaps from where their dust makes holy ground,
Their deeds spring forth in glory—live all where,
And are we traitors to th' eternal trust we bear?

Go forth, when night is husht, and heaven is clothed
With smiling stars, that in God's presence roll
Feel the stirred spirit leap to them betrothed,
As angel wings were fanning in the soul;
Feel the hot tears flood in the eyes upturning,
The tide of goodness heaves its brightest waves—
Then is't not hard to crush the God-ward yearning
With the mad thought that ye are still earth's slaves?
O! how long will ye make your hearts its living graves?

Immortal Liberty! I see thee stand—
Like Morn just stept from heaven upon a mountain,
With rosy feet and blessing-laden hand,
Thy brow star-crowned, thy heart Love's living four.

tain;
O! when wilt thou string on the people's lyre—
Joy's broken chord? And on the People's brow
Set Empire's crown? Light np thy beacon fire
Within their hearts, with an undying glow;
Nor give us blood for milk, as meu are drunk with now?

Curst, Curst, be War, the World's most fatal glory,
Ye wakening nations, burst its guilty thrall!
Time waits with out-stretcht hand to shroud the gory—
Grim glave of Strife beneath Oblivion's pall,
The tyrant laughs at swords, the cannon's rattle
Thunders no terror on his murderous soul.
Thought, Mind must conquer Might, and in this battle,
The warrior's cnirass, or the sophist's stole,
Shall blunt no lance of light, no onset, backward roll.

Old poets tell us of a golden age,
When earth was guiltless—gods the guests of men,
Ere sin had dimm'd the heart's illumined page—
And Sinai-voices say, 'twill come again.
O, happy age! when love shall rule the heart,
And time to live shall be the poor man's dower,
When martyrs bleed no more, nor poets smart—
Mind is the only diadem of power—
People, it ripens now! awake! and strike the hour;

Hearts, bigh and mighty, gather in our cause.
Bless, bless, oh God, and crown their earnest labour,
Who dauntless fight to win us equal laws,
With mental armour, and with spirit-sabre!
Bless, bless, O God, the proud intelligence, That, like a sun, dawns on the People's foreliead— Humanity springs from them like incense, The Future bursts upon them, boundless—starried— They weep repentant tears, that they so long have tarried.

"The Three Spirits," "The Three Voices,",
"Our Symbol," "The Kingliest Kings," "Our Fathers are Praying for Pauper-pay," "The Martyrs," "The Last of the Queens and the Kings," "The Song of the Red Republican," &c., &c., are powerfully-written compositions. We give one more specimen:-

PEACE.
Yes, Peace is beautiful, and I do yearn,
For her to clasp the world's poor tortured heart,
As sweet spring-warmth doth brood o'er coming flowers.
But peace with these leviathans of blood—
Who pirate crimson seas devouring men—
Give them the hand of brotherhood—whose fangs
Are in our hearts with the grim blood-hound's grip!
Would'st see Peace, idiot-like, with smirk and smile,
A planting flowers to coronal Truth's grave!
Peace, merry-making round the faneral pyre,
Where Freedom, fiery-curtained, weds with death!
Peace, mirroring her form by pools of blood—
Crowning the Croat in Vienna's fosse,
With all sweet influences of thankful eyes,
For murder of the glorious Burschenschaft!
Peace with oppression, which doth tear dear friends
And brothers from our side to-day, and comes
To eat our hearts, and drink our blood to-morrow!
Out, out! it is the tyrant's cunning cant,
The robe of sheen flung o'er its deadly daggers,
Which start to life, whene'er it hugs to death.
I answer, War! War with the cause of war,
War with our misery—want and wretchedness,
War with curst gold, which with an endless war,
On Love, and God, and our Humanity!
Brothers, I bid ye forth to glorious war!
Patch fig-leaves o'er the naked truth no more,
The stream of time runs red with our best blood!
Time's seed-field we have sown with fratricide,
And dragon's teeth have sprung, aye, from our hearts.
O! we have fought and bled, on land and sea,
Heapt glory's car with myrinds of the brave,
Spilt blood by oceans—treasnres by the million,
At every tyrant's beck—had we but sbed
Such warn and eloquent blood for Freedom's faith,
War's star in heaven had lost its name ere now.
"Brothers!" I cried, well Brothers, brother slaves! Such warm and eloquent blood for Freedom's faith, War's star in heaven had lost its name ere now.
"Brothers!" I cried, well Brothers, brother slaves!
Slaves, who have writ "Content" upon their lentels.
To save the unforgiven of the Lord,
From his midnight avenger,—gore-gorged Pharoahs!
Who yet must taste the Red Sea's hitter waters.
O! but to give ye slaves the Red Sea's hitter waters.
O! but to give ye slaves the valiant heart.
Whose dumh, dead dust, is worth your living souls—
Dear God! twere sweet to kiss the scaffold block!
I'd proudly leap death's darkness, to let shine
The Future's bope through your worn sorrow's tears.
Sorrow! ah no, ye feel not sense so holy,
The worm of misery ricts in your heartsYe hear your younglings in the drear midnight
Make moan for bread, when ye have none to give—
Ye drain your life, warm, for the vultures' drink!
The groaning land is cbokt with living death,
O1 ye are mated to the things of scorn.
And F have heard your miserable madness
Belcht forth in drunken peans to your tyrants—
Pledging your murderers to the hell they've made!
Ah Christ! was it for this, thou sudden sun,
Did'st lamp these centuries with thy dying smile?
Was it for this; so many and so many,
Have hackt their spirit-swords against our fetters
And killing cords, that bleed our bearts to death—
Wept griefs, might turn the soul grey in an hour—
Broke their great hearts for love—and in despair,
Dasht their immortal crowns to earth, and died?
Was it for this the countless host of martyrs, Was it for this the countless host of martyrs, Becrown'd, and robed, in fiery martyrdom, Beat out a golden-aged Future from Beat out a golden-aged Future from
The angel-metal of their noble lives—
Clomb the red scaffold—strain'd their weary eyes
Upon the mists of ages, for one glimpse
Of midnight burning into that bright dawn
Now bursting golden, up the skies of time?
When will ye put your human glory on?
How long will ye lie darkling desolate
With barren brain, blind life, and fallow heart?
The bollow yearning grave, will kindly close,
And flowers spring where the mould lay freshly dark!
The leaves will burst from out the naked'st boughs,
Pire-ripen'd into glorious greenery: Fire-ripen'd into glorious greenery;
Waste Moor and Fen, will kindle into spring;
How long will ye lie darkling desolate!
Lord God Almighty! what a spring of freedom
Awaits to burst the winter of our world! Awaits to curst the winter of our world!
Worn, wested, crucified between the thieves,
Ere night-fall ye might sup in paradise!
O! if augh moving thrills a brother's love,
Which pleads for utterance in blinding tears,
Then let these words burn llving in your souls,
Saatch Fear's cold hand from off your palsied hearts,
And send the intrepid shndder through your veins.
Helots of Albion! Percent's nurslings, rise
And swearin God smarr, and in Heaven's, aye Hell's,
Ye' will bear wittless another birth of Freedom!
Arise! and front the blessed light of Heaven,
With tyrant-quailing manbood in your looks!
Arise! go forth to glorious war for right,
And justice, and mankind's high destiny!
Arise! tis Freedom's bleeding light, strike home,
Wherever tyrants lift the gorgon-head!
There is a chasm in the coming years,
A-gape for stric's Niagara of blood—
Or to be bridged by brave hearts linkt in love.
The world is stirring with its mighty purpose, Or to be bridged by brave hearts linkt in love.
The world is stirring with its mighty purpose,
No more be leggards in the march of men!
The vilture Despotism spreads its wide wings
Right by ally, roleive ye broader mark!
And the hag Evil sickens unto death,
With Het sore travail over the birth of Good.
And soon shall War's red-lettered creed die out,
Where men are groaning, shall the wild-flowers blow,
Where men are groaning, shall their children sing,
And peace and love, re-genesis the world.

"Good wine needs no bush," and poetry such as the above, needs no recommendation from us. As to praise, let the poet imagine our heart-felt admiration, and he will excuse the omission of phrases, which, easy to be coined, are not always of the value they pass current for.

Eloquent outpourings of the complaints of the people, passionate appeals for justice, lofty dreamings of the great future, when SLAVERY and MISERY shall be no more, tributes to BEAUTY and songs of Love-such are the poems of GERALD MASSEY. May they oirculate far and wide; and may the applause of the people stimulate him to new efforts, and those efforts crown him with an increase of fame.

CORRECTION.—In the first portion of this Review, No. 20, page 177, 2nd column, 24th line, counting from the bottom, the words—"In days long gone by," should be—"In days not long gone by," &c.

Oaths among us are required on so many occasions, and so carelessly administered, as to have Iost almost all their use and efficacy. It has been asserted, that including oaths of office, oaths at elections, oaths in courts of justice, &c., that there are about a million of perjuries committed in this kingdom annually. This is one of the most atro-

The forms of oaths in Christian countries are ery different; but in no country in the world, I believe, worse contrived, either to convey the but ruined by the wars of the succession, he had but ruined by the wars of the succession, he had no other means of rearing his numerous family

Teaues from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY OEOROB SAND. (Continued from No. 20.)

"The hamlet whose light they had perceived was nothing clsc than a large farm-house where they were hospitably received. The honest and industrious labourers were eating their ovening meal before the door, on a table of rude strueture, at which room was made for the travellers without bustle or constraint. The peasants did uot ask them any questions, and scarcely looked at them. Fatigued with the toils of the seorehing day, they enjoyed their simple but wholosome and uourishing fare with silent satisfaction. Consuelo found the supper excellent, and did every honour to it. Joseph forgot to eat: besides he was gazing at Consuclo's pale and noble countenance, which formed such a striking contrast with the sunburnt peasants, tranquil and indifferent as the oxen that grazed around them, who made but little more noise than they did as they slowly ruminated.

"Each as he felt himself satisfied retired to rest, making a sign of the cross, and leaving the more robust to enjoy the pleasures of the table as they thought fit. The serving women and the children took the vacant places. · More animated and eurious than their predecessors, they retained and questioned the young travellers. Joseph gave them an account which he had ready prepared to satisfy them, and did not deviate much from the truth in telling them that his companion and himself were poor and wandering musicians.

"'What a pity it is not Sunday,' said one of the youngest girls, 'for then we should have a dance.' They east inquiring glances on Consuelo, who appeared a pretty lad, and who, the better to sustain her part, looked boldly at them in return. For a moment she had sighed when thinking of these delightful patriarchal manners, from which her wandering and artistic habits so widely severed her. But seeing these poor women standing up behind their husbands and eheerfully eating their leavings, some suckling their little ones, others slaves by instinct to their sons, and waiting upon them without minding their little girls or themselves, she perceived that they were no better than vietims of hunger and necessity. The men chained to the soil, and scrvants to the eattle and the plough; the women chained to their masters, shut up in their houses in perpetual servitude, and condemned to unrelaxing labour, amidst all the sufferings and anxieties of maternity. The owner of the soil, on the one hand, extorting the last penny of the husbandman's wretched gains, on the other hand, imparting avarice and fear to the tenant, who in his turn doomed those under him to the same sordid, remorseless necessity that he was subjected to himself. Their apparent eheerfulness now scemed to Consuelo nothing more than the callous indifference of misfortune, or the deadening effect of toil, and she felt that she would rather a thousand times be a wandering artist than lord or peasant, since the possession of the soil, or even of a grain of corn, seemed only to entail on the one side tyrannical exaction, and on the other meanness and sycophaney. 'Viva la liberta!' said she to Joseph, speaking in Italian, while the women washed and laid aside the household utensils with huge clatter, and an aged erone plied her spinning-wheel with the regularity of a machine. "Joseph was surprised to find that some of

these peasants spoke German tolerably well. He learned that the head of the family, whom he had seen dressed in the costume of a peasant, like the rest, was of noble extraction, and had

than that of becoming tenant to a neighbouring abbey. This abbey ground him to the earth with their exactions, and he was further obliged to liquidate the imperial tax on religious houses. which was imposed upon every change of their superior. This exaction was always levied from the vassals of the church, in addition to their other obligations. As for the farm servants. they were serfs, and considered themselves no worso off than the individual who employed them. The person who farmed the tax was a Jew, and, seut by the abbey whom he harrassed still more, he had come that morning to collect a sum which exhausted the hard earnings of many years. So that between their Superiors and the Jewish extortioners, the poor agriculturalist did not know which to hate or dread the most.

"'Did I not say truly, Joseph,' said Consuelo, 'that we alone are rich in this world, who pay no tax on our voice, and only labour when we please?

"The hour for repose having now arrived, Consuelo felt so much fatigued that she had fallen asleep on a bench before the door. Joseph, meanwhile, inquired about beds from the farmer's

"' Beds, my child?' replied she, smiling; 'if we ean give you one it will be very well, and you must be content with it.'

"This reply made the blood rush into poor Joseph's face. He looked at Consuolo, and finding she did not hear a word of what passed, he suppressed his emotion.

"'My eompanion is sadly tired,' said he, 'and if you could give him a little bed to himself we will pay you whatever you ask. As for myself, a corner in the barn or in the stable will do very

"'Oh, if the boy is ill, we will on that account give him a bed in the common room; our three daughters can sleep together. But tell him to be very quiet and orderly, or else my husband or son-in-law, who sleep on the same floor, will soon bring him to reason.

"'I ean answer for the good conduct of my companion; but perhaps ho may still prefer sleeping in the hay to a chamber where there are

so many people.'
"The good Joseph had now to awaken Signor Bertoni in order to acquaint him with this arrangement. Consuelo was not shocked as he expected. She thought as the three girls slept in the same room as the father and son-in-law, she would be safer there than elsewhere, and having wished Joseph a good night, she glided behind the four curtains of brown woollen which enclosed the bed, and, scarcely taking time to undress, she soon slept soundly.

"After a few hours of deep and dreamless repose, she was awakened by the continued noises around her. On one side the old grandmother, whose bed almost touched hers, coughed and wheezed distressingly; on the other was a young woman who suckled her infant, and sang lullabies to soothe it to sleep again: there were men who snored like horses, boys four in a bed quarreling with each other, women rising to quiet them and only adding to the uproar by their threats and chidings. This perpetual annoyance, the crying ehildren, the dirt, the heavy odours and heated atmosphere, became so disagrecable to Consuelo, that she could not bear it any louger. She dressed herself quietly, and seizing a moment when every one was fast asleep, she left the house and sought a corner where she could repose till day-break.

" She thought she would rest botter in the open air. Having walked all the preceding night, she did not feel the cold; but, besides that she was now overwhelmed with fatigue and in a condition very different from the excitement consequent on her departure, the climate of this elevated region was keener than the neighbourhood of Riesenburg. She shuddered, and a sonse of severe indisposition made her fear that she would be unable to support one day's journey after

another, without resting at night, when the my parents were artists, and our house although beginning proved so disagreeable. In vain she small was neat and orderly. It is true that our reproached herself with having turned into a princess, in consequence of her luxurious life at the eastle. She would have given all the world for an hour's good sleep.

" However, not venturing to re-enter the house lest she should awaken or displease her hosts, she sought the barn, and finding the door partly open, crept in. Everything was silent. Thinking that the place was empty, she lay down on a heap of straw; the heat and the wholesome

odour appeared delicious.

"She was just falling asleep, when she felt on her face a warm moist breath, which was suddenly withdrawn with a snort and what seemed to her a stifled imprecation. Her first apprehension being allayed, she perceived in the twilight a huge head surmounted by two formidable horns, just above her. It was that of a fine cow which had thrust its head into the rack, and having breathed on her, drew back affrighted. Consuelo withdrew into the eorner, so as not to disturb her, and fell fast asleep. Her ear soon grew aecustomed to all the noises of the place, to the clank of chains, the bellowing of heifers, and the rubbing of their horns against the bars. She did not awake even when the milkmaids came in to drive out the beasts to be milked in the open air. The dark corner where Consuelo had taken refuge hindered her from being observed, and the sun was high in the heavens when she next opened her eyes. Buried in the straw, she enjoyed for a few moments the comfort of her situation, and was delighted at feeling herself refreshed and rested, and ready to resume her journey without effort or inquietude.

"When she started up to look for Joseph, the first object she encountered was Joseph himself seated

beside her.

"'You have occasioned me great uneasiness, Signor Bertoni,' said he. 'When the young women informed me that you were not in the apartment, and that they did not know what had become of you, I sought you everywhere, and it was only in despair that I returned here where I passed the night, and where, to my great surprise, I have found you. I left the barn in the gray of the morning, and had little idea that you were then close by me, and under the very nose of this animal who might have hurt you. Really, signora, you are very rash, and you do not reflect on all the perils to which you expose yourself.'

"'You see, Joseph,' replied Consuelo, 'that in my imprudence Heaven does not abandon me, since it conducted me to you. It was Providence who caused me to meet you yesterday morning hy the fountain, when you shared your good will and your hread with me, and it was the same Providence which confided me this night to your brotherlycare."

"She then related to him, laughing, the disagreeable night she had passed in the common room, and how happy and tranquil she felt among the cows.

"'It is true then,' said Joseph, 'that the beasts have a more agreeable habitation and hetter man.

ners than those who take eare of them?

"'That is just what I was thinking of before I fell asleep in this manger. These animals caused me neither terror nor disgust, and I blamed myself for having contracted so aristocratic habits, that the society of my equals, and contact with their indigence, has become insupportable to mc. How comes it so, Joseph? He who is born in poverty, should not experience when he falls back into it, the disdainful repugnance to which I have yielded. When the heart is not perverted in the lap of luxury, why should one remain fastidious, as I have been to night in shunning the nauseous warmth and noisy confusion of this poor swarming human hive?

". It is because cleanliness, purity, and order are doubtless wants of all elevated minds,' replied Joseph. 'Whoever is born an artist has the feeling of the beautiful and the good, just as he feels aversion for the hateful and ugly. And poverty is ugly! I am myself a peasant; I was born in a cottage. But poverty bordered on comfort, while excessive privation takes away even the sense of what is better.

"'Poor people!' said Consuelo, 'if I were rich I would forthwith huild them a house; and were I a queen, I would put down these taxes, these Jews, and these monks who prcy upon them."

"'If you were rich you would never think of it; if you were a queen you would not do it.

runs the world.

"'The world runs very badly then.'

"'Alas! yes; and without music, which transports the soul into an ideal world, we should be miserable when we think of what is going on here below.

"'It is easy to talk of being miserable, Joseph, but what good does it do? it is better to grow rich, and remain happy.'

"' And how is it possible, unless all poor people

were to turn artists?

"' That is not a bad idea, Joseph. If the poor had a love of art, it would ennoble their sufferingt and lighten their misery. There would then exiss no longer uncleanliness, discouragement, or neglect; and the rich would no longer harass and despise the poor. Artists, you know, are always somewhat respected.'

" 'Ah! I never thought of that before,' replied Haydn. 'Art, then, may have a serious aim, and

one truly useful to mankind?'

"' What! did you think it was no better than an amusement?'

"' No, 1 held it to be a disease, a passion, a storm raging in the heart, a fever that communicated itself to others-in short if you know what it is, tell me.'

"'I will tell you when I find out myself, Joseph; but it is something very great; no doubt of that. Come let us set out, and do not forget your violin -your only inheritance, friend Beppo, and the foundation of our future opulence.""

They take their departure. Consuelo discourses to her companion on the virtues of her betrothed. Albert. On his part Haydn opens his heart and tells her how he also is in a manner engaged. This he does both to gain her confidence and to raise up a barrier against rash desires-

"The romance of his affection was less poetical than that of Consuelo; hut he who knows the issue of this romance in Haydn's after life, is aware that it was not less noble-minded or less pure. had evinced a preference for the daughter of his generous host, Keller the barber, and the latter seeing this innocent attachment, said to him: Joseph, I confide in thee; thou dost appear to love my daughter, and I see that she is not indifferent to thee. If thou art as honest and successful as thou art grateful and laborious, thou shalt be my son-in-In a moment of exaggerated gratitude, Joseph had sworn-promised; and though his betrothed did not inspire him with the least passion, he considered himself bound to her for ever.

"He related all this with a feeling of melancholy, suggested by the difference between his actual position and his intoxicating dreams with reference to Consuelo. Nevertheless, the latter looked upon it as evineing the warmth of his attachment for Keller's daughter. He did not venture to undeceive her, and consequently her estccm and confidence in Beppo's good faith increased proportionately.

Their progress therefore was not interrupted by any of those symptoms of love, which might have been anticipated from a tete-a-tete journey of two amiable, intelligent, and sympathetic young persons for fifteen days together, although Joseph felt not the slightest love for Keller's daughter. He allowed the fidelity of his conscience to be taken for that of his heart, and though his bosom chafed, he knew so well how to subdue his feelings, that his unsuspecting companion never had the least suspicion of the truth. When Haydn in his old age read the first book of Rousseau's Confessions, he smiled through his tears as he recalled to mind his journey through the Böehmer Wald with Consuelo-trembling love and pious innocence their only guardians."

(To be continued.)

Advertisements.

SHORTLY WILL BE PUBLISHED.
A NEW WEEKLY DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER, TO BE ENTITLED THE

FRIEND of the PEOPLE.

EDITED BY

JULIAN HARNEY AND ERNEST JONES. JULIAN HARNEY AND ERNEST JONES.
This Journal will be devoted to the exposition and advocacy of uncompromising Democracy, and the Social Rights of the Millions. In addition to its political features, the "Friend of the People" will contain reports of the Debates in Parliament, Public Meetings, &c., also Legal, Police, Mercantile, and general intelligence.

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Yearly, £1.

THE HOME, edited by RICHARD OASTLER.
Office, No. 2, York-street, Catherine-street, London.
On Saturday, the 3rd of May, will be Published, No. 1, of
the Penny Weekly Paper, called
"THE HOME."
"The Home" will be addressed to the working classes;
the object of the Editor being, to explain to them the

the object of the Editor being, to explain to them the principles on which our Christian and Protestant Institutions are founded, and to trace the sufferings of the poor, and the insecurity of the rich, to a departure from those

principles.

The Editor of "The Home" is convinced, that it is both the duty and interest of a government to care for and protect the well-being of all the members of the state. The fallacy of attesting that well-being by a reference to The fallacy of attesting that well-being by a reference to an increasing export trade and a rising revenue, co-existing with an increase of criminals, paupers, and police, will be made plain. The false and unconstitutional principle on which the present poor-law is found d, and its disorganising effects on society, will be contrasted with the truthful and constitutional principle of the 43rd of Elizabeth, and the beneficial results thereof.

The encroachments of Popery will be resisted.

Home Agriculture and Manufacture will be defended in preference to Foreign Manufacture and Agriculture.

in preference to Foreign Manufacture and Agriculture. The madness of inviting a competion of the world's labour with our own—of trusting for our prosperity to the growth and manufacture of a foreign plant, and of exposing the labour of man to a deadly, because unregulated, competition against steel, iron, wood, and steam, will be fully considered.

The late successful attack of the "Nanohester men"

The late successful attack of the "Manchester men" upon John Fielden's Ten Hours' Factories Regulation Act will be unceasingly repelled, until the just rights of the factory workers be again recognised by law, through the enactment of a Ten Hours' Bill, in which there shall be

no mistake.

no mistake.

Free Trade, in its fullest sense, will be fearlessly discussed. The writings of Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, M'Culloch, Say, Mill, and Atkinson, will be examined, and the arguments for and against free action (or, as it is called, Free Trade) will be submitted to a searching investigation; and from those authors it will be demonstrated that the whole theory of Free Trade, which has at present obtained the support of Parliament, is tounded in error.

in error.

The real identity of interest between Agriculture and Manufacture will be proved.

The claims and interests of the Colonics, in their relations and interests of the colonics.

tion to the mother country, will be a feature in "The Home." The interest of the Mercantile Navy, and the effects of recent legislation thereon, will be fully consi-

The position of the foreign Refugees now resident among us; their relation to their own countries and to England, will be discussed.

Correspondence from the various societies established

Correspondence from the various societies established throughout the country, to support native agriculture an manufacture, will receive marked attention.

The pages of "The Home" will be open to the various Trades of the United Kingdom, for the discussion of all questions bearing legitimately on their condition,

The circulation of "The Home" will be a matter of interest to all men and societies who are engaged in promoting the advancement of native industry, whether known by the name of "Protectionists," "The Trades," "Ten Ilours' Bill Men," "Farmers," "Colonists," or "Shipowners,"

"The Home" will be an advantageous vehicle for advanta

"The Home" will be an advantageous vehicle for ad-

"The Home" will be an advantageous vehicle for advertisers, at home and in the Colonies. The last page will be appropriated to them, and being divided into three columns, the charge for an advertisement of five lines and under, will be five shillings; every line in addition will be charged Sixpence; to be paid in advance.

"The Home" may be had from the Office, post-paid, for Two-pence, and sent to any part of the kingdom. As the principles of the Editor are "Live and Let Live," he strenuously recommends all subscribers to "The Home," to order it from their regular Booksellers and News Agents.

All Booksellers and News Agents are informed that "The Home" may be had from the Office, and the usual allowance will be made.

All Literary Communications for "The Home" must be addressed to Mr. Oastler, Norwood, Surrey.

Orders for "The Home," and advertisements, to be addressed to Mr. George Mudie, No. 2, York-street, Catharine-street, Strand, London.

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TE TO OF THE PROPIE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 22.7

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1851.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according . conscience, above all liberties."—Milton.

THE GREAT EXHIBITION.

THE "opening day" of the Great Exhibition came according to Almanac appointment, but the Foreign Socialist Insurrection came not. The 1st of May is past, and the honourable member for Nottingham, instead of having won the crown of martyrdoin by dying on the floor or the shore—we forget which—resisting the foreign invader, is all alive and kicking. Like "the earthquake" and "the millen-ium," the "bloody revolution" is postponed to "a more favourable opportunity.". Due notice of "the interesting event" will appear in the Times, New York Herald, and Northern. Star .:

The sight-seekers mustered strong beyond all precedent on the 1st of May. Having no taste for crushing, and prefering the quiet of home to the pleasure (?) of forming one of a sweltering mass, whether at an execution or a pageant, I, like most of my country readers, must take on trust the statements of the newspapers as to the "loyal enthusiasm" of the multitude. No doubt the spirit of flunkeyism yet inspires a large number of the people—the working as well as other classes; it may therefore be held worthy of credence that some thousands began to take up their stand as early as five o'clock in the morning, with the foreknowledge that they would have to pass seven mortal hours ere their eyes would be blessed with a sight—not of the Exhibition—but the Queen! At length she came, they saw-a carriage, proceeding at a smart pace, escorted by mounted guards brandishing naked steel. There was some cheering, for some one said "The last of the carriages is the Queen's," and cheered; thereupon others joined chorus. But great was the disappointment. The lovers of spectacle had expected a grand show, Royalty exhibiting in a stately procession moving at a slow and gold, and who had paid three guineas

and dignified pace, from the one palace to the other. Subsequently, the "Mother of Her People" made some atonement for the morning's scamper, by exhibiting herself and family in one of the balconies of Buckingham Palace to a loyal but somewhat diminished section of the holiday-makers.

The full blaze of royalty was reserved for the enraptured sight of the three-guinea aristocrats, assembled to the number of twenty-five thousand, within "the Crystal Palace." If any of my readers need an emetic, let them read the sixteen columns of almighty bosh in the Morning Chronicle. A band of the plushbreeches gentry must have been employed to get up that report; the ordinary "gentlemen of the press" never could have accomplished such a remarkable feat of flunkeyism.

A portion of the imposing ceremony consisted of a prayer delivered by the Archbishop of CANTERBURY. The prayer contained the following: "We acknowledge, O Lord, that Thou hast multiplied upon us blessings which Thou mightest most justly have withheld. We acknowledge that it is not because of works of righteousness which we have done, but of Thy great mercy, that we are permitted to come before Thee with the voice of thanksgiving; and that, instead of humbling us for our offences, Thou hast given us fresh cause to praise Thee for thine abundant goodness'

"O, for aforty-parson power, To sing thy praise, Hypocrisy!"

No doubt the Archbishop, with his thousands of pounds yearly, and his splendid palaces has good cause to be grateful for "the blessings," which might most justly" be "withhas good cause to be graction as ings," which might most justly" be "withheld" from such a preacher of the Gospel of Jesus of Nazareth. No doubt "His Gracc," for once in his life, tells the truth, when he confesses that it is "not because of works of righteousness," that he and his fellows enjoy all the luxuries and delights of life. But, why stop short at the confession of "offences," without adding a word of promise to smead, or anything in the shape of misc to amend, or anything in the shape of an act of atonement? We are told by the reporters that the "miserable sinners," who were flaunting in satin and diamonds, purple

each for admission, were "dceply affected" during the prayer. Happily, they were not too much cast down, as may be inferred from the reporter's note, that when "Her Majesty retired, a great number rushed into the refreshment rooms, clamouring, not in vain, for ices and jellies." Poor "miserable sinners!"

The "pageant," such as it was, was essentially aristocratic. Confined to the interior of the Exhibition, performed by the Queen, her courtiers, chief priests, and soldiers, and witnessed only by the representatives of "the golden million," it wanted all that was needed to make it really national. The works of art and industry exhibited in the building may be looked upon as so much plunder, may be looked upon as so much plunder, wrung from the people of all lands, by their conquerors, the men of blood, privilege, and capital. The ceremony of opening the Exhibition has been called the "Festival of Labour." It was, in truth, the festival of a horde of usurpers, idlers, and sybarites, met to exult over the continued prostration of Labour, and the conservation and extension of their own unholy supremacy.

I can imagine a fête worthy of an Industrial Exhibition, in which the people at large should participate. I can imagine artists and artizans, workers from the field, and the factory, the mine, and the ship, summoned to take their part in a Federation of Labour, combining Industry, Art, and Science. I can imagine Hyde Park our Champ de Mars, and see the trades of London marching in their thousands, with their banners and emblems, from all parts of the metropolis, accompanied by deputations from the agricultural producers, the miners, and all trades and crafts throughout the island. I can imagine the Exhibition opened, not in the presence of the richest, but of the worthiest of the nation, selected by popular election, to represent not a class, but all. I can imagine a rich array of material wealth, which would testify to the enjoyment, as well as to the skill and industry of the workers; and of which the profit and the glory would be theirs, un-touched by useless distributors and exploiting capitalists. Lastly, I can imagine that such a fete-such an Exhibition-will be only when the working-classes shall first have re-

nounced flunkeyism, and substituted for the rule of masters, and the royalty of a degenerated monarchy,-"the Supremacy of Labour, and the Sovereignty of the Nation."

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIAL PROPA-GANDISTS TO THEIR FELLOW WORK ING MEN.

" We rise for liberty, Justice shall be our guide.

BRETHREN,—As Democrats, we believe in the sublime principle embodied in the sentiment— "All men are brethren."

That liberty and equality are the inherent rights of the human race.

That all who encroach upon those rights, do so in defiance of God's ordinance; and that in so doing they prove themsolves traitors and tyrants, whom we are justified in depriving of the opportunity for longer exercising the power they have unjustly usurped, to the prejudice of the only legitimate sovercign-the People.

That Democracy alone recognises the true nobility of manly muit-of honest conscientious integrity, apart from all vain and empty distinctions,

which we despise and loache.

As Socialists, wo believe Socialism to imply a state of society based upon an universal principle of mutual assistance, mutual confidence, and mutual obligation; for these are the beautiful and holy precepts expounded by the early Reformers, and we have faith in their doctrine; it is the only true and pure religion, being void of pomp and self-glorification. It is the religion of Fraternity! and conveys to our minds the fact, that man was ordained for a higher and nobler destiny than that of incessant slavery during his sojourn upon earth. And this belief is supported by a preponderating and convincing evidence to our senses; an evidence which induces us to abjure all outward or sectarian forms, the while we cherish the principles of virtue within our hearts, and practise them to the utmost of our power.

De Foe, in his "Truo-born Englishman," says-

"Wherever God crects a house of prayer, The devil always builds a chapel there; And 'twill be found, upon examination, The latter has the largest congregation."

In this wo coincide; for ours is not the faith exerted over weak and pusillanimous minds by designing men, who, under the garb of sanctity, make the uncorrupt and fundamental truths of pure Christianity subscrient to the basest of purposes.
No! ardent, enthusiastic, and heartfelt in the

glorious work of Human Redemption, we have thought deeply upon this great question, and from thinkers have resolved to become expounders, to give utterance to our thoughts among our fellow working-men, in order that they also may turn their attention to this all-absorbing subject, and in like manner propagato the tenets of Social Demo-

cracy.

Knowing, from experience, that the policy of all tyrants is to effectually prevent, if possible, the progress of mental development, by persecuting those teachers who, honest and conscientious, dare, in the teeth of their vile class-made laws, gagging acts, clauking fetters, and dark, dreary, miserable dungeons, enunciate pure and wholesome truths; we deem it nobler for the oppressed (as beings endowed with a perfect, although undeveloped organization), to struggle fearlessly against wrong-to resist all tyranny-and to crush the creators of wrong by a powerful and united moral effort, than to submit, like base cravens, to an enforced slavery, the bonds of which might be snapped asunder like twigs, if they would but set their minds to the task.

We hereby exhort all true men, all carnest thinkers, and sterling democrats, to aid as in our endeavours, for we have not associated under the idea of antagonism to any party of Reformers, on the contrary, if they are honest in their intentions, we will give them credence for such, as far as they may travel upon our road; but at the same time, be it understood, that we are no "halfmeasure-men," with us it is-

> Life and Liberty, Or Death, in preference to Slavery.

Thus, we may, with justice, be considered the recruiting party-ploneers-and skirmishers, of the Great Democratic army, daily increasing in num-

ber, strength, and efficiency.
Hence our designation of Propagandists, which we are resolved to maintain and exemplify, as far as our humble abilities, and limited means, will admit; for, although but a small party, our members are steadily increasing, and embrace young, unflinching, and determined men, disinterested in their efforts, and bent upon sowing the seeds of Unity and Brotherhood in the breasts of our fellowmen; of exposing the evils existing in the present corrupt state of society; of shewing the fallacy and villany of oligarchical dominion; and of explaining the remedy for the many abuses which afflict and crush down the industrious class, by going forth among them, in the snbnrban districts and poorer neighbourhoods, where the acknowledged leaders of the movement-in consequence of their multifarious duties—are prevented from attending.

And now, Brothers, having explained our objects, let each of you put this one simple question to yourselves--" What can I do for the future?" We believe that we can do much, and that you have also the opportunity for so doing, if you properly direct yourselves to the task. But to effect a successful issue to your efforts, it will be necessary to call such an amount of moral courage to your aid, as shall enable you to grapple effectively with all obstacles that may be opposed to your progress. For this reason we think that a patient investigation of the causes of, and remedy for, existing abuses, is a most necessary subject for earnest study, and that to communicate the result of such research to our fellow-men-more especially those who are too dilatory to seek for themselves-who, possessing an innate love of ease, or, believing that all efforts npon our prrts will be of little, or no avail, quietly resign themselves to a vile servitndc, without an effort to avert it, is a paramount duty; for it is these men whom we must incite to inquiry, by arousing them to a sense of their degraded position, and by endeavouring to force conviction upon their minds by undeniable and truthful argument.

See that you are well informed upon all subjects connected with political and statistical matters, so that your views be neither limited or mistakenso that no feebleness, or hositation, may characterise your proceedings, but that a truly vigorous policy, in which neither wavering, nor irresolution, shall indicate to your enemies that you are undecided as to the course you shall pursue, may be the result of your woll-matured deliberation. A manliness of action-a high resolve and mightiness of purpose, harmonising powerfully together, can alone accelerate the advent of a bona-fido Democracy, which must, in the future, supersede the present system of oligarchical dominion and monarchical abuse. Forget not, that millions of wretched beings are enduring the very extremes of misery; that their attenuated forms, haggard looks, piteously agonising shricks, and groans of despair, should cause to vibrato in your bosoms a chord that shall incite you to fly at once to their rescue. If ye are men, your hearts will bleed for them, and burn with indignation towards their oppressors, whose days are numbered if you but do your duty, by rallying under the crimson banner of The Universal Republic, Democratic, and Social.

Signed on behalf of the society,

John Athol Wood, Treasurer. J. Bedford, sen. Secretaries. T. Washington.

NATIONAL PETITION. *

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled,

The humble petition of-

Sheweth, That the people of this country, in great numbers, have called upon your honourable House to grant them the right of the franchise, on the principle that every tax-payer oug'it to be an elector.

That a measure for that purpose, entitled "The People's Charter," and embodying the following details: Universal Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, Anunal Parliaments, Equal Electoral Districts, No Popery Qualifications, and payment of Members -was composed by members of your honourable House, jointly with certain persons of the class at present denied the right of-representation, and was afterwards submitted to your_honourable House, and has from time to time been urged upon your adoption by the petitions of the people.

That the provisions of that measure have severally been acknowledged as sound and just.

That these facts are too well known to your honourable House to reuder any lengthcned enforcement of them at all necessary.

That, therefore, your petitioners beg of your honourable House for hwith to enact that the provisions of the leople's Charter be the law of the

And your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

Correspondence.

The Editor is not to be held responsible for the opinions of Correspondents.]

A RELIGIOUS REFORMATION.

Not to interfere with any other mode of advancing Democracy but to assist every well directed effort, I beg to suggest-

A RELIGIOUS REFORMATION.

Understand me: I would not like to see individuals pretending to become religious and meddling with the Religious Movement, but who were not religious truly. I want cach party to work their own part. I only advocate for those who truly feel a necessity for religious reformation, and who would advecate it sincerely.

A Reformation could be begun and carried on casier in England than in Scotland, because the Service of the Litany being all read and sung, any man that could read could do this, and the very short Sermon also read could be very easily done

by plain unassuming men.

In Scotland we have a greater amount of genius to contend against, and therefore would require greater skill, and more ability but I believe, even in this, Scotland would not be found wanting if called to the contest.

A lay pastorage once established, several huadred places might be opened every sabbath-day for public and mutual instruction. A friendly and reciprocal interest onec established, and itinerancy recognised, we would have the herald of truth traversing the length and breadth of the land, once a week.

I am particularly in favour of itingrancy, it is in my opinion the very soul and essence of every movement.

There might be soveral Churches established in the metropolis. Every church would be indepen-dont in itself, and divide itself into groups of readers, or preachers, singers, doorkeepers, &c., &c. While a unity of agreement would be recognized by the whole movement.

I feel quite satisfied that, so far from anything of this kind being a drag upon any other movement, it would greatly aid and assist. Could we once command the pulpit and the press we might overcome all opposition.

Glasgow.

Yours truly, W. WALKER.

* Published by the Chartist Executive, and recom-mended for general and immediate adoption.

CHARTIST ETHICS.

If an offence comes out of the truth, better is it that the offence come than that the truth be concealed, when the knowledge of the truth is useful.

St. Jerome Amplified.

In former articles I have remarked that Chartist Ethics must be recast, unless we wish for a recurrence of past failures. Our theories of political justice are far above our theories of political action and expression. Misdirected action and wrathful expression result from imperfect theories of human nature, and of the formation of opinion; though men may never ask themselves what those theories arc. Chartist action and modes of expression are the result of Chartist Ethics. Hence the necessity of them being recast.

That the unenfranchised population of Great Britain amounts to 6,000,000 is well known and the enfranchised to but 1,000,000. Our business is, to awaken in the six millions the spirit of Reform, the love of justice—to overcome the inertia of human nature, and stimulate them to energetic and generous action.

Chartist Ethics have not been wide enough to take in, nor generous enough to recognize the whole of this heterogeneous mass of unenfran-

chised opinion.

Many may ask, why continually refer to our mistakes? Few deny that errors and follies have been committed, but these are not to be retrieved by barren declamation. I speak of them because they must warn us of the shoals and quicksands of the future. When a ship is wrecked upon an unknown rock or shore, the bearings of the place are dotted down in the nautical chart. So must we dot down in our chart the mistakes, the errors, and follies that have so often caused our wreck, that we may be able to steer clear of them in future. Do not think that whilst I perceive the failings and vices of Chartists, that I do not perceive and appreciate their successes and virtues. Men seldom fail to glorify their successes or to know their virtues; whilst their vices are generally unknown to them, and their failures are mostly placed to the account of any others but themselves. This is why I persist in keeping our failures and errors in view and in bringing them home to ourselves. I do not forget that the pastlamentable as that past is-was in a great degree necessary. If we had not passed through it we should have to pass through it. Man eannot be made to leap forward in political and social knowledge, nor in the practice of it. He only moves by slow degrees. As he gains experience, moving on from point to point. Chartist experience is necessary for chartist success, and it is proverbial that experience is of little value unless well paid for. If our future policy is based upon past experience, ultimate success is certain. If that experience is disregarded—if passion blind us, preventing a steady gaze on the past—if experience does not illumine the future—failure is as certain as success is inevitable in the other case.

The Editor of the "English Republie," asks, shall we, in our next dictionary, read, for Chartist, empty braggart?" I say no: because it would be untruc-unjust to many. I say we will not read for Chartist, empty braggart; but I do not say that there has not been much done and said-inuch left undono that would justify such a reading. Therefore is it, that I have a few words to say upon Chartist Ethics, (that is, the principles of conduct upon which Chartists have acted, consciously or unconsciously). From the history of Chartism may be deduced its ethics. They appear to be these: 1st. That those who are not with us are against us. This, by reognizing no neutral party, increases the number and influence It makes antagonists of those, of opponents. whom an effective propaganda would make friends, if not active allies. The great mass of mankind are always neutral upon great questions. Reform, Revolution, a new religion is inaugurated and made dominant by the earnest few, long before a

majority of a People are converted. They earn success who know how to deal with the neutrals.

2ndly. That opponents do not act from principles-arc not conscientious." What man ignores his own conscience? None! How then shall we ignore the conscience of opponents? Are we so immaculate as not to be able to allow for defect of judgment in others? There are exceptions, say you. There may be. Can we not afford to leave the exceptions to themselves, and deal with the rule? Is it not our duty, rather to seek the improvement—the conversion of opponents than their destruction? If so, we must accept some other principle of action. We shall not find this diffieult if we keep in sight, that men's opinions, of all classes, are determined by their organization, by their education, or the want of it, by their training, and the society in which they move. Predetermined opinions await us all at birth, which are impressed upon us and inculcated with our first efforts of speech. Few, very few, ever think for themselves. Habits of thought are as easily acquired as habits of body. Men are no more answerable for the cast of their thoughts than for the cast of their features. "It is gradually becoming recognized that folly and crime are the offspring of disease." The converse of this is also true, that wisdom and goodness are the offspring of moral and intellectual health. Chartists have yet to learn what Hood teaches in the poem of the "Lady's Dream."

"That evil is wrought by want of thought As well as by want of heart."

3rdly. That the wider the franchise is extended whilst limited) the lesser the likelihood of justice for all." I am not inclined to give my time or means, any more than any other Chartist, to aid in carrying a partial reform, whilst there is a more effective one to be advocated. But I am not prepared to say that an extension of the franchise would be a hindrance to the advent of manhood suffrage. If Mr. Cobden thinks of strengthening the garrison, by extending the suffrage, he will be greatly mistaken. To those who doubt the predominance of the sentiment of justice-the love of truth and fair play in the great majority of men, an extension of the suffrage may be ominous. To me, whose faith is in the good that abounds in humanity—in man's love of justice and wish to embody it in action-and who believing in my own integrity and worth, dare not deny the integrity and worth of others, though their notions of justice may differ from mine, every extension of the suffrage is valuable—is progress. The larger the number to be appealed to-if appealed to in ealm, temperate and dignified language, the greater the probability of success.

4thly. "That Chartists are the People." Little nced be said upon this. The aristocrat is as much one of the People as the hardest worked factory slave. Although in all probability an oppresser by his position. His rights are as inalienable and are as fully recognized in the Charter as any other man's. Hatred begets hatred—love, love—to treat an opponent with respect is the best and easiest way of gaining respect. If you ignore his existence, he will ignore yours, whilst he can do so with safety. W. J. Fox finely says, "We all have need of kindness, this shows that mankind has but one human heart." We should learn the use of that varied language that speaks home to every heart.

The Editor of the "English Republic" says, "That Chartism has gone down in the whirlpool of its own folly" never to rise more. It has been like much that is foolish, much that is weak-let us hope, as young "Martin Chuzzlewit" hoped of America, "that it is also like the Phœnix for its power of springing from the ashes of its faults and vices and soaring anew into the sky." It remains with us to make it so. SERVO.

Let truth and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter? -Milton.

TO THE FACTORY WORKERS OF NORTH WALES.

THE labour question is assuming an aspect of the greatest importance at the present time, hence the necessity for the working classes being prepared for every crisis, and raising themselves equal to any emergency that may arise. Unless they take some steps to protect themselves from the continual aggressions of capital, they may rest assured, that the few priviloges and comforts that they now enjoy, will be gradually and entirely filched from them.

Our manufacturers are dissatisfied with their profits, and are continually striving to augment them hy reducing the price of labour, and reduction is following reduction, either directly or indirectly. The question may very naturally suggest itself. Why are the working classes continually plundered of the fruits of their hard and honest toil? And why are the producers of all wealth progressing towards a state of absolute want and starvation? It is in the first place, because we are disunited amongst ourselves. To prove my assertion, let me call your attention to the following facts:-

1st .- During the last 15 years, the spinners have suffered the masters to impose a rent-charge upon their jennies of 2 shillings per week, while, at the same time, they have submitted in some places to a reduction of 6 pence per pound, equal to a reduction of 20 per cent.

2nd.-The wages of weavers have been reduced by various methods, both directly and indirectly. During the last 8 or 9 years, the weight of the Flannels have been increased from 10 to 15 per cent, equal to a reduction of wages to that amount.

The above reductions have been imposed through ant of union amongst ourselves. We have ofwant of union amongst ourselves. We have of-fered scarcely any opposition to them, and the little struggles that we have had, have proved abortive for want of a proper understanding, and efficient support being guaranteed to ourstruggling brethren. The workers in each factory have been left eomparatively speaking, to depend upon their own locality, instead of having the support of the

whole factory workers of North Wales

In the second place, our condition is deteriorating, because we are devoid of political power. All interests, except the interest of labour, are represented in the House of Commons. If any proof of this assertion is required, it may be abundantly supplied from the statutes at large, which are teeming with laws to protect every description of property, except labour. The landlords have the laws of primogeniture and entail, by which they preserve to themselves the monopoly of the soil, and in order to make it seeure, they have fenced it round with the atrocious game laws, which, should their miserable serfs dare to infringe, the most ample and severe punishment awaits them. same practice prevails, with slight modifications, in the manufacturing districts; should a poor work-man have the audacity to steal any of his master's property, the law is ever ready to punish the of-fender; but the rich oppressor may rob and plunder unsparingly. He may deprive his workmen of the fruits of their labour, and he is not only left unpunished, but he is applauded by the "respectable members of society." Seeing that the accumlated produce of industry, capital, is protected, while the accumlator's labour is left unprotected, is it not high time that we should erect a rampart behind which we may defend ourselves from the surging billows of oppression? This may casily be done by the working men of Llanidloes, Newton, Welsh-pool, Llangollen, and Hollywell uniting in a federative union to protect their labour. Let us try to retrieve our position and while we are try to retrieve our position, and while we are organizing ourselves into trades and societies, we must not forget to contend for our political rights, without which, wo shall always be at the mercy of tyrants.

I am yours truly, A WELSH PROLETARIAN.

This is true liberty, when freemen having to advise the public, may speak free; which he who can and will, deserves high praise, and he who neither can nor will, may hold his peace. What can be juster in a state than this? - Euripides.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Monies Received. For the Refugees at Liverpool:
From the Institute of Progress, Chelsea, per C. F. Nichols, 6s.; A few Friends, Edinburgh, per John Perry, 3s. 1d. For the Chartist Executive:—(Convention expenses.) A few Chartists, Kettering, per J. Fleming, 1s.
J. Charlton, Neweastle-on-Tyne. Your suggestion that the stamped Friend of the People be brought out "in a bindable form, like, or something like, the Leader," will have the attention of the Committee. The same suggestion has come from other friends in Newcastle. The opinion of friends throughout the country on this question will be taken before any final decision is come to. Thanks for your kind letter.

will be taken before any final decision is come to. Thanks for your kind letter.

John Athol Wood. Coupling the utter failure of the alarming prediction, with the French Exiles withering denunciation, further comment would be superfluous.

W. Walker, Glasgow. No. 87, Piceadilly.

W. P. Daly, Leigh. Thanks for your kind letter. The names shall be added to the Committee.

WM. Hill, Stalybridge. Thanks. The names shall be added to the Committee.

Tor Befores at Liverpool. Monies and communica-

WM. HILL, Stalybridge. Thanks. The names shall be added to the Committee.

The Refugees at Liverpool. Monies and communications for the Central Operatives' Committee for the relief of the Polish-Hungarian Refugees, to be addressed to James Spurr, 10. Williamson-square, Liverpool.

At a West Riding delegate meeting, held at Nicholl's Temperance Hotel, Halifax, for the purpose of devising some means of assisting to support the Hungarian and Polish Refugees lately landed in Liverpool, thirty of whom have arrived in the West Riding, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—"That, in the opinion of this meeting, the mysterious inuendoes continually put forth by Mr. O'Connor in his letters in the Northern Star, concerning the refugees and bloody revolutions, are utterly uncalled for, and calculated to do those brave and noble men an irreparable injury. This, coupled with the strange and mysterious conduct lately pursued by that gentleman, renders him, in our opinion, unfit for the leader of a great Democratic niovement."

A. A. Walton.—In our next number.

TO THE DEMOCRATS

Of Aberdeen, Dundee, Arbroath, Crieff, Hamilton, Paisley, Ayr, Galashiels, Newcastle on Tyne, Padiham, Stalybridge, &c. I accept your invitations with much pleasure, and will visit each of your localities as soon as I hope to be able to announce the possible. commencement of my route in the next number of the Friend of the People.

Yours faithfully, G. JULIAN HARNEY.

NOTICE.

The Committee for promoting the establishment of the STAMPED FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE, will meet every Thursday evening, 8 o'clock, at No. 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury.
D. W. RUFFY, Sec.,

13, Tottenham Court, New Road,

St. Pancras, London. All, Money Orders to be made payable to DANIEL WILLIAM RUFFY, Money Order Office, Tottenham Court Road, London.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, MAY 10, 1851.

WANTED: THE PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT.

Some of our contemporaries have directed public attention to the important and significant avowals of the Globe on the Suffrage The ministerial evening organ question. admits that "cxclusion from the franchise is looked upon as a wrong and an injustice" by those excluded. "We may add," quoth the Globe, "that no small alterations, no chipping and chopping of household suffrage, can be looked on as anything but temporary: and that the period may not be far distant when our wisest politicians will hold the same "-nouage on the suffrage which Lord John

Russell held on the Corn Laws, and determine to get rid of the question once for all, by making up their minds to concede everything."

Here is the strongest possible encouragement to the Chartists to persevere in the path of Principle, uninfluenced by the seductive voice of Expediency. The mere fact that any "moderate" measure of "l'arliamentary Reform" would leave the question unsettled, constitutes a sufficient reason why "our wisest politicians" should dispose of the question, once for all, by discarding the WALMS-LEY-HUME project, and "going the whole hog" for Universal Suffrage.

The Whigleader is pledged to a new Reform Bill, and there can be no doubt that within the next twelve months, if in office he will introduce, if out of office he will agitate for, some measure, good or bad, providing for an extension of the suffrage. The character and scope of the proposed scheme will depend upon the manner in which the unrepresented millions comport themselves in the course of the next few months. If they are apathetic and indifferent, so much the worse for themselves. In that case the new Reform Bill will be like its author: stunted and unsatisfactory. If, on the contrary, the masses show that they are keenly sensible of the "wrong and injustice" inflicted upon them by the present system, and exhibit a proportionate resolution to have, and to be satisfied with nothing less than Justice; in that case the long-continued agitation for Parliamentary Reform may be brought to a triumphant and happy conclusion by the establishment of the principles of THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER.

That which is needed to accomplish a "Consummation so devoutly to be wished," is, simply, THE PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT.

In relation to a question of almost equal importance, the Globe absolutely solicits THE PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT. Our readers know that the term during which the Turkish government consented to take charge of Kos-SUTH and his fellow-exiles has expired. Still the refugees have not been set at liberty. The Kaisir and his councillors, burning with unappeasable hatred, demand that the exiles shall continue in custody. The Turkish government protests, but hesitates. In the meantime the lives of the patriots are in danger. Austrian emissaries have long sought to assassinate Kossuth, and failing to reach him with the knife they conspire to destroy him by poison. A horrible fact which would be incredible were it not vouched for by men of unimpeachable veracity, has lately come to light; being no other than an attempt to poison the whole of the inhabitants of Kutaja, with the view of including Kos-SUTH and his comrades in the general destruction. A number of Turks, of all classes, both adults and children, have died suddenly, and their death has been clearly shown to have resulted from arsenic mixed up with the food they had taken. The population of Kutaja declare that everything is poisoned, and the public safety compromised. Sharing the alarm the government agents have closed the retail shops. The Hungarian Committee at Constantinople have laid these facts before the English, American, French, and Sardinian ambassadors, and implored their immediate intervention to save the lives of the menaced refugees.

that the friends of Hungary, in this country. should move at once and with energy to the aid of Kossuth. We have before called upon the people to assemble and address the Government, demanding the effective action of our Foreign Office in behalf of the Hungarian chiefs. To some extent this has been done. Meetings have been held at Newcastle, Sheffield, and a few other places; but the country at large has not done its duty. Now is the time to repair the omission. We say "now is the time" because we have the best possible assurance that a movement at this moment will meet with certain success.

Discussing this question the Globe observes: "While the Turkish Government are looking to that of England for protection, it would be well for England to recollect that the issue of the question depends on themselves, far more than on any Government." "We need not repeat for the hundredth time, that the business of an English statesman is not to waste himself in Quixotic schemes, however honourable, nor to gratify personal partialities, however justly they may be founded,—but to administer the policy which is, on the whole. demanded by the party whose general support he shares. While, therefore, we press on the Government our conviction that the liberation of Kossuth through their means, would give them incalculable strength among the Liberals out of doors,-we must also remind the latter, that if they wish the Government to act, they can take no surer means to such an end, than by first heartily beginning to act themselves."

There can be no mistake as to the meaning of this. The Globe is the mouth-piece of "Lord" PALMERSTON, and the Globe saysin language as plain as a pike-staff—that if the People will only demand "his lordship's" intervention to rescue Kossuth, he will be happy to do their bidding.

Let the friends of Hungary be up and doing. The Fraternal Democrats have convened a Public Meeting at the John Street Institution for next Tuesday, May 13th, to adopt an address to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Let such meetings-where possible to be convened by the local authorities—be held throughout the length and breadth of the land, and the good work will be accomplished. We ask this not merely for the sake of Kos-SUTH, but also for the sake of the cause with which his and his country's name are identified. Every meeting held in behalf of Kossuth, will be held against the accursed tyrants of Austria and Russia; and this is, emphatically, the time for the British People to thunder in the ears of the slaves and satellites of those brigand powers-

"Their detestation Of every despotism, in every nation."

To save Kossuth and his fellow-exiles, to protest against the enslavement of Hungary and Poland, and to give a lesson to the pitiless desolators of those countries, it is only necessary that the British People should exercise their Right of Public Meeting, and apply to their Government THE PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT.

DIED-

deeply lamented by her family and a large circle of friends—at Mauchline, Ayrshire, on the 24th of April, 1851, MARGARET CAMERON, Mother of Mrs. Julian Harney. The deceased, who had suffered under a long and severe illness, died in her 64th year, having heem because of the 5th of Larry 1988. Under these circumstances it is imperative been born on the 5th of January, 1788.

STATE OF FRANCE.

THE Times states that the impression generally derived by the members of the Assembly from their recent visit to their constituents is that "the Buonapartists have lost ground with the people." "All intermediate shades of opinion, and even the personal interests of Louis Napoleon himself, are subsiding into the broader divisions of Royalist and Republican. Sooner or later the struggle must be decided between those real parties.' There have been rumours in circulation of an immediate rising of the Republicans, doubtless circulated by the police. To guard the people against the perfidious designs of the miscreants instructed to seduce the enthusiastic to a premature appeal to arms, twenty-four members of the Mountain have issued an address, in which they say to the democracy :-- "Keep aloof from insurrection, of which everybody knows the day and the hour, except the people, who alone have the right to display the irresistible majesty of their power, where, when, and how they please. In the critical and solemn circumstances in which the folly of our enemies has placed us, we have all imperious duties to fulfil. To watch over the maintenance of the law, to reveal the manœuvres of intrigue, to baffle the calculations of ambition, to denounce to the country counter-revolutionary attempts, and, in cases in which our efforts may be impuissant, to make an appeal to the patriotism of France-such is the duty, the danger, and the honour of the official position which the confidence of the people has made for us. If, by a misfortune, which we wish to believe impossible, a blind Government should rush into the adventures of a coup d'etat, or a flagrant violation of the Constitution, be assured, citizens, that it would meet in the midst of the Legislative Assembly an imposing number of representatives of the people, who, rising to the height of circumstances, and only taking counsel of their devotedness to the democratic cause, would point out to the country the perils of the situation, and would share the dangers to which they would convoke the people for the salvation of the Republic. At the cry of alarm uttered by your representatives, you, whom the sentiment of duty keeps always in readiness, would rise like a single man, and united with your faithful representatives, you would only have to prove yourselves united under the banner of the Republic to cause the enemies of the people to shrink into nothingness. This address is signed by "Baudin, Baune, Boysset, A. Bruys, Cholat, Colfavru, Combier, Dussoubs-Gaston, Duputz, Faure (Rhône), Gasticr, Gindriez, Greppo, Laboulaye, Lafon, Lamarque, Madier de Montjau, Mathe (Felix), Miehel (de Bourges), Nadaud, Racouchot, Richardet, Saint-Ferréol, Viguier." The correspondent of the Chronicle observes: "It is probable that the day is not far distant when the Socialists, who are bold and wellorganised, will no longer refuse the battle.'

Since the above was put into type we have been informed that a number of persons have been arrested while engaged in printing one of the proclamations of the "Central Committee of Resistance." Some hundreds of workmen in the Faubourg St Antoine have been discharged under the pretext of "bad trade." It is hoped by the Royalists and Buonapartists that the workmen will be driven to take part in a premature insurrection. It is believed that the Government will demand the arrest of some of the members of the Mountain.

MILITARY REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL. In No. 20, we noticed the pronouncement of the "Duke" of Saldanha against the then Government of Portugal. At the outset the movement met with no support, and, despairing of success, the Duke was about to seek safety in Spain when he suddenly found himself master of the kingdom in consequence of the garrison of Oporto having pronounced in his favour. The ministry is dissolved, and the "Count" DE THOMAR (the infamous Costa Cabral) has fled on board a British ship from Lisbon to Vigo.

RUSSIA.

FACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM RELATED BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

Russia, they say, is a model of governmental concentration; and indeed, legislation, administration, justice, religion, military and civil power, even public opinion, and public morals, are con-centrated in the person of the autocrat. There is, however, a fundamental principle of the organism of that empire, which its omnipotent chief has hitherto failed to monopolize in his person—a pinciple counteractive of his encroachments, and replacing the charter: we mean the individual eupidity, which, though being hierarchalised, gives ascendancy, very often, to the interests of the ruled, over those of the ruler. That a public functionary may rob the state, and, by bribing his superiors, escape responsibility, is after all nothing but a normal irregularity, something akin to the planetary perturbations, which terminato by re-entoring the regular cycles of the great totality of worlds. But that the government itself, viz., the Council of the State presided over by the Tsar in persona, should sanction the spoliation of the imperial purse, for the benefit of that of an individual, is verily such a strange anomaly, that we cannot refrain from furnishing our readers, especially at a time when the autocrat's offspring is to pay us a visit, with a few of thousands, of such facts, by way of illus-

Zviahel, a small town situated on the steep bank of the river Sluch, in the centre of Volhynia, had, in consequence of a matrimonial alliance of the countess Julia Popotska,—passed over to her husband, the Russian general Uvaroff, who using his influence at the imperial court, sold his little town,—now bearing the name of Novgo-rod-Voleenski,—to the crown, in order thus to obtain in it the seat of the provincial authorities. By so doing, the revenue of his extensive grounds which surrounded tho town on all sides, would have been decupled; but in consequence, either of an antagonistic influence, or through some after negligence of general Uvaroff, the seat of the authorities was definitely established at Zytomierz, and Zviahel or Novgorod-Noleenski, became a mere chief-town of a new district. By this latter arrangement the seller, could certainly derive some advantage, but to do so it was necessary to evade the "Uchrezdenie" (regulations) of the empire, promulgated by a ukaze of Catherine II. securing to the treasury a monopoly of all drinks for a distance of 10 versts (7 English miles) around each town belonging to the crown, within which all private distilleries and public houses are prohibited; and the crown, scarcely in possession of a newly acquired locality, despatches crowds of carpenters and masons to demolish every establishment of that kind existing within the magic circle, even wore it on private ground. But Uvaroff had only sold the town, situated on the one side of the river, whilst he possessed on the other a splendid inn, menacing the reduction of the sale of the imperial drinks to zero. The cupidity of the revenue officers, would at once have put the hand of destruction upon the said inn, had they not well known the influence its owner exercised at court, and had they not likewise been aware that there was never a legal severity applied to an influential man, which was not followed by the entire ruin of the officer who dared to have recourse to the provisions of the law. For that reason the exchequer contented itself with issuing a reclamation, and by so doing plunged the superior authorities into the greatest embarassment, compelling them to decide betwixt the interests of the crown, and those of the favourite. The Board of Account of the government, its paymaster, its chairman, the vice-governor, the governor, and lastly the fourth department of the directing Senate, and its attorney, could do nothing but hesitate and

shuffle, and all their natural and acquired astuteness was insufficient to furnish them with an expedient, by which to reconcile the conflicting interests. They were placed in the dilemma, either to rob the toll, or to displease the powerful family of the Uvaroffs. At last the shrewd statesmen of the council of the state, those intimate confidents of Alexander, that incarnation of the Russian people, the very man, whom Napoleon called the most cunning of all the Grecks, were ordered to decide this delicate point; nor did their cunning fail them. They stated that a radius of 10 versts must separate every private inn from an imperial town: now, two radii make a diameter of 20 versts: and whereas an inn of Uvaroff was as sacred as an imperial ukaze, the beginning of this diameter could only be computed from his inn, and therefore extend itself 20 versts on the other side of the town, so that the latter instead of being placed in the centro of the fiscal circle, was left at the extremity of its circumference. The decision was announced; the revenue officers submitted to it, and as in the mcantime a great number of inns and publichouses had been built beyond the radius of 10 versts formerly delineated,-the masons and carpenters were again sent out to complete the work of destruction ten versts beyond, on each side of the public road. The proprietors of the inns, some of whom were entirely ruined, protested against such robbery and spoliation; but their protestations were unheeded. Such is Russian justice!

WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE,

"the Canadian Rebel," who after failing in the attempt to revolutionize Canada, fled to the United States, subsequently received a free pardon, and returned to Canada, has been elected to the Canadian Parliament for the County of Haldimand, by a handsome majority.

Poetry for the People.

[REVIEW.]

POEMS AND NOTES TO THE PEOPLE.

By ERNEST JONES. No. 1. The New World, a Democratic Poem. London: R. Pavey, 47, Holywell-street.

THE writer of a review of Gerald Massey's poems, in a three-halfpenny contemporary, making honourable mention of political poets, enumerates Elliott, Nicoll, Bamford, and others, but takes care to ignore the name of ERNEST JONES. Why so? Perhaps because the reviewer never heard of ERNEST JONES, or, at least, of his poetry. Perhaps because the name of our friend is-to quote the reviewer's own words-" tabooed in what are regarded as 'respectable literary circles.' " We leave the reader to determine. It matters little. ERNEST JONES is not the man to be ignored. He has already graven his name on the hearts of the multitude, and he will succeed in inscribing it on the pillars of fame.

We hail these prison-penned effusions with unfeigned delight. To our thinking, ERNEST JONES's poetry, written previous to his imprisonment, made no approach to the merit of the poem under notice. If they all prove equal to the sample before us, we shall cease to regard his incarceration as a misfortune. It strikes us that the persecutors of our friend—especially the tyrannical judge before whom he underwent the mockery of a trial—will have most cause to rue the day they consigned the poet to a prison, and, thereby, forced upon him the leisure and consequent opportunity to take the glorious revenge of which this poem is the act and the expression

The New World is dedicated to the people of the United Queendom and of the United States. The dedication is somewhat lengthy, but altogether admirable, and is one of the most powerfully-written protests against the existing order of things—political and social—in this country, ever published; at the same time the evil lurking at the root of American greatness, and menacing the future of the masses of that Empire-Republic, is not lost sight of. As our concern is chiefly with the poem, we can make room only for the following brief extract from the "Dedication:"—

"Men of America, you are following in the wake of Tyre, Carthage, and Rome—of Venice, Spain,

and England.

"You are a republic, so was Venice—the mere republican form secures neither prosperity nor freedom, though essential for their existence. Political right may be enjoyed by a social slave. Political power is but defensive armour, to ward off class aggression. How are you using it? You are standing still while piece by piece is being loosened on your limbs. The golden curse is in your midst—the land is annually being gathered into larger masses-colossal fortunes are being formed—an aristocracy is germinating—the worst aristocracy of all, that of money and of office the pomp and pride of equipage and furniture is spreading—already gay liveries are dotting your thoroughfares-already the tramp of the mercenary is heard in your streets-military glory is beginning to poison your common sense-you are aping the vices of the old monarchics-and your men of letters, who ought to be the high priests of freedom, are contaminating your intellect. With the exception of some goodly veterans, stern old republican penmen, your literature flutters in silks, velvets, and ostrich feathers. Your authors come over here, and go into eestacies about a royal procession and a court ball-they are incentating your mind with the old venom of Europe : look to it, young talents of the west-better write in rough numbers and on homely themes, then emulate the lines of Pope or Tennyson, if tuned to the servility of courts.

"And what is the cause of all this? Wealth is beginning to centralise. It is its nature—all other evils follow in its wake. It should be the duty of government to counteract that centralisation by laws having a distributive tendency. Whatever political rights you may enjoy, they will be nullified if you sink beneath the curse of wages-slavery."

The Poem opens with an apostrophe to America, the force of which may be understood from the following lines:—

Not thine the trials that the past has known, Blaspheming altar, crime-cemented throne; Not thine to wash, when wincing at the strain, With thine own blood, the rust from off thy chain; Not thine to struggle painful stages thro', Of old oppressions and ambitions new; Of priestly higotry, and feudal pride, That—even in ruin—still corruption hide; Young Nation-Hercules! whose infant grasp Kingcraft and churchcraft slew, the twinborn asp! What glorious visions for thy manhood rise, When thy full stature swells upon our eyes! A crown of northern light shall bind thy head, The south-pole at thy feet its billows spread; With island-gems thy flowing robe be graced, And Tyrian cameos glitter at thy waist. Warm as its skies, and spotless as its snow, Thy mighty heart shall beat at Mexico; And on that mystic site of unknown Eld, A city rise as mortal ne'er beheld; Till Europe sees thy sovereign flag unfurled, Where'er the waters wash the western world.

The poet then imagines the decline and final extinction of British supremacy in Hindostan. The volcanic fires of insurrection, long smouldering, at length burst forth, and the British, overwhelmed, are driven step by step from Lahore to the ocean. In the terrible emergency of the moment a veteran soldier sprang from the ranks, is placed over

the head of "carpet generals," to save the sinking empire, if that be possible. But genius and valour in vain contend against a people whose numbers are overwhelming, and whose courage is sustained by a fanatical thirst for freedom and vengeance. Moreover, the last defenders of foreign oppression lose heart. Here is a passage which will set many a soldier thinking. First, mark the lines descriptive of the veteran leader:—

The blasts of sixty years had left him there,
With brow of silver, and time-wrinkled skin,—
A wreck without, a citadel within!
They drew him now, that good old trusty blade,
From the dark sheath neglect and want had made.

But his no host to face the glorious might
Of hearts that liberty inspires to fight.
What gain they, save they, by the deathful strife?
What meed have they, to balance risk of life?
They conquer empires—not a single rood
Is theirs; not even the ground whereon they stood,
When victory drenched? with their gallant blood?
Thiuk ye that men will still the patriot play,
Bleed, starve, and murder, for four-pence per day—
And when the live machine is worn to nought,
Be left to rot as things unworth a thought?
Or earn, for crippled limbs and years of pain,
Less than the liveried lacqueys in your train?
Go forth for others vile designs to fight,
And be themselves denied each civic right?
'Mid your seraglios, be content to spread,
In crowded barrack-rooms the nuptial bed?
Be told that merit is assured to rise,
While rank is hought before their very eyes,
And, placed at once above their veteran band,
The titled schoolboy takes unfledged command?
Read false gazettes their leaders' deeds proclaim,
And not one line transmit the soldier's name?
Behold, the peer should but by peer be tried,
The private's cause the officer decide?
Grow grey in arms, and unrewarded yet?
For them the stripe, for you the epaulette?
For them, while honours load each stripling chief,
The lash, that dare not even touch a thief?
And numbered victims! to death's shambles led,
Leave starving families to beg their bread?
Marcbed against men God never made their foes,
They think of this, and strike unwilling blows.

The grand strucgle is briefly but forcibly

The grand struggle is briefly but forcibly pictured:—

Upon a plain by mountains belted round,
Immortal guardians of the fated ground.
That hail, as the with kindred rage possessed,
Each claugour with an echo from their breast;
The powers engage;—but far from me to tell
Ambition's madness, and contention's hell!
Or revel e'er the scenes of bloody joy,
Where brute force learns from science to destroy:
Suffice it that they fought, as best became
A people's freedom and an army's fame;
Here rushed the glittering charge through volumed

smoke;
There, like thin glass, the brittle bayonet broke;
Here crashed the shot—there swept the Indian spear,
And death won grandeur from an English cheer;
Devotion vain! vain science deadliest pride!
God, hope, and history take the Hindhu side!
Here, but a lost in misused conrage strong;
A nation there with centuries of wrong!

The "white-haired general" devotes himself to death in preference to flight, and the English are driven to the sea-shore. Standing at bay the hunted sons of Albion make a last stand,—

And England conquered 'neath a setting sun.

But in vain their victory, their enemies are innumerable, and the brave (in a bad cause) succumb and retire from the contest,—

Sad wound the weary numbers to the sea, The signal's up and Hindostan is free.

Emancipated Hindostan becomes a grand empire, again is rich and powerful, and conquers foreign lands. But as the empire grows in seeming strength and glory the condition of the masses deteriorates, and slavery combined with suffering gives birth to discontent. A boy-king ascends the throne. Kindly-hearted, and afflicted at the sight of suffering, he emancipates the peasantry:

Throughout the realm bids scrvile tenure cease, In hope bestowing happiness and peace, And as a rocket on a mine is hurled, Gives Liberty's great watchword to the world.

Mistaken hope! for, since the world began,
Alaw ne'er yet has made a slave a man.
No golden bridge expected freedom brings;
Her Jordan flows along the veins of kings.
Oh! earthly foretaste of celestial joy!
Kings cannot give thee—swords cannot destroy;
Gold cannot buy thee; prayers can never gain;
Cowards cannot win thee; sluggaids not retain.

"But freedom feeds not," discontent advances, and the nobles seeing that either themselves or the king must perish, send their agents amongst the people to propagate the idea that the king is the sole author of the people's misery:—

"If burdens crush ye and if bread is high,
"It is the King—the King's to blame!" they cry.
"If famine threats, work lacks, and wages fall,
"The King, the King alone, is cause of all!"

Now comes the war against the monarchy. This is one of the finest portions of the poem. The description of the unhappy king, foredoomed a victim, not for any sins of his own, but for those of his sires, and, still more, those of the system of which he is the nominal chief, together with the devotion of his followers—particularly the ignorant, simpleminded, and generous-hearted peasants, shews the poet's intimate knowledge both of history and human nature. The king dies on the scaffold, sacrificed less by the people than by the aristocrats making a trade of revolution:

And from the event be this great moral traced. Virtue on throncs is like a pearl displaced. Break, sceptres! break, beneath the almighty rod, For every Kiug's a rebel to his God.

The people believe themselves free. Vain belief!—

lief!—
The long-expected sacrifice is past.
The people bope their Paradise at last.
The huge, armed masses all uncertain stand,
And joyous tumult riots through the land.
The nobles hid them now, with hooded heart.
Depose their arms, and to their homes depart;
In peace and confidence the future wait,
And hope the hest, for—they'll deliberate.
Time passes, and their wrongs are unredressed:
Still crushed by burdens—still by taxes pressed;
Still labour lacks—and still are wages scant—
Still, that the rich may waste, the poor may want.
No more for royal lust their blood is shed,
But petty lords demand the drain instead:
No more one lion-mouth their vitals tears,—
But thousand wolves dispute their mangled shares.
Wondering they wake to find in trust betrayed,
'Tis but a change of tyrants they have made.
Popular disaffection again bursting forth

Popular disaffection again bursting forth, the middle class direct the fury of the multitude against the nobles. Hear the precious shopocrats:—

"If burdens crush ye, and if bread is high,
"The landlords—landlords—are to blame" they cry,
"Their vile monopolies, that feudal wreck!
"Restrict our trade, and thus your labour check."

Again the struggle comes, and—
Down sinks the noble!—down the scutcheons fall!
Death strikes the castle—ruin wraps the hall!
Stout labour sweeps the gilded dross away,
And holds its saturnalia of—a day!

The middle class play the game previously played by the nobles, and addressing the people, cry—
"Disarm!—go home—and wait, while we reform!"

"Disarm!—go home—and wait, while we reform!"
But time passes—and the wrongs are unredressed.
True, 'tis no more the nobles' lazy pride,—
But heavier still the bloated burghers ride.
The name is altered—lives the substance still,—
And what escaped the mansion meets the mill.
Wondering they wake to find once more betrayed,
'Tis but a change of tyrants they have made.
Again the whispers float, the murmers rise,
And angry plaints are met with ready lies:
"The wrongs so many centuries saw endure,
"A few short months of change can hardly cure."
And "give us time!"—and "give us time!" they cried:
Another generation starved and died.

Things grow from bad to worse. We presume this will be understood in the neighbourhood of Pinlico and Downing-street:

The queen draws bounteous on—her subjects store,.

And builds a palace, to—employ the poor!

Whilst ministers, lest misery should increase,

Soothe their distress, by—doubling the police!

Certain wicked, seditious, and evil-disposed persons, moved by the devil, to promote routs, riots, insurrections, &c., &c., find their way to the Old Bailey of Hindostan [or England;] and here is introduced, and nailed to the pillory of eternal infamy, (not named by the poot, but there is no mistaking the portrait) - Baron Truro, Ex-Chief Justice Wilde. Hear him lay down the law :-

The judge decides, from high judicial seat, The judge decides, from high judicial seat,
The right to speak, petition, and to meet:
"To meet—in every public space, no doubt!
"If the police don't choose to keep you out.
"If at such meeting you may chance to be,
"And some one something says to somebody,
"Tho' not one syllable you may have heard,
"You're guilty, all the same, of every word!
"You may petition, if you like, the Throne—
"But then the ministers decide alone;
"Or Parliament;—and if they won't attend,
"What would you more?—the matter's at an end!
"Processions can in no case be allowed— "What would you more?—the matter's at an end!
"Processions can in no case be allowed—
"Except for civic feast, or courtly crowd;
"Hunts, too, may sweep the fields with battering feet,
"But men not bear petitions thro' the street.
"If you associate in your common cause,—
"That is consplracy, by Statute-laws;
"If Cabinet, or Commons, you decry,—
"That is sedition, rout, and felony.
"If you suppose the crown can do amiss.
"That's treason;—see our last new Act for this;—
"And if against the holy church you rail,—
"That's blasphemy;—to jail, you knaves! to jail!
"You have a right to meet, petitioning still,—
"Just when we choose, and say—just what we will,"
Yet came their blows so hard, so home their hits,
On cushioned seat the judge uneasy sits; On cushioned seat the judge uneasy sits;
With ignorant glibness, refutation tries:
Like sin, that reasons with its guilt—he lies:
From shallow premise inference false would wrench, From shallow premise interence talse would wrench, And spouts Economy from soleum bench:

"I drink champagnc—that gives the poor man bread:

"I heep my hunter—why that brow of gloom?

"Does not my hunter also keep his groom?

"I roll my carriage—well, that's good for trade;

"Look at the fortunes coach-makers have made."

Thou his last argument, when others fail: Then his last argument, when others fail: "To Jan.! To Jan.! you wicked men! to jail!"

For the answer of the poet (and prisoner) we refer the reader to the poem.

Persecution failing, the Gold-Kings try "Emigration:"-

Then cried those subtle gold-kings, one and all; "The cure is found! The Country is too small! "Here's not enough your greedy maws to sate; "To Ship, ro Ship, you Paupers;—emigrate! "We'll grant free passage; aye, we'll even pay, "So that you'll but be still—and go away!" Deep groan the reeling decks, obscurely massed; On pague-curst shores the human offal's east; In maddening seas the rotten timbers split, Like rubbish shot in Mammon's boundless pit; If here for land the poor mechanic ask. If here for land the poor mechanic ask,
They say his strength's unfitted for the task,
And send him there, to fell those forests' pride,
Whose barbarous life six thousand years defied! What matters where? The object's gained—they go!

The vaunted "remedy" but augments

popular hatred. Next-

popular hatred. Next—
In Ceylon's neighbouring isle a million died.
For "Ceylon," read IRELAND. The traders—
Tried from their brows to wipe the brand of Cain:
The nobles vanquished, monarch but a shade,
They scarce know where the burden can be laid,
'And, half in shame, and half in mockery oast,
Throw down their prondest challenge, and their last:
'If famine scourges, and if bread is high,
''' Tis God! tis' God Himself's the cause!" they cry.
''Made we the land too little, or too oare?
''Did we create you, or confine you there?
''Did we the harvest blight? The increase stay?
''To Church! to Church! you sinners, fast and pray!"
The people depressed and quiescent for a

The people depressed and quiescent for a time, the tyrants cxult that-

"The cowards are tame! "Men are machines, and Freedom's but a name!" At last, when least expected friends and foes, Grandly and silently the People rose!

None gave the word!—they came, together brought
By full maturity of ripened thought.

Truth sought expression:—there the masses stood,
In living characters of flesh and blood!
Each foot at once the destined pathway trod,—
An army raised and generalled of God!
Then erst was shown how vain embattled might,
Whene'er the People will—and will the Right!
They marched unarmed—yet no one dared resist:
Camps, Courts, and Councils melted like a mist. But the day of reckoning comes :-

And when amid their multitudes were seen The saddening bands of Ceylon's island green, Then from those kings of gold the courage fled, Like murder's when it thinks it moets the dead!
"Have spectres risen from the grave?" they crie
"A nation comes—and yet a nation died!"
Nor cheered, nor shouted that majestic forco;
It moved, it acted like a thing of course; It moved, it acted like a thing of course;
No blood, no clamour, no tumultuous hate;
As death invincible, and calm as fate.
While prostrate mercy raised her drooping head,
Thus came the People, thus the gold-kings fled;
None fought for them: none spoke: they slunk away,
Like guilty shadows at appearing day;
They were not persecuted—but forgot:
Their place was vacant, and men missed them not.
And Royalty, that dull, and outworn tool—
Bedizened doll upon a gilded stool—
The scal that Party used to stamp an Act,
Vanished in form, as it had long in fact.
All wondered 'twas so easy, when 'twas e'er,—
And marvelled it had not been done before.
Amen! But we fear that in Labour's

Amen! But we fear that in Labour's last battle the king's of gold will not be so

easily disposed of.

The next section of the poem pictures a future rising of the African races, and the terrible vengeance inflicted on the whites. At length peace and freedom take the place of war and tyranny; tho Jews are restored to Palestine, (much, we should fancy, to the grief of the Rothschilds and Moses and Son); the Pacific becomes the seat of a glorious and world-regenerating empire; and, lastly, a Shelley-like picture of a new earth, free from disease, violence, and every kind of evil, and basking in the sunshine of universal and perpetual happiness, closes the poem.

Of the "Notes to the People" we have no room to speak at present. "The New World" is the work of a genuine poet. Its perusal will cause the hearts of the people to thrill with joy, but will strike the enemies of justice with dismay; for it heralds the war of classes and, with prophetic inspiration assures ultimate victory to the long-suffering

millions of all lands.

Teanes from our Tibrary.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 21.)

Pursuing their journey, Consuelo and Haydn narrowly escape from being kidnapped for the Prussian army. From this peril they are rescued by two travellers, one of whom is the renowned Baron Trenck, described as being, at the time he appears in this story, ahout five and twenty years of age, and exceedingly handsome. In a conversation with his companion Trenck thus describes the armies of the "great" Frederick of Prussia:—
"'You may suppose,' said he, 'that the ranks

under inspection are those which are most sought after. You must know that these are composed of foreign recruits, men carried off by force, and young Prussians utterly disgusted and wearied with a military career, in which they are doomed to end their days. They are divided into ranks, in which they are forced to march, whether in peace or war, before a line of men more suhmissive and determined, to whom orders are given to fire on those before them, if the latter display the least appearance of flying or resisting. ranks charged with this duty neglect it, those placed still farther back-who are amongst the most insensible and ferocious of the hardened and rascally veterans of the army-are bound to fire on the two first, and so on, if the third flinch in their duty. Thus every rank in battle has the enemy hefore his face, and the enemy behind his back; friends, brethren, fellow creatures-nowhere! Nothing save violence, death, and terror! Thus does the Great Frederick form his invincible soldiers! Well! a place among these first ranks is envied

soon as he obtains it, he throws down his arms. without the least hope of safety, in order to draw on him the balls of his comrades. This despair saves many, who, venturing all on the die, and and braving unheard-of dangers, succeed in escaping to the encmy. The king is not unaware of the horror which his iron yoke inspires, and you probably know his remark to his nephew the Duke of Brunswick, who was present at one of his grand reviews, and could not help admiring the fine appearance and superb manœuvres of the troops.

" 'An assemblage of so many handsome fellows surprises you?' said Frederick. 'Well, there is one thing that surprises me still more!

" 'What is that?' said the young duke. "'It is, how it happens that you and I are safe

in the midst of them,' roplied the king.'

At length the young travellers arrive at Vienna. Consuelo hastens to her old master Porpora, who is staying in the Austrian capital. She relates to him the love of Count Albert, and all the circumstances cannected therewith. The professor denounces the proposed marriage in terms of the utmost violence, and poor Consuelo is more unhappy than ever. Porpora refuses to take Haydn for a pupil,—refuses even to see him; but Joseph, to gain his end, obtains admission in the character of a valet seeking employment. With considerable difficulty the young musician succeeds in installing himself in the house occupied by Porpora. Consuelo is introduced to the musical parties of the nobles and diplomatists, and again cochants every one hy her magnificent singing. At the palace of the Countess Hoditz, Dowager Margravine of Bareith, she is disgusted with the Margravine, but charmed with her daughter. She there encounters the Austrian minister Kaunitz. On their departure from the palace the following conversation takes place between Porpora and Consuelo, young Haydn heing present:—
""All goes well,' said Porpora to her, rubbing

his hands as soon as they were in the street, where Joseph stood ready to escort them with a lighted torch. 'Kaunitz is an old fool who understands how the land lies, and will push you on."

"'And who is Kaunitz? I did not see him, said Consuelo.

"' You did not see him, you stupid girl! He talked with you for more than an hour.

"'But it cannot be that little gentleman in a rose and silver vest, who retailed so much gossip to me that I took him for an old box-opener?"
"'The very same. What is there surprising

about that ?'

"'It is very surprising to me,' replied Consuelo, 'and such was not the idea I had formed of a statesman.'

" 'That is because you do not know how kingdoms are governed. If you did, you would consider it surprising that statesmen should be anything else than old gossips. However let us keep silence on that head, and play our part in the masquerade of this world.'

"'Alas! my dear master,' said the young girl, who had gradually become more pensive while crossing the vast esplanade of the rampart in order to reach the suburb in which their modest dwelling was situated, 'I was asking myself just now what our profession will become in the midst of such a cold and deceitful world.'

"'And what do you wish it should become?' returned Porpora, in his rough and abrupt manner; 'it has not to become this or that. or unhappy, triumphant or despised, it will ever remain the most fascinating as well as the noblest

vocation on the earth.'

"'Oh, yes!' said Consuelo, taking the maestro's arm, and causing him to moderate his rapid strides, 'I understand that the grandeur and dignity of our art cannot be raised or lowered by the frivolous caprice or bad taste which governs the world. But why should we allow our persons to be dehased? Why should we expose ourselves to the contempt, sometimes even to the humiliand sought after by the Prussian soldier, and as lating encouragements, of the profane? If art be

sacred, are not we also sacred, we who are her priests and her Levites? Why do we not live retired in our garrets, happy in feeling and comprchending the beauty of music; and what business have we in those saloons where they whisper together during our performance, applaud us absently and unmeaningly, and would blush to retain us a moment, and treat us like fellow-creatures, after we have done exhibiting like actors?

"Ha! growled Porpora, stopping abruptly and striking his cane on the pavement, 'what foolish vanities and what false ideas are coursing through your brain to-day? What arc we, and what need we be but actors? They call us so in contempt! And what matters it if we be actors by taste, by vocation, or by the choice of Heaven, as they are great lords by chance, by constraint, or by the suffrages of fools? Ha! ha! actors! all cannot be so who wish it. Let them try to he actors, and we shall see what a figure they make, those minions who think themselves so fine! Let the dowager margravine of Bareith put on the tragie mantle, ease her huge mis-shapen leg in the buskin, and make three steps across the stage, and we shall see a Strange princess! And what do you think she did at her little court of Erlangen, when she thought she reigned there? She tried to dress herself like a queen, and moved heaven and earth to play a part above her powers. Nature intended her for a sutler; and destiny, by a strange mistake, has made her a Highness. Therefore she deserved a thousand hisses when she preposterously undertook the part. And you, foolish child that you are, God made you a queen! He has placed upon your brow a diadem of beauty, intelligence, and power! Carry you into the midst of a free, intelligent, and sensible people (supposing that such exist), and you would be at once a queen, because you have only to show yourself and sing, in order to prove that you are queen by Divine right. Well! it is not so—the world is constituted otherwise. But being as it is, what do you wish to do with it? Chance, caprice, error, and folly govern it. What change can we make in it? Its rulers arc—for the most part—counterfeit, slovenly, foolish, and ignorant. Thus are we placed; we must either die or accommodate ourselves to its ways; and as we cannot be monarchs, we are artists, and have a kingdom of our own. We sing a heavenly language which is for-bidden to vulgar mortals; we dress ourselves as kings and great men, we ascend the stage, we seat ourselves upon a fictitious throne, we play a farce -we are actors. Corpo Santo! The world sees us, but understands us not. It does not see that we are the true powers of the earth, and that our reign is the only true one, while their reign, their power, their activity, their majesty, is a parody at which angels weep, and which the people hate and curse. And the greatest princes of the earth come to look at us, and take lessons in ours school; and, admiring us in their own hearts a models of true greatness, they strive to resemble us when they exhibit themselves before their subjects. Go to, the world is turned topsy-turvy, and they know it well, they who govern it; and although they themselves may not be aware of it, although they may not confess it openly, it is easy to see, from the contempt they display for our persons and vocation, that they feel an instinctive jealousy of our superiority. Oh! it is only when I am at the theatre that I see clearly our truc relations to society. The spirit of music unseals my eyes, and I see behind the footlights a true court, real heroes, lofty inspirations; while the miserable idiots wno flaunt in the boxes upon velvet couches are the real actors. In truth the world is a comedy, and that is the reason I said to you just now, my noble daughter, to play our parts in it with decorum, although conscious of the hollow pageant which surrounds us on every side. -Plague take the blockhead!' cried the maestro, pushing Joseph from him, who, greedy to hear his glowing words, had insensibly approached so

and covers me with pitch from his torch. Would not you imagine that he understood what we are talking about, and wishes to honour us with his

approbation?'
"'Cross over to my right, Beppo,' said the young girl, making a signal of intelligence; 'you annoy the maestro with your awkwardness.' Then addressing Porpora: 'All that you have said, my dear friend,' resumed she, 'though noble and inspiring, is shadowy and unreal; moreover, it does not answer what I have urged, for the intoxication of gratified pride cannot afford a balm to the wounded heart. Little matters it to me that I am born a queen, and yet do not reign. The more I see of the great, the more does their lot inspire me with compassion-

"" Well! is not that what I said?"

"'Yes; but that is not what I asked you. They are greedy of show and power. That is at once their folly and misery. But we, if we be greater, and better, and wiser than they, why do we strive with them-pride against pride, royalty against royalty? If we possess more solid advantrges, if we enjoy more precious and desirable treasures, what means this petty struggle in which we engage with them, and which, subjecting our worth and our strength to the mercy of their caprices, reduces us to their own level?

" The dignity, the holiness of art require it," cried the maestro. 'They have made the world a hattle-ground, and our life a martyrdom. We must fight, we must shed onr blood at every pore, to prove to them, even when dying of misery, even when sinking under their hisses and contempt, that we are as demigods compared with them—that , we are legitimate sovereigns, while they are vile mortals, mean and shameless usurp-

""Oh! my master,' replied Consuelo, shuddering with surprise and terror; 'how you hate them! and yet you bend low before them, you flatter them, you speak them fair, and you take your leave by a side-door, after having served up to them two or three courses of your genius.

"'Yes, yes!' replied the maestro, rubbing his hands with a sardonic smile; 'I mock them, I pay my court to their diamonds and their crosses, overwhelm them with a few airs after my fashion, and turn my back on them, well pleased to make my escape, and rid myself of their foolish faces.'

"'Then,' replied Consuelo, 'art is a combat?'

"'It is even so; honour to the brave!"

"'It is a sarcasm on fools?

"'Yes, it is a sarcasm; honour to him who can make it deep and withering!"

"'It is a perpetual war—a war to the knife?"
"'Yes, it is a war; honour to the man whose

arm is not weary, and whose anger pardons not!' " 'And it is nothing more;'

"'It is nothing more in this life. and the crown are for another world!'

"'It is nothing more in this life, maestro—are you very sure?

"'Have I not told you?

"'In that case it is indeed little,' replied Consuelo, sighing, and raising her eyes to the sercne and starlit heavens.

"'Do you call that little? Do you dare to say so, you weak and fainting heart? exclaimed Porpora, stopping afresh, and angrily shaking his pupil's arm, while the terrified Joseph let fall

"' Yes, I repeat it, it is a paltry and worthless aid,' she replied, calmly and firmly; 'and I told you once before in Venice, on that melancholy and fatal occasion which has tinged my whole after life with its sombre huc. I have not changed my opinion; my heart is not made for I have not such a struggle, and it cannot support the double weight of hatred and anger. There is not a corner in my bosom where rancour and vengeance can find a resting-place. Far from me all evil passions! far from me all feverish excitehis glowing words, had insensibly approached so ment! If, as the sole condition of my possessing as at last to elbow him; 'he treads on my toes, genius and glory, I must yield up my bosom to

you, adieu, genius and glory-for ever adieu! Crown other brows with laurels, melt other hearts with your wondrous magic, you shall never extort a sigh of regret from me!

(To be continued.)

INEQUALITY.

"WHY do animals find their sustenance, each according to its species? It is because none amongst them rob the portion of others; and that each contents itself with what is sufficient for its necessities.

If in a hive a bee were to say, 'All the honey that is here is minc;' and that thence he should go on to dispose as he would of the fruits of the common labour, what would become of the other bees ? .

The earth is as one great hive, and the inhabitants thereof are as the bees.

Each bee is entitled to the portion of honey necessary to his subsistence; and if amongst men there should be one only who wants this necessary, it is because justice and charity have disappeared from amongst them. LAMENNAIS.

AN UNPUBLISHED VERSE OF BURNS .- The Glasgow Citizen says: - When Burns was in Edinburgh he was introduced by a friend to the studio of a well-known painter, whom he found engaged on a representation of Jacob's Dream. After minutely examining the work, he wrote the following verses on the back of a little sketch, which is still preserved in the painter's family:-

> ear—, I'll gie ye some advice, You'll tak it no uncivil: You should na paint at angels mair, But try and paint the d-

To paint an angel's kittle wark, Wi' auld Nick there's less danger; You'll easy draw a weel-kent face. But no sae weel a stranger.

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FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 23.7

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1851.

PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

UNION AND PROGRESS.

THE growing confidence of the Protectionists, the disorganisation of the Liberals, and the almost daily defeats of ministers, must strongly impress every reflecting man with the conviction that a parliamentary break-up cannot be far distant. The importance of Chartist action, therefore, at this time, cannot be over-estimated.

It is not enough that steps be taken to rally the old adherents to the Charter, and to re-organise them for the great work before us. If thus much is done, but no more, there may be some noise made, but no real progress effected. To advance from the state of formula to that of fact, Chartism, instead of being, as heretofore, the ism of a sect, must become the creed of a people. I do not mean that before the Charter can be obtained the vast mass, or even a bare majority, of the people must be enrolled in the Charter Association. That is not to be looked for. THE PEOPLE, as a whole, even the majority of the People, never work np a revolution. [By "Revolution," I mean a great political change, no matter how accomplished.] The work of preparation is always performed by a minority. The people take part in the grand drama only at the moment of the dénouement. It may be on the barricade as in France, 1848, or in the public assembly as in England, 1832; in either case, whether the bouleversement is effected by physical or moral means, the omnipotent force of the masses is brought to bear against the might of tyranny at the right moment. The overthrow achieved, the people fall back into their ordinary, every-day state of being; and then progress or re-action ensues, just as the few who have thus far inspired and conducted the movement, exhibit honesty, capacity, courage, and energy, or the reverse. The few, inspired with revolutionary fervour, create, and then guide public opinion to

favour a change in existing arrangements. Opposition begets crisis; and the crisis, collision (moral or physical). The people out forth their giant strength, and the pigmies of conservatism are crushed. The few who conducted the movement thus far must, they or their successors, conduct it to its conclusion. Before that conclusion is arrived at, there may be new moments of crisis and collision, in which the people (if the movement be really popular) will participate. But their participation will, as before, be but momentary. To the energetic few—whether tens, hundreds, or thousands is assigned the mission of guiding the millions to reform the Present, and inangurate the happier Future.

But let it be well understood that the Few, however devoted, can effect nothing, unless they have the opinion of the Many for their support. The best devised schemes of reform, the most elaborate and perfect theories of social and political justice, are but barren speculations, so long as they remain unsanctioned by Public Opinion. That sanction obtained, victory is certain; slow or fast, the new ideas are sure to acquire ascendancy, and ultimate supremacy.

The publication of the Chartist Programme, in the Times and other journals,daily and weekly, metropolitan and provincial,—must have directed the attention of a multitude of persons (who neither attend Chartist meetings nor read Chartist papers) to the great fact that Chartism is possessed of a vitality, which enables it to outlive the consequences of the injudicious acts of friends, and the unscrupulous warfare of foes. Now is the time to make the attempt to impress the persons alluded to with a sense of the justice and wisdom of Chartist claims. The meetings to be convened for the purpose of petitioning parliament to pass the Charter, afford an immediate opportunity to solicit the aid of all professed friends of Progress. Not bating one jot of principle, the Chartists may nevertheless hold out the hand of conciliation and fraternity to all who profoss to desire the political and social advancement of the people.

Speaking of those who are to be won over

to the Chartist Cause, I do not allude to any party or class in particular. The persons I have in view belong, some of them, to various reforming sects, and some to no sect or party whatever—because as yet they have seen no party in which they could repose confidence. As regards their social position they belong to all classes, but principally the working. Some desire Parliamentary Reform, some Industrial Regeneration. Each and all may be brought to see that sound policy combines with sound principle to dictate their adhesion to the Chartist movement.

It must be evident to every politician that with parties so evenly balanced as they are at present in the House of Commons, a reform of the present system of representation is in-dispensable. A general election will make this more strikingly evident, should the struggle result, as many anticipate it will, in giving the Protectionists a slight majority. The necessity admitted, the question arises shall the "reform" be no better than another Reform-Bill hoax; shall it be the half-measure of Hume and Walmsley; or shall it be the admission of all to the exercise of the electoral function, as provided in THE CHARTER? Independent of the question of Right one important consideration must tell with all thinking men in favour of UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE; namely, that it settles the Suffrage question; whereas, on the contrary, any mere "improvement" of the Reform Bill, or the enactment of the "little charter," would leave a number of the people-more or less numerous-still aggrieved and still discontented.

The cause of Social Reform to be succesful must be carried to the legislature by the representatives of the entire people. What can those who desire to transform the Poor Law from being, as it is, an instrument for punishing and degrading the pauperised multitude, into a means, as it might be, of elevating that multitude to the rank of independent, self-sustaining producers—what can they do as long as this country is governed by a Ministry and Parliament like unto the present? Here and there a board of guardians, more enlightened than the generality of their class, may demonstrate that something better can be done with human beings than to set them

long as they are fettered by a system which would seem to have been designed to perpetuate panperism, their best efforts will be comparatively fruitless. What hope can the Co-operators reasonably cherish of obtaining an improved law of partnership, and such other recognition by the State as will enable them to nationalize their associations, as long as they are excluded from all participation in the legislation of the country? A like question might be put to every other description of Reformers, and they could not but admit the hopelessness of realizing their aspirations as long as the mass of the people are misrepresented in the House of Commons.

It is for the Chartists to say-to these parties: "Come, let us reason together." By so doing they cannot lose anything; they may make many friends. With new blood infused into the Chartist body, the party will soon become conscious of possessing the requisite strength to dictate terms to the miserable defenders of class legislation. Let all honest men reflect on this matter. Now, while there is yet breathing time; before the commercial revultion is full upon us; before the revolutionary storm again sweeps over Europe; while as yet men may deliberate uninfluenced by the crics of Hunger, and the shouts of Excitement, now is the hour to organize the party of the people; and to assure by UNION the steady and victorious march of DEMOCRACY.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

Correspondence.

[৫-৮' The Editor is not to be held responsible for the opinions of Correspondents.]

TO THE LABOURING CLASS.

We sow, an' ithers reap the fruit,—
We weave an' ithers wear;
We're scrimpit buith in coup an' cog,
That knaves may hac gude cheer.
But were we to ilk ither true,
Sie wrangs we wadna' dree:
'Tis discord fell breeds a' our woe—
Then gudesake let's agree.

HUGH M'DONALD.

FELLOW LABOURERS,-The greatest existing barrier to the progress of Social Democracy, lies in the disgraceful apathy evinced by a majority of our own class; that is to say, those men who are in comparatively constant employment, and receiving a fair remunerative wage for their labour. - The members of trade societies, who by combination are enabled to keep up - to a certain extent - the value of their services; -also the Temperance and Tectotal Bodies; together with those miserable unthinking benighted wretches, who either soul-ernshed and spirit-broken under their accumulated wrongs and miseries, or actuated by a morbid desire for mere sensual gratification, toil like galley slaves, or English Slaves, which you will, throughout the live-long day, half-fed, and half-clad, that at night they may drown their sprrows, in poisonous potations of those villianous compounds, "London Beer, and London Gin." The former may be very truly denominated the Aristocracy of labour, whose necessities being for the present supplied, and whose bread-so to speak-being buttered on both sides, eare not an iota for the miseries endured by their poorer brethreu, who possess neither butter, nor bread to put it upon. It is thus, a matter of small surprise, that we are subjected to the thraldom of a rapacious, ever grasping oligarchy, whom we must be content to petition like beggurs, for those rights, which, as men, we ought to demand in a widely different manner, not bit by bit, but in full.

Thus, it will be sppanent that our guestest difficulty lies, in converting the men of our own owler, into something approaching to thinking beings, instead of, what they really are, mere human machines.

Let us but achieve this most desirable object, and the success of Democracy will be next to attained. It may be deemed an almost Herculean task, but nevertheless, by perseverance its accomplishment can be effected.

To this end it is advisable that an efficient sys-. tem of propagandism be adopted, by all strue Democrats making it a point of duty to disabaso the minds of that huge portion of our order wake, influenced by a trueulent "Press-gang," look at Chartism through the party-coloured glass of prejudice; and, in consequence of the insanc attempts of a few earnest but too precipitate individuals, ensnared by the infernal machinations of that fiend in human guise "Powell," evince a disinelination to ally themselves with men whose past policy has savoured more of violence than reason, while their spasmodic and ill-judged endeavours have resulted—not only in alienating the carnest and thoughtful from the movement—but likewise in destroying the confidence of thousands who approve of the Chartist principles, but want faith in the honesty and efficiency of its advocates.

Our success depends more upon individual efforts at propagandism than anything else. Every Democrat can do much in creating that progressive mind which can alone ensure success. His policy should be Propagate! Propagate! Propagate! He should never let an opportunity escape him, either among his shopmates, friends, or even easual acquaintances. Oceasions repeatedly offer themselves, when a seed properly sown, may hereafter become a goodly tree, and bear fruit.

J. ATHOL WOOD.

THE LAND NATIONAL PROPERTY.

As the nationalisation of the land is a question which will probably occupy public attention to a considerable extent in future, it seems to me very desirable that the manner in which it is proposed the land shall be made national property, should be clearly defined and set forth, as being the unanimous decision of those who advecate that doctrine.

They should be prepared to advocate their views before the public, both in reference to the justice of their claims, and the manner in which they propose to compensate the landlords, and likewise to point out the source from whence the capital so applied shall be derived.

If this be not clearly explained, and a united advocacy practised by the advocates of national property in land, it will be impossible for the movement to become one of a truly national character, as each individual would be left to advocate his own particular crotchets, without any systematic mode of action, which would be sure to engender antagonism among these where harmony should be imporative.

The diversity of opinion already existing among those who agree that the land should be made national property, as to how that can be best accomplished, proves the necessity of a better understanding. There are some, though fortunately but few, who object to any compensation whatever to the landlords. Without wishing to give offence to those holding this opinion, I beg them to consider well what would be the end of an attempted agitation according with their views. There are others who think the landlords ought not to be disturbed in their possessions until after their decease, and then their lands should revert to the State. Others contend that those entitled to the heirship of each proprietor should be compensated before the State took possession of such lands. These and divers other opinions which are floating about in an unsettled state in some men's minds, must be divested of their crudities, and the question placed before the public in a practical, sensible manner.

In like manner the same diversity of opinion exists respecting the source from whence the pur-

ebase-money shall be derived. Some propose to levy a tax of 4s. per aere upon the land as a fund to purchase it on behalf of the State. Others think a graduated Income and Property Tax would supply the necessary funds. A third party content themselves by simply declaring for the principle of national property in land without ever saying anything at all about where the funds are to come from, although they are in favour of compensationate the landfords.

The late Convention seems to have fallen short of its mission in this respect. Because, after de-claring the right of the people to the soil, thas not pointed out the manner in which the funds are to be raised to carry out that declaration. They may rely upon it, they will be ealled upon when they present themselves before the public to point out by what means they propose to raise the purchase-money, and it would be most fatal to their cause if the appointed leaders of the people give contrary views to each other when questioned upon the subject. My object, therefore, in this letter is to create a better understanding upon this important question in all its bearings; and although I bave given the subject much serious consideration, nothing would afford me greater satisfaction than any of my friends suggesting improvement to the propositions I beg to submit to the consideration of the public.

In this letter I shall confine myself to a few brief remarks upon the several points where a difference of opinion exists among those who are favourable to the doctrine of national property in land, and shall submit propositions in relation thereto in another letter for the issue of Treasury Notes to be applied to purchase the land on behalf of the State. I will then be able to show that to levy taxes under any form to purchase the land will neither be practical nor necessary. And as to the propriety of the people waiting the decease of the landlords before they are allowed to purchase their estates, I certainly caunot see the necessity of waiting the death of any given number of landlords before the starving portion of the population are allowed to live. Because the monopoly or freedom of the soil is really a question of life or death with a considerable portion of the community.

By purchasing the land at a fair market-price, the question of compensation to the heirs of the present proprietary class will be also settled, inasmueb as no landlord ever thinks of applying to a railway or other public company for compensation to any of his children after he has sold his estate at a fair market value. Bear in mind, also, that by purchasing the land in this manner we cannot be charged with disbonesty or inconsistency.

'Parliament has repeatedly passed Acts on the ground of public ntility, empowering railway and other companies to purchase the necessary quantity of land they may require to carry out their projects. There will be very little difficulty in proving that both in point of justice and public utility the land ought to become the property of the nation. It therefore only remains for the Parliament to pass an Act to that effect. But what Parliament? Not the present nor any future Parliament similarly constituted; and that is the reason why the people ought to choose a better set of representatives to do their work. And in order that there may be no mistake when the hour of their enfranchisement arrives, regarding either the men or the measures required, the people should he everywhere instructed in their social rights, and inspired with a determination to anforce them. For this purpose the leaders of the people should go forth and proclaim the universal right of the people to the soil. That principle, being once established, the social problem would tend with as great certainty towards an easy solution as the needle tends toward the Polc. scope would then be given for all men to organize their labour as might seem to them best calculated to ensure their happiness.

By heary placed on political and social equality with their pretbran, each individual would have

perfect freedom to use his faculties in those industrial pursuits to which he might be best adapted, white at the same time similar rights being extended to his fellow-men, would always maintain the true social equilibrium, and constitute the safeguard of society. In cultivating the land, it is no business of the Government to determine whether it shall be done under associational arrangements or by individual exertion. To determine upon that ought to belong to the people themselves. Government interference ought to extend no further in the organization of labour than to afford free access to the soil, and where necessary supply eredit, and see that it is properly applied, and afford every facility for the full development of every branch of industrial operation. For the rest, it belongs to the people themselves to earry out their own industrial arrangoments.

The two principles, that of co-operation and competition, would then be brought practically to the test, in which the advantages of association would be made clear and indisputable to the meanest capacity. All opposition would thus be disarmed, as equal freedom would be afforded to all.

ALFRED A. WALTON.

THE AGE OF REASON TOTAL ABSTINENCE COMMITTEE,

Meeting in Cumberland-st., Deansgate, Manchester, to the Members and Friends of the Temperance Societies Generally.

Manchester, May, 6, 1951. BRETHREN.-It is an admitted fact, that the exertions we have made and are still making, to stem the torrent of intemperance, have not been crowned with a proportionate degree of success, to the means employed, or the money expended for so laudable a purpose. The most elequent of our advocates have often been led to exclaim "We have spent our strength for nought. Some counteracting influence has been at work, which has rendered our efforts, if not entirely nugatory, at least unequal to our fond anticipations. most eminent writers reiterate the same complaint, and we, in common with many of yearselves, have been obliged to admit and deplore the fact without daring to avow an opinion as to the It is now time that we speak ont. eause. It is now time that we speak ont. The fear of men, and the dread of denunciation, so far as we are concerned, shall exist no longer. We love Tectotalism, and desire that all men should participate in the happiness it confers. We will no longer tolerate the system of exclusiveness and bigotry which has proved so detrimental to the progres of our cause, and so destructive to its prosperity. We defy contradiction, when we assert that hundreds of our intelligent countrymen, have been prevented from joining us by the cant and the bigotry of some of our most influential leaders. How can we expect prosperity, where freedom of speech is not allowed, or where freedom of thought is restrained? You are all aware that the introduction of politics is strictly prohibited, and those who dare introduce them become obnoxious to the squires and reverends, who, talting advantage of our credulity, have lorded their views over us thus far with impunity. If any of our advocates for members, venture to make an as-If any of our sertion at variance with the current orthodoxy of the age, they are met with clamorous shouts of disapprobation, and not allowed to say one word in their own defence, or assign a reason for the course they had thought proper to take. In the former case, they are denounced as chartists, anarchists, levellers, and demagogues, in the latter as infidels, sceptics, and unbelievers; and the associations to which they belong, are gravely told by the ministers of religion, that God's blessing will be withheld from all societies that recognize such men as members. Dissensions have thus been engendered; societies have been split up, and our meeting rooms have been made the scene of crimination and recrimination. Noisy turbulence has taken the place of reason; and, alas! too many have retired from us in disgust, and again taken their place in the haunts of infamy and degradation. These are melancholy truths, and call loudly for an entire change in our policy. We

again declare, that so far as we are concurred, a change shall be made. Freedom of speech while giving expression to his thoughts, is the birthright We care not whether a man be a of every man, chartist in politics, or a sceptic in religion; if he be intelligent, sober, and virtuous, he will find a hearty welcome amongst us; if he be desirous of recommending the principles of entire abstinence from all intoxicating drinks from our platforms, we do not intend to question him relative to the course he thinks best calculated to make an impression on his hearers. Truth will bear the closest scrutiny, and the strictest investigation; it is an emanation from the Deity, and bears His impress, what then is there to fear? If by the introduction of political subjects, and the arguments used in propounding those subjects, we can by those means induce parties entertaining those political opinions to become abstainers, our object is gained, and another successful blow is struck at the and another successful blow is struck at the vicious habits of society. But some would ask? would you allow a socialist on your platform, Most undoubtedly if his object is the propagatiot of the principles of temperance. We have no righ, to question the man upon his theological opinions 'tis sufficient for us that he is a tectotaler. Perfect sobriety will adorn and dignify his character, and make him a wiser and a better man.

In conclusion, we solemnly offer the right hand of fellowship to all without distinction, who have relinquished the use of intoxicating drinks, and we most cerdially invite them to aid us in carrying out the policy we have laid down, as the basis of future operations. We are convinced the stand-still policy now so prevalent, is at variance with the spirit of the age. We believe it to be antagonistic to the success of our principles, and diametrically opposed to treedom of conscience, and the rights of mankind.

We are aware that this (our conduct) will subject us to many reproaches, and much oblequy; but we are determined to persevere in the path we have chosen, and if we succeed in bringing back the hundreds who have been driven from our ranks, we shall have effected a great work; the ultimate results being domestic happiness, family comfort, and the foundation of national prosperity.

On behalf of the Committee,

Thomas Camperle, Secretary.

OUR COMING CONCERTS.

To the Editor of the Friend of the People.

Sin,-You being a member of the Executive, allow me, through the medium of the Friend of the People, to call the attention of Chartist friends to the Musical and Dramacic Entertainment which is to take place on Tuesday, next, May the 20th at the laterary and Scientific Institute, John Street, Fitzroy Square, in aid of the National Charter Fund; and Also to impress upon them the necessity of giving that concert their hearty support. The Charter movement,—like all other national movements, cannot be carried on without expence; and as that expence is incurred in the struggle to obtain liberty for all, all should feel it a duty to bear a proportionate share.

Under the present arrangements, movements like ours make but slow progress without money. Disguise it as we may, still our greatest want is a good fund at command; and to endeavour to supply this want is the object of the series of concerts we contemplate getting up. By procuring the best available talent, the Co-mittee hope to render the concerts both attractive and instructive.

It is quite obvious the Chartist Executive could do treble the amount of good for the people, providing pecuniary matters would allow them, under these circumstances, every Chartist and friend to democratic and social progress, must feel it in-cumbent upon him to assist the efforts of the concert Committee.

HENRY T. HOLYOAKE.

The last argument of the poor, whenever they have recourse to it, will carry more, perhaps, than persuasion to parliament, or supplication to the throne.—Sir P. Francis.

THE POWER OF FRATERNITY AND

UNION.
WHEN a tree stands alone, it is beaten by the winds and despoiled of its leaves; and its branches, instead of waving on high, droop as if they sought the earth.

When a plant is alone, finding no shelter from the heat of the sun, it languishes, withers, and

When man is alone, the wind of power bends him towards the earth, and the heat of the covetousness of the great men of this world absorbs the sap that nourishes him.

Be not then as the plant and as the tree that are alone; but unite one with another, and mutually strengthen and shelter each other,

So long as you shall be disunited, and that each thinks but of himself, you have nothing to expect but suffering, and misery, and oppression.

A certain man was travelling over a mountain; and he arrived at a place where was a rock, which having rolled across the path, had filled up the whole; neither was there, besides this road, any other egress, neither to the right nor yet to the left.

Now this man, seeing that he could no longer continue his journey because of the rock, essayed to move it that he might make himself a passage; but he wearied himself much in his labour, and his offorts were mavailing.

Then he, seeing this, sat down in heaviness, and What shall befall me when night shall come and overtake me in this solitude, without food, without shelter, without any defence, at the hour when the wild beasts issue forth to seek their prey?

And whilst he thus thought within himself, another traveller arrived; and he, having done like as the first had done, and having found himself utterly powerless to roll away the rock, sat down in silence, and hung down his head.

And after this one, there came others also; but none amongst them was able to move the rock; and the fear of them all was great.

At length one amongst them said to the others, 'My brethren, that which none of us could do alone, who knows whether we might not be able to accomplish together "

Then they prose, and with one accord they pushed the rock; and the rock yielded, and they pursued their path in yeare.

The traveller is man; the journey is life; the rock is the miseries which beset him at every step on his passage.

No man is able alone to lift up this rock; but God has measured the weight of it in the balance, so that it shall nover stry the passage of those who journey together.

LAMENNAIS.

" APOLLONIUS OF TRAYA one day teaching at Epherny, saw a number of sparrows fly away under the guidance of one of their number, and explained that a sparrow had come to tell the others where some corn had been spilt. Some of his hearers went to see if this was true, and when they returned, saying it was so, Apollonius said, 'You see now what care these sparrows take of each other, and with what satisfaction they divide their goods; a doctrine which is despised by you, for if you see a man who relieves the wants of others, you consider him idle and extravagant."

THE COMMON PROPERTY OF ALL .- " As the nature and wants of all men are alike, the wants of all must be equal; and as human existence is dependent on the same contingencies, it follows that the great field for all exertion, and the raw material of all wealth, the earth, is the common property of all its inhabitants."—John Francis

Men swear so oft on every slight pretence, That perjuries are common as bad pence, While thousands, careless of the damning sin, Kiss the book's outside, who ne'er looked within. Cowper. TO THE DEMOCRATS

Of Aberdeen, Dundec, Arbroath, Crieff, Kilbarchan, Paisley, Ayr, Hamilton, Galashiels, Newcastle on-Tyne, Padiham, Stalybridge, &c.,—I accept your invitations with much pleasure, and will visit each of your localities as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully, G. JULIAN HARNEY.

** I commence my route at Aberdeen, where I am to address Meetings on Monday, June 2nd, and Tuesday, June 3rd. On the following Monday and Tuesday, June 9th and 10th, I am to address meetings at Dun-G. J. H.

NOTICE.

The Committee for promoting the establishment of the STAMPED FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE, will meet every Thursday evening, 8 o'clock, at No. 4, Brunswick Row, Queen Square, Bloomsbury.

D. W. RUFFY, Sec.,

13, Tottenham Court, New Road, St. Paneras, London.

All Money Orders to be made payable to DANIEL WILLIAM RUFFY, Money Order Office, Tottenham Court Road, London.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Moneys Recfived:—For the Refugees at Liverpool:—G. P., 2s,; A few friends, Darlington, 1s. 6d. For the Fractional Democrats:—Cheltenhain,—James Glover, J. P. Glenister, and Charles Hiscox. 3s. For the Chartist Executive:—W. Z. Bowley, Malmsbury, 1s.

Leeds.—We understand that at a meeting of democrats recently held in this town, a subscription was entered into for the Refugees, and a number of working men put down their names to contribute a small sum weekly to assist the exiles until they can obtain employment.

Manchester.—A friend has sent us a copy of the Manchester Examiner of the 3rd inst., which contains an abusive article on the recent Chartist Convention. We extract the following:—

"This great community of Manchester, is it supposed to be represented by Mr. Peargus O'Connor and Mr. G. J.

"This great community of Manchester, is it supposed to be represented by Mr. Feargus O'Connor and Mr. G. J. Mantle? We know not whence those gentlemen have got their credentials; but we have received a letter from the Manchester Chartist Association, disowning them and their proceedings altogether;—a letter, signed by twelve members of the council of that body, who wish to assure us that they 'differ, as much as any of their fellow-countrymen, from the very toolish and mischievous policy,' set forth by 'the Chartists lately assembled in London, calling themselves the representatives of the people.' We had not waited for this very proper disclaimer to exonerate the more sensible and temperate supporters of the Charter, from the discredit of participating in this blundering 'Convention.' It will be obvious that there is not wider distance in their principles and rules of action, between the consistent but unobtrusive witness to truth and justice, and the shifty demagogue who traffics on the errors

distance in their principles and rules of action, between the consistent but unobtrusive witness to truth and justice, and the shifty demagogue who traffics on the errors and evades the risks of his dupes, than there is between such men as Thomas Cooper, whom we do not find attending this London Convention, and such men as Mr. Feargus O'Connor. They, who prefer the guidance of the latter, might have joined of yore in the cry for the release of Brabbas."

Capital! Mr. O'Connor repudiated by the very gang whose shifty and trafficking policy he has constantly excused or defended. When next the honourable member for Nottingham holds forth in the Political Institute, it is to be hoped his admirers will not fail to remember that the chosen ally, the editorial friend and eulogist of the "Manchester Council," has placed on record his candid opinion that "They who prefer the guidance of Mr. O'Connor. might have joined of yore in the cry for the release of Brarbbas!"

Cheltenham.—We have been requested to publish the following resolution adopted by the Chartists of Cheltenham. "That we repudiate and view with extreme disgust the anti-democratic sentiments contained in Mr. Feargus O'Connor's letters, published in the Northern Star of the 29th March, and 5th April, reiterating the foul and calumnious statements of the enemies to democracy against our foreign brethren, which are calculated to deprive the refugees of the sympathy and support of the British people and also to retard the progress of the fraternity of nations."—Edward Shakland, Secretary.

Correction.—The name "J. Bedford, sent.," attached to the address of the Democratic and Social Propagandists, published in No. 23, should have been J. Bedford the Attach.

SERVO. In type.

"The English Republic"; "The Exponent"; and
No. 2. of "Poems and Notes." By Egnest Jones, shall
have our attention in No. 24.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, MAY 17, 1851.

THE STAMP DUTY ON NEWSPAPERS.

THE question, "What is a Newspaper?" is likely to be legally solved in the course of a few days. The long-pending case of "The Attorney-general v. Bradbury and Evans," has been brought to trial in the Court of Exchequer. The defendants are charged with "knowingly and wilfully printing and publishing a certain newspaper, called the Household Narrative of Current Events, on paper not duly stamped, as required by the statute in that case made and provided." The information varies the charge, and claims £20 for each offence. The judges are divided in opinion, and have not yet given judgment. Whatever the decision may be, it cannot fail to greatly advance the agitation for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge. If the judges decide against the Stamp Office it may be anticipated that there will soon be seen unstamped newspapers in abundance. If, on the contrary, they give judgment against the defendants, then, in all likelihood, the Stamp Office gentry will proceed in their crusade against untaxed knowledge, and do their best to " put down all unstamped publications—at least all of a political character; in which case agitation will be promoted by the persecution of the unlicensed journalists. look forward with much interest to the decision of the judges.

Perhaps our readers are not aware of an attempt to establish an unstamped daily newspaper, entitled The News of the Day. To circulate this paper in the country the projector proposes to send it, as two-thirds of the morning papers are now sent, by parcel to the towns and stations along the railways before the morning mails. It is a bold experiment, but to have a chance of success, the paper must contain not merely a portion, but the entire of the news of the day. However imperfect the effort, it may be taken as a sign that the public will not much longer tolerate the stamp tax—an impost originally designed, and still maintained, not for the sake of revenue, but to fetter political writers, and obstruct the dissemination of political know-

FRENCH OCCUPATION OF ROME.

In Parliament on the 9th of May, in answer to a question put by Mr. T. Duncombe, relative to the French Occupation of Rome, "Lord" PALMERSTON made answer that" The British Government was no party to the occupation of Rome by French troops; that was a measure undertaken by France upon her own discretion. She exercised her own independent rights, and the British Government had no right, by treaty, or by other considerations. to interfere." He admitted that "It was well known that the present condition of Rome and the Roman States, was such, as must be painful to every well wisher to the people of that country." "There had been friendly communications between the British and French Governments, relative to the continued occupation of Rome, and the Government of France had stated that they had no intention to permanently occupy Rome, but that they must be left to judge for own hands.

themselves as to the period when that occupa-tion might cease." "Her Majesty's Government could not be blind to the consideration that the French having once occupied Rome, the retreat of the French garrison might probably lead to an occupation by other powers; and it did not follow that that would be a change advantageous either to the people of Rome, or to those general interests which the British Government had at heart.'

What miserable shuffling is this! Does "Lord" PALMERSTON admit the dammable doctrine, that one nation may seize upon the territory, and usurp possession of the capital of another nation, upon no better ground, than that the aggressor has the brigand-right of the strongest? If so, it must be admitted that France may, if she can, seize on this England of ours, and garrison London with her Algerines. If strong enough to do so, why should she not? She will, according to "Lord" PALMERSTON, but exercise "her own independent rights.'

"The British Government had no right by treaty or by other considerations to interfere." What, "Lord" PALMERSTON seeing a murderer preparing to assassinate his victim, will not interfere, although he has the power to stay the hand of the assassin, bccause there is no treaty subsisting between the victim and his "lordship!" There is but one rule of right for nations as for individuals; and that which would be immoral, cowardly, and criminal on the part of an individual is not the less so on the part of an aggregate of individuals denominated "a nation.

"They who permit oppression share the crime."
That constitutes England's share of the guilt incurred by the destroyers of Roman

But then, the evil apprehended by "Lord" PALMERSTON, that "the retreat of the French garrison might possibly lead to an occupation by other powers," and Rome would but change the dominance of the Algerine for that of the Croat. Why, yes, that might be, if England is so fallen, so base, so cowardly, so emasculated by cotton spinners, shamliberals, and peace-preaching sentimentalists, that she will submit to the European supremacy of Croat and Cossack. But let her take heed of the future! The sword direnched with the blood of Italy to-day may be driven through her own heart tomorrow. May, say we? Such will be her doom, unless her sons shake off their lethargy, and sweep to perdition the miserables whose rule degrades, and, degrading, destroys her.

KOSSUTH.

"LORD" PALMERSTON has acknowledged the truth of the report that the Sultan has succumbed to the imperious demands of Russia and Austria for the further detention of Kos-SUTH and his fellow exiles. How came it to pass that the representations of the English and French Ambassadors, said to have been made in favour of the immediate rclease of the refugees, were not attended to? Because those representations were not made in an honest, earnest spirit; because the lukewarmness of England and France affords the Turkish Government no adequate support against the menaces of Russia and Austria. At least such is our conviction. If the British people desire the liberation of Kos-SUTH they must take the matter into their

STATE OF THE CONTINENT. PORTUGAL,

a rebel yesterday, Prime Minister to-day, the Duke of SALDANHA is, for the time being, " master of the situation."

For how long? Unless kicked out of the kingdom, Donna MARIA, the very personification of perfidy, will, ere long, have her revenge.

Democracy has nothing to expect at the hands of Saldanha. He is a "liberal" aristocrat. Every body knows what that means. "Men do not expect grapes from thorns, or

figs from thistles.

Nevertheless his victory may lead to other and more important changes. Should be be driven from power, by a new act of treachery on the part of the Queen, before having had the time to attempt any reform, or should he remain in office, but do nothing to satisfy the public expectation, there will, in either case, be a new rising of the people, and, possibly, a real revolution.

We turn to countries of greater import-

The Peace Congress will shortly re-assemble; yet at this moment all Europe (this country excepted) is preparing for war.

Not the war of state against state, but of

tyrants against the people.

Ere blood again flows let it be well understood who are the aggressors, the provokers to the combat which—when the storm of battle bursts-will be more terrible than any the world has yet seen.

It is the rulers, that is to say the ruling classes in whose hands king, minister, president, and pope, are but puppets and instruments, who are responsible for the blood and tears with which Europe will be deluged.

Look at their acts!

We draw up no bill of accusation, for to do so we should trace their crimes, step by step, at least from the month of February, 1848, to the present time. That would be a "monster indictment," not to be compressed into a dozen numbers of this publication. We enter upon no such formidable task; we merely ask the reader to look at a few of the facts recorded in the intelligence of one week

Turn your eyes to

FRANCE.

The provocations to insurrection on the 4th of May were made in vain. The republicans bide their time, and will not be led or driven into a course of action which would result in ruin to themselves and the triumph of their enemies. The hour has not yet struck which will command the best efforts of their heroism in defence of the Republic. But that hour will come. The traitors in power are determinded to consummate their long list of perfidies by destroying, under pretext of revising, the Constitution of '48. By the employment of falsehood, corruption, and intimidation, the traitors are manufacturing petitions in favour of "the revision;" at the same time placing every possible obstacle in the way of petitions of an opposite character. Still it is not likely they will be able to obtain a majority of the representatives sufficient to legalise the first step towards the proposed "revision." That majority must consist of three-fourths of the members of the Assembly, 563 out of 750. But the most sanguine supporters of "the revision" calculate upon not more than 450 votes, being upwards of a hundred short of the requisite number. See- able."

ing the hopelessness of a legal revision, the conspirators are engaged in studying this question :- "The Constitution being impossible, its legal revision equally impossible, does the necessity arise of proceeding to its revision illegally? and if so in what manner?'

How is the constitution "impossible?" No doubt it needs revision; that is to say for the good of the people it should be made more democratic; but that is not the kind of revision desired by the Royalists and Buona-Under pretence of revising the constitution they aim at its annihilation to make place for monarchy, in the person of one or other of the three pretenders. Unfortunately for France the ignorance of the peasantry combined with the villany of certain leaders and popular men, enabled Buonaparte, and those who pull the strings of that puppet to assume the mastery of the commonwealth; and from the hour of their arrival at power it has been the work of that crew of scoundrels to render "impossible" all that pertains to the Republic. By infamous violations of the constitution the ruling ruffians rendered "impossible" Universal Suffrage, the Liberty of the Press, the Right of Public Meeting, &c., &c., and now they are in full conspiracy to render the Republic "impossible" by subverting it.

Here are a set of men delegated to execute the laws and maintain the Constitution deliberately plotting the betrayal of both; and this not done in secret but in the broad face of day, with the sanction and applause of the writers in the Times and other literary prostitutes. The only concern of the traitors is to find out "the most efficacious and least dangerous" means of accomplishing their treason. They are troubled not with any qualms of conscience, but with sundry misgivings as to the possibility of failure and the consequences likely to result therefrom; therefore they mean to humbug while they enslave the

Will that people be to blame if, driven to defend their rights by force, they execute summary justice on the hypocrites and assassins? The magnanimous clemency of the victors of February is not likely to be repeated when next the cheated, suffering masses arise in the might of their Right.

The reaction still rages in

GERMANY.

Death and Terror uphold the supremacy of Austria. The most intolerable tyranny weighs upon, the most malevolent persecution pursues, the constitutionalists of Hesse Cassel. The Prussian King and his mock-Parliament abrogate trial by jury in the case of "newspaper offences." Even the writings of Luther are proscribed in Protestant Prussia, as "dangerous to order." More and more inquisitorial and unendurable becomes the tyranny of the police, untile now the petit bourgeoisie regret their hostility to the Republicans and their support of "the Grace of God "tyrants. The old Frankfort Diet is about to re-assemble to complete and crown the victory of the reactionnaires. But in the very hour of their triumph and intoxication the hand-writing appears predicting their doom. In vainhave the men of trade gathered to the ancient fair of Leipsic. There is no "business," for there is no confidence; and there is no confidence because of the general conviction "that another revolutionary movement is inevit-

ITALY In

the hypocritical Pope, and blood-lapping King of Naples (the latter still crusading against the press-against Thought itself). find themselves warmly supported by the ex-"liberal" Duke of Tuscany. This mockroyal nuisance has published a decree ordaining that the police may imprison suspected persons for a week, or provisionally exile them for a month; the councils of prefecture may exile or imprison during one year in a fortress persons who, to them, may appear guilty of conspiring against the government or the religiou of the State; and, lastly, any person couvicted of seditious manifestations by words, writings, songs, emblems, or any signs whatever, may be punished with imprisonment of from three months to a year! Let the reader reflect on the iniquitous and galling tyranny prescribed by this decree. A word, a look, an article of dress may, any one of them, afford pretended ground to immure a man in a dungeon. Every man even suspected of patriotism will be tracked and hunted down by the police. Can such a state of things have any other result than the outbreak of desperation, the vengeance of despair!

The blood of countless martyrs cries from the earth against the Caius of power.

From a thousand dungeons ascends the agonizing murmur of suffering patriots:-

"How long! O ye peoples, how long?"
Patience, Brothers! The Day of Justice,
the Hour of Retribution will come!

A GLEAM OF LIGHT ON THE ACTUAL SITUATION OF FRANCE.

THE correspondent of a contemporary after describing the fête of the 4th of May adds :-more earnest republican demonstration could not have been made. As I looked at the people, and occasionally conversed with a friend, the inclinato laugh at the caricature of French news in our daily English journals seized me. It may happen that some of your readers occasionally speculate upon 'which of the kings' France is about to select, but if they wait till the 4th of May, 1852, they will find the whole race of impostors who now disgrace the Republic overthrown by the veritable people. Louis Napoleon, Montalembert, Thiers, Baroche, and hosts of others, received the votes of the people, owing to their extravagant republican declarations—and they have repaid this generosity by intriguing against the republic at every step, and by flinging the epithet "Socialist" at every earnest republican who wishes, in any way, to strengthen the constitution and improve the condition of the people. You now hear the workmen and shopkeepers cry, 'Let these rascals amuse themselves for another year—these men of bad faith—who have disgraced every government. In 1852, we will extinguish them and as they declare France is not republican—they shall taste its republican energy!' The most admirable constitutional discipline reigns through France. The republican journals sell more than ever. The daily democratic press of Paris alone consists of La Presse (circulation larger than our Times), Le Cercle, Le National, L'Evenement, Le Pays, La Republique. One new weekly journal, La Bien-etre Universal, has exceeded 100,000 copies weekly. Throughout the provinces the propaganda is worked with great vigour—Poor Louis Napoleon! When you speak of him people say 'He is finished—used up!' I trust that on the 4th of May, 1852, England will be prepared by the reform of her own House of Commons, for the majestic impulse which France will again give to all the oppressed continental nations,

RUSSIA.

FACTS TLLUSTRATIVE OF THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM. RELATED BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

TI.

The following example of Russian justice is not less remarkable, though pertaining some. what more to the comic.

The Board of Guardianship (Dyoranskaia Opieka) of the district of Kovel, composed of the district marshal Yaneeshefski, the judge Volski, and three other members, was summoned by the Regency—Council ("Gooberskoe Pravlenie") of Zytomierz, to furnish them with certain documents. These documents were instautly forwarded by post, but as the distance was considerable, and the post not over well regulated, they did not arrive on the day they were expected.— Such delay exasperated the whole Conneil. Its plenum immediately met, and wrote a threatening summons, imposed a fine of 150 roubles on the negligent members of the board, and despatched a police officer by express to serve them with a reprehensive summons, and to remain at Kovel at their expense, until the fine was paid. But the Board was very fortunately in possession of a receipt delivered by the post-office, the date of which evidently proved that the documents were posted in due time; as, however, the Board was obliged to submit, in order to relieve themselves of the police-officer, the fine was paid and a protest forwarded to the Regency-Council, against the summous and the fine, annexing the post-office receipt, and making formal claim for its re-imbursement. The said Council candidly admitted its own injustice; and issued the following reply:

"Cousidering, firstly, that the fine was imposed

through a misunderstanding;
"Considering, secondly, that the Board of
Guardianship is not guilty of the negligence of which it was accused

"Considering, thirdly, that consequently it has an indisputable right to be indemnified;

"But, fourthly, considering that the abovementioned fine has already entered the public treasury, and that it is not the practice to restore money once deposited therein:

"The Regency-Council resolve, that the 150 roubles shall be regarded as an auticipatory payment of any fines the said Board of Guardianship of the district of Kovel, may in future become liable to."

Is not this the doctrine of indulgencies granted by some Romish popes, influenced by a secular government. ?

VAST INCREASE OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET IN THE BLACK SEA -- THE RUSSIAN SERFS.

(From the Allgemeine Zeitung.)

The building of forts at Gamri and Eriwan, ou the confines of Turkey and Persia, has been long since completed. So also is the construction of the great docks at Sebastopol. The Russian fleet in the Black Sea, notwithstanding the immense expense occasioned by the short duration of building materials in that climate, is to be iucreased by 50 or 60 vessels of war. The dock-yards of Niolajen turn out on the average one ship of the line and several frigates and corvettes annually. Thirteen ships of the line are in the roadstead of Sebastopol. Russia is thus fully equipped in the Black Sea for all possible emergencies. Whatever may happen in the west, the peculiar aim of Russia is never lost sight of. Iutelligence soldom passes from the interior of the Russian Empire to Europe. We hear from credible sources that the down-trodden serfs rise oftener than ever against their masters. The most dreadful imprisonments and the prospect of the Siberian mines, do not affright the pear sants, when they are excited strongly against their masters by oppression and ill-treatment, from taking the most terrible revenge.

Teanes from our Library

CONSUELO

BY GEORGE SANES

(Continued from No. 22.)

Taking leave of Porpora for the night, Consuch ascends to a terrace on the roof of the house in which the Professor resides, to have a chat with young Haydn.

"When Consuelo had mentioned all that had amused, annoyed, or interested her at the mar-

gravino's, it was Joseph's turn to speak.

"'You have seen the secrets of the court,' said he.; 'the envelopes and armorial bearing, as it were; but as lacqueys are accustomed to read their masters' letters, it is in the ante-chamber that I have learned the hidden life of the great. I shall uot tell you half the remarks of which the margravine was the object. Oh! if great people only knew how their valets speak of them—if in these gorgeous saloons, where they parade themselves with so much dignity, they could hear what was said on the other side of the wall of their manuers and characters.! While Porpora just now on the rampart set forth his history of strife and hatred against the lords of the earth, his was not the true standard of dignity. His bittcruess perverted his judgment. Ah! you were in the right when you said that hd reduced himself to their level, in seeking to crush them with his contempt. Had he heard the conversation of the valets in the antechamber, he would have seen that pride and centempt of others are the characteristics of base and perverse minds. Thus Porpora evinced grandeur, originality, and power of mind just now, when he struck the pavement with his cane, and uttered as his warcry, Courage, strife, bitter irony, eternal vengeance. But your wisdom was lovelicr than his phrenzy, and I was the more struck with it that I had just seen the tribe of domestics-timid victims, demoralized slaves—who also whispered in my cars with accents not loud, yet deep, Trickery ! perfidy ! eternal vengeance and hate, toward our masters, who believe themselves our superiors and whose baseness we betray! I have never been a lacquey, Consuelo, but since I have become one, in the same manner as you became a boy during our journey, I have reflected, as you may see, on the duties of my present situation.' "'You have done well, Bcppo,' replied Con-

suclo; 'life is a great enigma, and we ought not to overlook the slightest fact without commenting and reflecting upon it. It is always so much discovered. But tell me; did you learn anything from the household about this princess, the daughter of the margravine, who, of those starched, painted, and trivolous puppets, seemed to me alone natural, amiable, and serious?'

"Oh!yes; not merelp this evening, but often. What am going to tell you, is not a story of the antechambers, a lacquey's tale; it is a true story

of public notoriety.

The Princess of Culmbach was educated at Dresden, by the Queon of Poland, her aunt, aud it was there that Porpora knew her, and gave her, as well as the Grand Dauphiucss of France, her cousin, some lessons in music. The young Princess of Culmbach was as beautiful as she was prudent. Brought up by a severe and exacting queen, far from a depraved mother, she secmed destined to be honoured and happy through life. But the Dowager Margravine, the present Countess Honitz, would not have it so. She brought her home, and kept her with her, under pretence of marrying her, now to one of her relatives, also a margrave of Bareith, now to another, also Prince of Culmbach; for the principality of Bareith-Culmbach reckons more princes and margraves than it has villages and castles to belong to them. The beauty and modesty of the princess aroused in her mother's breast a violent feeling of jealousy; she burned to disgrace hery

and for this purpose fabricated the most atrocious slanders against her, and by her representations to the other members of the family, caused her to be imprisoned in the fortress of Plasenbourg. where she passed several years in the most' rigorous captivity. She would have been there still, had sho not been induced by the promise of the Empress Amelia's protection to abjure the Lutheran faith. She yielded, however, solely, from her ardent wish to recover her liberty, and the first use she made of it was to return to the religion of her ancestors. The young Margravine of Bareith, Wilhelmina of Prussia, received her with kindness in her little court. She was beloved and respected there for her virtues, her mildness, and the correctness of her demeanour. If broken-hearted, she is still an admirable ereature, and although she is not in favour at the court of Vienna, ou account of her Lutheranisms, no one ventures to insult her; no one, not even the lacqueys, dares to utter the least slander against her. She is here on some business at present, but she usually resides at Bareith.'

"'That is the reason,' replied Consuelo, 'why she spake so much of that country, and wished me to go there. Oh! what a history, Joseph, and what a woman that Countess Hoditz is! Never -no, never shall Porpora drag me to her house again-never shall I sing for her more!

" 'Nevertheless, you would meet there the best and most estimable women at court. Such, they say, is the world. Rank and wealth cloak every vice; and provided you go to church, everything else is tolerated.'

""This court of Vienna would seem somewhat: hypocritical,' said Consuelo.

"'I fear, between ourselves,' replied Joseph, lowering his voice, 'that the great Maria-Theresa is somewhat of a hypocrite herself."

A few days afterwards Consuelo is introduced into the imperial chapel, where she sings before the Empress; and Maria Theresa, deigning to be pleased; presents the singer with a valuable bracelet. The musical genius of young Haydn is accidentally discovered by Porpora, and after some time the professor condescends to give lessons to Joseph. Consuelo is. admitted to a private interview with Maria Theresa, who is disposed to patronize the young artist. Finding, however, that Consuclo is no sycophant, no courtier, the Empress changes her mind. Corilla. the old rival of Consuelo, in the affections of Anzo-leto, is engaged at the principal Theatre, having succeeded in passing herself off as a very proper per-Having received a letter from Albert, Consuelo, after a month's reflection wrote the following

"'I'love none but you, and I am almost certain that I love you. In the mean time, leave me to dream of the possibility of our union. Let it be ever present to your thoughts, and let us together find some expedient to avoid vexing either your father or my master, lest we become selfish in be-

coming happy.

"She added to this note a short letter to Count Christian, in which she described the quiet life she led, and announced the respite which the new projects of Porpora had granted her. She begged that they would endeavour to find some means of disarming Porpora's resentment, and of breaking the intelligence to him in the course of the month. A month still remained to prepare the maestro for the announcement before the Berlin affair should be

"Consuelo, having sealed these two letters, placed them on the table and fell asleep. A delicious calun had descended upon her soul, and she had not for a long time enjoyed such deep and undisturbed repose. She awoke late, and rose liastily in order to see Keller who had promised to return for her letter at eight. It was now nine, and, while hastening to dress, Cousuelo saw with terror that the letter was no longer where she had placed it She sought it everywhere, but in vaiu. She left the room to see if Keller might not be waiting in the ante-cham-ber, but neither Keller nor Joseph was to be found: and as she re-entered her apartment to search a second time for her letter, she saw Porpora there, who seemed to await her approach, and who formed upon her a stern and threatening look.

"What do you seek ?' said he. "'I have mislaid a sheet of music.'

"'You do not speak the truth: it is a letter that you seek.

" Master

"Be silent, Consuelo; you are yet but a novice undeceit, do not now commence to study it.

"'Master, what have you done with the letter?"

"'I gave it to Keller.

"'And wherefore did you give it to him?'

"Because he came for it, as you told him yester-You know not how to feign, or rather I have quicker cars than you think.'

"'But in one word,' said Consuclo firmly, 'what

have you done with my letter?'

"'I have told you; why do you ask again? I did not think it right that a well-conducted girl such as you are, and always will be, should give letters in confidence to her hairdressser. To prevent people having an ill opinion of you, I myself gave the letter quietly to Keller, and commissioned him from you to despatch it. He will not think at least that you hide a secret from your father.'

""Master, you have done well. Pardon me."

"I pardon you. Let us say no more."

"And you have read my letter?, said Consuelo, with a timid and deprecating tone.

"'For whom do you take me?' replied Porpora.

with a terrible look.

"'Pardou me for what I have done,' said Consuclo, bending her knee before him, and endeavouring to take his hand; 'let me open my heart to you, and---

"'Not another word,' replied the maestro, repulsing her.

"And he entered his own room and shut the door

violently behind him.

"Consuelo hoped that this outburst once over, she might be able to appease his anger, and at the same time explain matters to him. She felt assured that she would have courage to open her whole mind to him, and hoped by so doing to hasten the issue of her wishes; but he refused all explanation, and evinced the utmost displeasure whenever the subject was mentioned. In other respects he was as friendly towards her as ever, and even appeared more contented and cheerful than he had beenf or a long time. Consuelo looked upon this as a good augury, and ealmly awaited a reply from I iesenburg.

"In one respect Porpora had not told an untruth, for he had burned Consuelo's letters without reading them, but he had kept the cavelope, and substituted in place of the original letter, one from himself to Count Christian. He hoped by this beld step at once to save his pupil, and spare Count Christian a sacrifice beyond his strengh. He believed that in so doing he was acting towards him as a faithful friend, and towards Consuelo as a wise and energetic He did not foresee that he might thus infather. flict a fatal blow upon Count Albert. Hardly knowing the young nobleman, he believed that Consuelo had been guilty of exaggeration with regard to him, and that he was neither so ili nor so attached to her as she had imagined. Moreover he held, like all old men, that love sooner or later comes to an end, and that disappointed affection kills nobody."

The prima donna of the Great Theatre having fallen ill, Corilla aspires to fill her place; this leads to the engagement of Consuelo, and almost immediately Corilla resigned the thief part to her. Half as pupil, half as attendant, Haydn obtained permission to glide behind the scenes when Consuelo sang. On one occasion Consuelo, feeling somewhat oppressed by the emotions excited by her part has retreated behind the certain-

"She was walking rapidly up and down in the passage, when Joseph brought her her fan, which she had left in the prompter's box and which she used with much satisfaction. The promptings of Mischeart, and Porpora's voluntary institution, had to avoid embarrasament, confusion, or even coming

induced Joseph mechanically to rejoin his friend, and I in contact with the scenes. But if the stage look a feeling of confidence and sympathy always inclined Consuelo to receive him joyously, But from this mutual regard, at which the angels of heaven need not have blushed, fatal consequences were destined to ensue. Our lady readers, as we are well aware, always anxious to know the event, would ask no botter than to be acquainted with the result at once, but we must entreat them to have a little patience.

"'Well! my dear friend,' said Joseph smiling as he extended his hand, 'you are no longer it would seem so dissatisfied with the dramas of our illustrious abbé ; and you have found in the music of your prayer, a window by which the genius that possesses you can wing its upward flight.'

" 'I have sung well, then?"

"Do you not perceive that my eyes are red?"

"'Ah! yes, you have wept. So much the better; I am happy to have made you weop!'

"'As if it were for the first time! But you are rapidly becoming the artist that Perpera wishes you to be, my good Consuelo. In vain does your calm reason, your austere philosophy, and the memory of Riesenburg strive against the influences of the Python. His divine breath fills your bosom even to overflowing. Confess that your whole frame thrills with delight. I feel your arm tremble against mine; your countenance glows with animation; never have I seen you so lovely and majestic. No, you were not more agitated, not more inspired, when Count Albert read to you the ragedies of Greece!'

" 'Ah! how you pain me by that word,' exclaimed Consuelo, turning pale and withdrawing her arm from Joseph's. 'Why do you utter that name here?-it is a name too sacred to be mentioned in this temple of folly. It is a name which like a peal of thunder, thrusts back into dim uight the empty phantoms of these golden dreams.'

"' Well, then, Consuelo, since I am forced to tell you so,' resumed Haydn after a moment's silence, never will you be able to decide on marrying that

" ' Hush! ! ush! Joseph; I have promised.'

" 'Well then keep your promise; but you will never be happy with him. Quit the theatre? Renounce your career as an artist? It is now too late. You have tasted a pleasure the remembrance of which would torment your whole after life.'

"'Oh! Beppo,' exclaimed Consuelo, agitated and confused, 'you torrify me; I know not: what to do! Alas! if I could expire to-morrow when the curtain falls, after having tasted for the first aud last time the joy and inspiration of a true artist, it would save mc, perhaps, from a long career of pain and suffering.'

" 'Ah!' said Joseph with forced gaiety, 'I would much rather that your Count; Albert or your

humble servant should expire first.'

" At this moment Consuelo raised her eyes in a melancholy reverie toward the wing which opened before her. The interior of a great Theatre, seen by day, is so different from what it appears to us from the front of the stage when brilliantly lighted that it is impossible to form an idea of it when one has not seen it thus. Nothing can present a more gloomy or frightful appearance than the immense expanse, lined with tier above tier of boxes, and buried in darkness, solitude, and silence. human face were to appear in these boxes closed like tombs, it would seem like a spectre and would make the boldest actor recoil with fear. The dim and fitful light, which is admitted from several windows in the roof at the extremity of the stage, glances obliquely over scaffoldings, torn scenes, and dusty boards. Upon the stage, the eye deprived of the illusion of perspective, is astonished at that narrow and confined space where so many persons and passions are to play their parts, representing majestic movements, imposing masses, ungovernable emotions, which will seem such to the spectator, and which are studied, nay measured to a line, in order

small and mean, the height above it intended to receive so many decorations and to afford space for so much machinery, appears on the other hand immense, freed from all those scenes of festooned clouds, architectural cornices, or verdant boughs which divide it in certain proportions to the eye of the spectator. In its real disproportion this elevation has in it something lofty and severe; and, if in looking upon the stage, you might imagine yourself in a dungeon, on casting your eyes upwards, you would think yourself in a Gothic church, but a ruined or unfinished one, for everything there is dim, unformed, strange, and incoherent. Shapeless ladders for the use of the mechanist, placed as if by chance and thrown without apparent motive against other ladders, dimly seen in the confusion of these indistinct details, piles of oddly shaped boards, seenes upside down, whose design presents no meaning to the mind, ropes interlaced like hieroglyphics, nameless fragments, pulleys and wheels which seem prepared for unknown tortures-all these recall to us those dreams we have when about to awake in which we see strange and unheard-of-things, while we make vain efforts to ascertain where we are.

" Everything is vague, shadowy, unsubstantial. Aloft you see a man at work, supported as it were, by spiders' webs. To your uncertain gaze he might be either a mariner clinging to the cordage of a wessel, or an enormous rat gnawing the worm-caten carpentry. You hear sounds and words proceeding from you know not where. They are uttered some eight feet above your head, and the bewildering echoes which slumber amid the recesses of the fantastic dome, convey them to your ear, either distinct or confused, according as you may happen to change your position. A fearful noise shakes the scaffolds, and is repeated in prolonged rattlings. Is the fual structure about to crumble, or are those trembling balconies about to fall and bury the poor workmen beneath the ruins? No, it is a fireman sneezing, or some cat pursuing its prev amid the mazes of the aëriel labyrinth. Ere you are accustomed to these sounds and objects, you feel a sensation of terror. You are ignorant of what is going on, and know not what unheard of apparitions may put all your philosophy and courage to the proof. You understand nothing of what surrounds you, and what-ever is not clearly distinguished either by the bodily or montal vision -whatever is uncertain and incomprehensible, always alarms the logic of the senses. What seems the most reasonable supposition when entering on such a chaos, is that you are about to witness, the fiendish revels of some wizard alchemist and his attendant demons in their magie laboratory.

"Consuclo allowed her eyes to wander carelessly over the singular edifice, and the poetry of this disorder struck her for the first time. each end of the alley formed by the two back scenes, was a long dark wing, across which shadow like figures flitted from time to time. Suddenly one of these figures paused as if awaiting her, and she even fancicd that it beckened her to ap-

proach.

" 'Is it Porpora?' said she to Joseph.

"'No,' replied he, 'but it is doubtless some one who has been sent to tell on that they are about to commence the third act.'
"Consucle quickened her pace, and hastened in

the direction of the person, whose features she could not distinguish as he had retreated back to to the wall. But when she was within three paces of him, and on the point of questioning him, he glided rapidly through the adjacent wing, gained the back of the theatre, and disappeared in the donths beyond.

That person seems as if he had been playing

the spy upon us, said Joseph.

"And as if he was now evading our pursuit," added Consuelo, struck with the man's anxiety to escape; I cannot tell why, but I feel afraid of him.

"" She returned to the stage and rehearsed the

last act, at the close of which she again experienced the enthusiastic impulse which had before inspired her. When she was about to put on her mantle before leaving the theatre, and was looking around for it, she was dazzled by a sudden glare They had opened a window in the roof, and the rays of the setting sun streamed through and fell obliquely upon her. The contrast of the sudden light with the previous gloom caused her to take a random step or two, when all at once she found herself opposite the person in the dark cloak by whom she had been startled behind the scenes. She saw his figure indistinctly, and yet she thought she recognized him, but he had already disappeared, and she looked around for him in vain.

""What is the matter with you?' said Joseph, holding out her mantle : 'have you hurt yourself against some of the decorations?'

"'No,' said she; 'hut I have seen Count Albert.

"Count Albert here! 'Are you sure-is it possible ?'

"'It is possible—it is certain,' said Consuelo, drawing him along with her, and commenoing to search behind the scenes in every direction. Joseph assisted her in her scrutiny, although convinced that she was mistaken, while Porpora summoned her impatiently to accompany him home. Consuelo could see no one who bore the least resemblance to Albert; and, when obliged to leave the theatre with her master, she passed in review all those who had been on the stage along with her, she observed several cloaks similar to that which had already attracted her attention.

"'No matter,' she whispered to Joseph, who watched her anxious gaze, 'I have seen him he he was there !'

"'It must have been a deception of your senses,' replied Joseph: 'had it been Count Albert would he not have spoken to you, and yet you say he fled at your approach?'

"'I do not say it was really he, but I saw his features and I now think with you that it must have been a vision. Some misfortune must have happened to him! I long to set out at once and hasten to Bohemia. I am sure that he is in danger-that he calls me-that he expects me !"

"'I see, among other had offices, that he has infected you with his madness, my poor Consuelo; the excitement you felt in singing has disposed you to entertain these wild ideas. Be yourself again, I beseech you, and be assured that if Count Albert be in Vienna you will see him aying to you before the day be over.'

"This hope revived Consuelo's courage. She hastened forward with Beppo, leaving the old maestro, who on this occasion was not displeased at being forgotten, far hehind. But Consuelo thought neither of Joseph nor Porpora. She hurried onward, arrived all breathless at the house, rushed up to her apartment, hut found no one there. Joseph made inquiries from the domestics, but no one had called in their absence. Consuelo waited all day, but in vain. The whole evening, and even till far on in the night, she gazed anxiously from the window at every one who passed in the street. Every moment she was certain that the approaching comer was about to stop, but he always passed on, at one time with the light step of some youthful gallant humming a popular air, at another with the faltering gait, and dry, sharp cough of an aged invalid."

(To be continued.)

The miseries of the poor are almost entirely disregarded, though some undergo more real hardships in one day than the rich in their whole lives. These may eat, drink, and sleep; have slaves to attend them, and are sure of subsistence for life; while many of their fellow creatures are obliged to wander without a friend to comfort or assist them, find enmity in every law, and are too poor to obtain even justice.—Dr. Goldsmith.

Poetry for the People.

SPRING.

SPRING.

ANACREON'S 46TH ODE.

Bebold the young, the rosy Spring,
Gives to the hreeze her scented wing:
While virgin Graces, warm with May,
Fling roses o'er her dewy way.
The murmuring billows of the deep
Have languish'd into silent sleep;
And mark, the flitting seabirds lave
Their plumes in the reflecting wave;
While cranes from hoary winter fly
To flutter in a kinder sky.
Now the genial star of day
Dissolves the murky clonds away;
And cultur'd field, and winding stream,
Are freshly glittering in his beam.
Now the Earth prolific swells
With leafy buds and flowery bells;
Gemming shoots the olive twine,
Clusters ripe festoon the vine;
All along the branches creeping
Through the velvet foliage peeplng,
Little infant fruits we see Through the velvet longs rule.

Little infant fruits we see

Nursing into luxury.

Translated by Moobe.

THE POET AND HIS CHILD. "The Poet's Child remains unsung."

John Pettie.

The Poet sings of leafy bowers,
Nature's lone baunts, and hlooming flowers,
And free-bird's song, and streamlets flow,
And wild-bee's hum, and waving trees—
Whose seared leaves, loosen'd hy the breeze,
Fall gently on the grass below!
And yet a flower, more lovely still
Than those that deck the plain and hill,
Is sporting by her parent's knee,
For whom no strains of music flow,
Though she, than spots where wild flowers grow
A fitter theme for song would be:
Brighter than the violet's blue
Are her sweet eyes of azure hue. The Poet sings of leafy bowers,

A fitter theme for song would be:
Brighter than the violet's blue
Are her sweet eyes of azure hue.
The mirrors of a stainless soul,
Whose happy glances speak of joy,
As angels pure, without alloy:
Those pearly tears, that downward roll,
Are like the summer's fresh'ning sbowers,
That, falling softly on the flowers,
Add further lustre to their bloom:
Her bright smile is no passing beam,
As that which gilds the murm'ring stream,
Norvanisheth in winter's gloom.
Ah! can he turn from charms like these,
To wander 'mong the leafy trees,
And sing of Nature's frowns and smiles?
Say, are her scenes, or tame, or wild,
So lovely as this blooming child,
Whose joy a mother's heart beguiles?
No! ne'er can flower, or tree, or stream,
Or joyous dance of bright sunbeam,
On a sbort-living summer's day,
Compare with her reared iu love's shade—
Who'll hloom when flower and beam sball fade—
As a theme for the minstrel's lay.

ALEXANDER BELL.

WELCOME TO THE REFUGEES.

Freedom's Soldiers! welcome! come, And share with us Britannia's home; No further from your country roam, Pursued by heartless tyranny.

Your daring deeds, in freedom's cause, Have won for you the world's applause, And from our hearts, approving draws The greetings of fraternity.

And Britain's sons, with generous heart, Shall act a true and faithful part, And all the plans of tyrants thwart, And save you from their enmlty:

And claim for you the Exile's right, And foster here your strength and might, Again to try the glorious fight, For fatherland and liberty.

And like those men who fought of yore, On Bannockhurn and Leman's shore, And liherty in triumph bore From off the field of victory.

So, yet, success shall crown your aim,
And freedom's pure and sacred flame
Will shine a halo round your name,
And light you to posterity.
W. L. COSTINE.

NOTICE.

A Fraternal Soiree, at which most of the leading Democrats and Socialists will be present, will be held at the John Street Institution, on Tuesday, May 27th. Tickets to be had of Mr. Truelove.

ANARCHY OF OPINION IN THE TIME OF THE COMONWEALTH.—" In looking back to that period it is too much the habit to confine attention to the extraordinary variety of opinions which prevailed in politics:—the social state was even more anarchical. Between Hampden and Falkland, the space was narrower than between Laud and Fox. If in political ideas, from the school of divine right, through the educated democracy of Milton, down to the republicanism of the Fifth-Monarchy Men, all was confusion,— the religion of the numberless sectaries was still less reducible to order. The mere mannes of the leading sects into which the Church' had diselved itself in a few years are suggestive. Only to name a few of them, there were :-- Anabaptists, Antinomnians, Autiscripturists, Antitrinitarians, Arians, Arminians, Baptists, Brownists, Calvinists, Enthusiasts, Familists, Fifth-Monarchy Men, Independents, Libertines, Muggletonians, Perfectists, Presbyterians, Puritans, Ranters, Scepties. Seekers, and Socinians. Feakes and Powel, worthies of the Anabaptist faith, openly preached at Blackfriars, a war of conquest and extermination against the continent of Europe. Their eyes lay more especially on the inheritance of the Dutchman:-God, they preclaimed, had given up Holland as a dwelling-place for his saints, and a stronghold from which they might wage war against the great harlot. The Fifth-Monarchy Men protested against every kind of law and government: Christ alone, in their opinion, ought to reign on earth, and in his behalf, they were anxious to put down all lawgivers and magistrates. The Levellers were at least as mad as any sect of Communists or Red Republicans of modern date. The national mind was in a paroxysm of morbid activity; and the belder sort of spirits had cast away every restraint which creeds and eouncils, laws and experience impose on men in ordinary times. Dixon's Life of Penn.

Advertisements.

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will the Exhibition injure the shopkeepers? A plot detected
The Superstition of Man. Rewards in the Army. Moneynotes. The History of a Democratic Movement, compiled from the journal of a democrat, the confessions of a
demagogue, and the minutes of a spy.

No. 2, this day,
Contents: Beldagon's sermon, and the Hymn of his flock. Notes to the Preparation, shewing the errors of the present movement. The middle-class franchise — why will
it weaken democracy? The History of a Democratic
Movement, continued.

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Will contain The Painter of Florence. And, besides
other matter, a Letter on the Charlist Programme,
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DROPIR. REEND OF THE

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 24.]

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1851.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."-

THE CHAMPIONS (?) OF PARLIAMEN-TARY RÉFORM.

TUESDAY, May 13th, was fixed for the debate on Joseph Hume's annual motion for Parliamentary Reform. In expectation of a flood of eloquence, for and against "the little Charter," I clutched at Wednesday's paper; when, lo! and behold,—instead of the colmuns of oratory I looked for—there appeared the following:-

At 4 o'clock, there were only twenty-one members present, and the Speaker amid some cheering and laughter among that number, adjourned the house.

Thursday's paper brought the "explanations" of the "honourable members," concerning "The No House' on Tuesday."

From those "explanations," it appeared, that of the twenty-one members present, there were only six "who could be called Radical Reformers." Mr. Hume, Mr. Cob-DEN, Mr. GIBSON, and Mr. BRIGHT, were amongst the absentees. Mr. Hume explained that "he was attending the Army, Navy, and Ordnance Committee, and the moment the officer announced the speaker was at prayers, he made off post-haste to the door, and got there just as the counting was over (Laughter)." The "honourable gentleman" concluded by observing that. "All that could be done, was, to take care for the future. Let bygones be bygones. His only wish was, to show that he had not been lax or unwilling." Messrs. Cobden, Bright, and Gibson preserved a discreet silence.

Had the member for Montrose alone been absent at the moment he should have been present, the statement of the cause of his non-attendance might be received without doubt or question. But taking into account the absence of the great body of his usual supporters, although they well knew that the Reform motion stood first on the list for that evening's debate, the conclusion must force itself upon every thinking man, that the House" on the 13th of May, proves that "No House" was preconcerted by those who, these mouthers of patriotic declamation, are

their patriotism, and exhibited so much seeming zeal for the rights of the people.

It was natural that the Government, desirous of burking the motion, should give the hint to their supporters, to be out of the way; and that the Tories, the consistent opponents of every scheme of suffrage extension, should follow the example of the rival faction. But what can be said for the so-called "Radicals?" The "little Charter" when debated and brought to the test of a division usually commands from eighty to a hundred votes - more than double the number of members requisite to constitute "a House;" yet of this party only six were present at 4 o'clock. Hear the member for Dublin:—"He (Mr. Reynolds) was there yesterday, though he had nothing to do with the question, except that he was bound to the principle of extending the Parliamentary Franchise; and he saw many Reformers now present, taking shelter in holes and corners in the lobby (Crics of 'Hear.') He saw them like drowned political rats there, and in all the Corridors, apparently to avoid being called on to aid the Nestor of Reform in forming a House. He hoped the people of England would interrogate them on the subject at the hustings."

There needs no further evidence to prove the duplicity and treason of the sham Reformers. In truth the cause of Parliamentary Reform is in bad hands.

Hume, Cobden, Bright, Gibson, Walms-Ley, Fox, and the rest of "the Manchester School" desire anything but the ascendancy of democracy. They pretend to advocate the rights of the people to elect their representatives, while they dare to propose the exclusion of the most wronged and suffering portion of the people from the possession of the franchise. They pour forth eloquent de-nunciations of a system which consigns masses of the people to political slavery, while they dare to propose the perpetuation of that system, by adding to the number of the privileged, and keeping in bondage at least a million of "slaves in the land of the free." Nor is this all. The farce of "No

out of doors have been so loud-mouthed in not honest and earnest in their advocacy of their patriotism, and exhibited so much even the wretched modicum of "Reform"

they profess to be in quest of.

The more Radical members are, some of them, mcn of good intentions, but not one adequately represents, or is fitted to represent the democratic cause. THOMAS DUNCOMBE did, some years ago, worthily guide the party of the people; but ill-health long ago disqualified him for the duties of leadership. THOMAS WAKLEY would have been an efficient leader, had he been encourged to lead: but he has been badly treated, and, to a great extent, the people have themselves to blame for the inaction of the Middlesex coroner. SHARMAN CRAWFORD lacks the physique necessary for hard work; morcover his retirement from public life is already determined on. GEORGE THOMPSON, a very good man at a sentimental speech, but not useful for much else, has taken it into his head to represent the Tower Hamlets, by performing the part of a hired lecturer in America. No doubt the abolition of American slavery is a cause which may fitly command the sympathy of even an English Reformer; but GEORGE THOMPSON should look at home, and stay at home to reform the slavery disgracing his native land, the slavery of political helotry and social suffering, the slavery of ignorance, crime, prostitution, and hunger, before daring to eall America to account for her sins. Of course his chances of re-election for the Tower Hamlets are infinitesimally small. Last on the list, and least of all, comes "the honourable member for Nottingham," FEARGUS O'CONNOR. It is a proverb amongst the enemies of Democracy that "the way to extinguish a demagogue is to send him to Parliament;" and it must be admitted that this proverb has been fully borne out by the parliamentary career of the ex-"Lion of Freedom." Something like "the honourable member," who signalised his legislatorial life by his one motion for the repair of a broken windowpane, of late the Chartist champion has contented himself with the statesmanlike work of moving that the House be counted, supporting a motion for a day's holiday, &c., &c. ! "But he has been suffering from ill-health." I know what that is too well not to admit of so reasonable an excuse when well-founded.

But the man who is well enough to pay re- a manifest error. It does not follow that the peated visits to Manchester, there to perform for the benefit of a set of men organised for the avowed purpose of betraying the Chartist cause, by making it subservient to the moderate sham-reform movement, has surely health enough to attend his place in the House of Commons. Not merely his non-speaking but his non-attendance is proved by the absence, time after time, of his name from the division lists. On the most recent occasions, when the Whigs have been defeated, they have not owed their defeats to the votes of FEARGUS O'CONNOR. A trust unused is a trust abused. What must astonish our enemies is the admirable patience of "the electors and non-electors of Nottingham." Everybody has heard of the lambs of that town, the old breed (who were very welves) are said to be extinct; but another breed supplies their place in the persons of the innocent, docile, and uncomplaining supporters of Mr. O'CONNOR. Happy shepherd of a flock so easily satisfied; verily they are dwellers in pastures green.

This is a most serious matter. With not one leader who is both honest and energetic, able and willing to represent democracy in the legislature, what wonder that we make

no progress!

If the scheme for amending the representation promised by "Lord" JOHN RUSSELL is submitted to the decision of the present House of Commons, it may be anticipated that only a sham opposition to its defects will be offered by the "Parliamentary Reformers." If adopted by the Peers it will be thrust down the throats of the people as "a settlement of the question; " and even those who profess to "go further" than "Lord" JOHN will claim for the new "Reform" "a fair trial." Should a new election precede the passing of the Whig measure an opportunity will be afforded to the people to make an effort to return at least half a dozen men "up to the mark "-men who will resent and resist all half-measures; who will evoke "the pressure from without " and summon the masses to the glorious struggle; and who, powerful through the support of the millions. will be enabled to cry with a voice of thunder to the factions of usurpers and intriguers:-GET YE GONE! MAKE WAY FOR THE SOVE-REIGN DEMOCRACY!

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS FRANCHISE—WHY WILL IT INJURE THE DEMOCRATIC CAUSE?

[From Poems and Notes to the People, No. 2. By Ernest Jones]

Must not any extension of the franchise be beneficial-for would it not, by infusing democratic blood into the constituency, increase the chances of democracy? Surely we must he hetter off with some hundred thousand chartists on the register, (supposing there would not be more) than without their assistance as electors. Surely, giving them the vote could not do the chartist cause an injury. Look hack through history: was ever any great movement achieved at once? You must put in the thin end of the wedge.— If you wish to get from the body of the hall to the gallery, you can't jump up at once, you must mount the staircase step by step."

Very plausible arguments no doubt-arguments too, in part, founded on truth—the only flaw in them is, that they are inapplicable to the case.

addition of a certain number of Chartists to the electoral list would encrease the chartist power. they only, were added, that power would certainly be magnified-but, if the same measure that makes ten Chartist electors, gives the franchise to twenty of the enemies of Chartism, I contend that the Chartist movement would be weakened instead of being strengthened. In a fair representative system it is the majority of the electors who rule. We will, of course suppose the new system to be fair, as far as it goes-namely that every elector would be possessed of equal power, not like the present system, under which, 141,000 electors out of 800,000, return a majority to the House of Commons. Well, admitting the system to be fair as far as it goes, it is the majority of the electors who rule; of whom, then, would that majority consist? We are told the constituency would embrace three millions. The male adults are seven millions. Of course the prorest would be unenfranchised—the enfranchised would be taken from the wealthier portion-and this being the case-if four millions would then be too poor to become electors, is it not evident that the majority enfranchised would he men of the middle-class, surgeons, clerks, shopkeepers, foremen, aristocrats of lahour. It would be the special constables of the 10th of April, who would possess the majority of votes:-would chartism he the gainer? But still, say they, is it not good that some democrats even though hut a few, should become electors? We answer, no! if more anti democrats are made so hy the same measure. Where majorities rule, the larger the numbers who vote, the more difficult is it for the unenfranchised, to subvert the will of that majority. Six million non-electors could sooner wrest their rights from 800,000 electors, than four millions could from three. Indeed, we should lose support, instead of gaining strength: how, great numbers of the middle class, heing unenfranchised, are with us, hecause they want the vote-give them the vote, and having all they want-we can calculate on their support no longer. The middleclass franchise, instead of planting our soldiers in the citadel of the enemy, would recruit for the enemy in the ranks of our soldiers. "But" they contend, "it would not he safe to

enfranchise all at once-we must take the thing by instalments. We must go up the ladder step by step." Even were this so, we have a right to see what the kind of instalment is, which we are asked to take. We might accept instalments, if the instalments began at the right end of the social ladder—hut instead of beginning at the bottom, they begin at the top. They progress downwards, like their entire system. They give an instalment of additional power to the middleclass, and want to make us believe they are giving it to us. It is they who seek to overleap the hottom steps of the ladder-not we. It is we who say: begin at the hottom-if you are sincere, give the vote not to the next richest, hut to the poorest of the poor. If the middle-class are afraid of entrusting too many of these with power at oncelet them give it in instalments if they will, but gire it there! The middle class are too powerful already-their measure adds to that power-all that does this, adds to our weakness.

Shopkeeper and professional, clerk and shopman, are represented already—their class is represented the working-class ls not.

If they can afford to pay us only hy instalments, let them give the instalments to those among their creditors who have most need of it; and who are these !- the poorest.

Who are the men that want the vote? Not the men who have the houses, but those who have not even a room! The soldiers and sallors, the navvies and costermongers, the day labourers and factoryslaves-the men at four and five shillings per

The agricultural labourers who fluctuate between

paupers and vagrants-the disowned children of society, who stand as aliens in the land of their inheritance-the discrowned Ulysses, Labour, begging at the door of his own palace!

These are the men who want the vote the most. Liherals ! would your "Reform," enfranchise one of these? Distribute your instalments among them if you are honest. If not, do not ask of us for our assistance.

If these men had the vote, they would suggest hetter remedies than soup-kitchens and lodginghouses, prisons or pauper-doles. Are you afraid of the revolutionary element? Then begin cautiously -hut, at least, let us see you make a beginning,

The question, however, rests upon a hroader basis still. Are the rich the friends of the poor? Is it feasible to suppose that they really will legislate in the interest of democracy? But little confidence is due to the middle-class, as a class; little good, it is to be feared, will flow from their co-operation, otherwise than as compelled hy circumstance and by self-interest to support us.

Ought we therefore to oppose the middle-class movement? Not so: some tender consciences would upbraid us as "obstructives"-though that is a curious kind of philosophy, which would sanction all the obstruction on the one side, and not allow of any on the other. What have the middle-classes been doing for ages, but obstructing us in the obtaining of the franchise? If we did obstruct them, we should he only requiting them in their own coin.

Yet, as they have a right to get the vote for the unenfranchised of their own order-let them go on in their own way, as long as they don't assume to speak in our name-to wield our power-or to clothe themselves with our influence. Let them do their work-that is no reason why we should not do ours. Our business is not with them. Let them and the aristocracy fight their battle out. have no interest to interfere at present. The time may come when we can do so with advantage. It has not come yet. If we oppose the moncylords, we help the aristocracy; if we assist them, we oppose ourselves. Crucified between the two thieves of land and gold, what good will it do the people, if they rivet the nails of the one, and loosen the limbs of the other as long as they themselves still hang at the cross? The middle-class wish to fight their hattle as cheaply and quickly as possible; it is a battle for the remission of taxation—with parliamentary" gilding on its "financial" gingerhread. It is no eas battle, as the protectionist reaction proves, and they cannot afford to wait long; they will be impoverished too rapidly, as soon as the ehb of trade shall have begun. But if they are to win the battle quickly and cheaply, they must have the assistance of the masses-they must have Nottinham riots, and Bristol burnings-marshallings in the bullring, and gatherings in the north, as they had in 1830. Who suffered for these events? the people. Who got the credit of the reform? the middle-class. Who got the odium of the riot? the people. Who got the fruits of the struggle ? the middle-class. Who got the dungeons, and banish. ments, and tines, and scaffolds? the people. Chartists! will you have the same game played over again? It will he so if you once give way to the torrent-if you once engage in the struggle. If your sympathles-your passions, become enlisted. as they must, when you join in a fierce political contest, you will be drawn away in the vortex. The middle class will speak ultra-democracy-the aristocracy will confound you hoth in one common abuse and attack-the middle-class quarrel will he felt as yours-the middle-class will he glad to see -nay, as they did in 1830-will incite you to commit violence, from a two-fold reason: 1, it will intimidate their rivals into submission; 2nd. it will afford them an excuse for not giving you what they promised; the riots they themselves incited for their own quarrel will he held forth an a reason why it would not be safe to grant you polit-A portion of the argument is, however, based on the workhouse and the farm; the vast army of ical power. They will derive the benefit of the

re ction, the same as they will have done that of the excitement: the defcated aristocracy itself will rally around them, on the ground that their class unterest is safer if ruled by the middle order than by the democracy; and you will discover when too late, that you are better off while the two robbers of your rights are quarreling among themselves, while their mutual jealousies grudge the popular prey to a rival, that when you have ele-Tated the one supreme, with no division to his power, but full leisure to direct its weight exclusively on you.

Therefore, let us abstain from the present contest-let us employ the time in strengthening ourselves, in making proselytes among the agricult ural districts,-the Irish, the miner, railway labourers, household-servants, and the classes hired

by government.

In conclusion-look to the unenlightened agricultural mind of the country. Where are your apostles preaching in that wilderness? Where are the tracts that you should seatter, thick as April rain? Where the funds that should send the missionary through the land, and set the presses working for the God of truth?

Blame yourselves if your toiling brothren be-come the misled p ey of the landlord, the parson, and the money-monger. Look to the rural districts! There they lie-those mental deserts, stretching away beneath the drought of ignorance, and thirsting for the dew of knowledge. you it rests to guide the fertilising showers across them, and to sow the seed of intelligence, we should soon see flourishing in that fallow field, and ripening to the harvest day of freedom.

ERNEST JONES.

Correspondence.

The Editor is not to be held responsible for the opinions of Correspondents,]

CHARTIST ETHICS.

Who shakes my faith in high humanity,
Is not the proper teacher for my soul. Thank Poot.

T. Carlyle tells us, "There is precious instruetion to be got by finding we are in the wrong."
It is the first step towards getting in the right. Thoy who can bear patiently the telling of their faults will not be long before they improve. However in error a person may be who animadverts upon us or our proceedings, there will generally be found something worthy of attention, "as we cannot see ourselves as we are seen by others." When those who animadvert resort to abuse and ealumny, as "Caustie" in the Dispatch of the 26th April does, they show they are not worthy of a reply. When an opponent who can argue descends to seurrility, it is the best proof he feels the weakness of his cause and the growing strength of ours.

In my last letter I attempted to show what Chartist Ethics have been. Some of the causes of the failures of Chartist efforts, I conclude to have been our faulty notions of the principles of action and formation of opinion. I now offer a few suggestions towards the improvement of

these notions.

We have first to inquire, why we have opponents? It arises principally from the imperfect expression of opinion among us, and from a reekless use of personalities. Not of the expression of opinion in the Charter but in the enunciation and enforcement of its prin-In a word, many are our opponents, merely because they misunderstand us. Misunderstanding is the right term for almost all opposition to what is true and just. Most men have some amount of experience and confirmed habits of thought, upon which they stand as on a pedestal judging all things—taking no account of other men's experience. All questions appear in different proportions to those who view them from pedestals of different heights or different truth. The first we are bound to accept, though

positions. To make justice appear like justice to all men, we must get within the range of every man's experience, and illustrate the unfamiliar by what is familiar. As men will not come down from their pedestals, we must step down from ours and find a common ground, in the camp of the opponent upon which both can argue. The same language would appear to mean very differently to different men. we must vary our language to suit the different capacity, experience, and varied condition of men. G. Dawson, in a recent lecture, observed, "The artist says, that to understand his picture, you must hang it in the light in which he painted it." The Charter is our picture, and those who criticise it will persist in looking at it in a wrong light, and from a wrong position. They will not come to us and look at it from our point of view. Wo must, therefore, take it up to them, and show them that what appears distortion and blunder merely appears so from their way of looking at it. There are others who do come down to us, yet make objections. In the like manner, hang a perfect picture in the right light, and those unacquainted with the rules of art wlll mistake true proportion for distortion. The right adjustment of light and shade as gross blunders. So with those who are ignorant of the art of governing. To these we must patiently enunciate and elaborate the principles of the Charter. Instead of "cry-'The Charter, and nothing but the Charter," we should show that the supplementary five points are necessary for the full development and fair exereise of the suffrage.

Opponents should not be addressed as enemies, but as men who think themselves in the right as much as wo do, and differ with us (in all probability) because we have not been able to state our case so as to enable them to see it as clearly as we see it. We ought not to assume, as the bigots do, that we are perfectly in the right and our opponents perfectly in the wrong. We should not show them that we have come to convert them. Holding principles which we believe will bear the test of inquiry and discussion, we should rather offer ourselves for conversion. Thus more effectually drawing out an opponent, and gaining an opportunity of turning to account any weakness in his position, or any fallacy in his arguments.

When we come clearly to perceive that success depends upon the formation of opinion, we shall be more careful least we do dishonour to our principles by our modes of advocacy and forms of expression. We must acquire discipline sufficient to enable us to aet and argue coolly. Truth should be calm-majestic. Cant should be left to the charlatan. Justice can well afford to despise exaggeration.

Passion distorts all that it touches. It blinds us and blinds opponents. Concealing from us what is reasonable on their side-from them what is just on our side. Before much progress can be made in the formation of opinion—passion, instead of choking us, must be choked by us. Indignation is the unruly demogogue that prevents wise deliberation and effective action. He must be put down, or he will surely keep us down. There is mueli talk about truth, and much misconception of its nature; which misconception is the cause of much miselief and misunderstanding. It is too often forgotten that that which is false may have a fact or facts to support it and give it an appearance of truth. Men give their adhesion with avidity to a proposition, if a single fact is adroitly brought forward to support it. As Mrs. Nickleby support d her position-that the occupation of the sempstress (stitching in a bent posture)

"From weary chime to chime,"

was not consumptive, by instancing one young girl she had known who always had rosy cheeks. "Truth is that statement which has the balance of facts on its side." As far as individuals are concerned, the statement of things as they appear to them is the truth. We should always distinguish hetween a true statement and a statement of the

not bound to act upon it, unless we have positive corroborated proof that it is intentionally false. The second should not be accepted till the facts for and against have been given in and ridgidly examined.

SERVO.

(To be concluded in No. 25.)

AN APPEAL TO THE WORKING CLASSES OF LIVERPOOL AND THE MANUFACTURING TOWNS OF LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE.

Fellow Workmen, - A thousand thanks to you for the noble response you have already given to the call made upon you by the presence of those unfortunate but truly patriotic men, the "Polish-Hungarian Refugees,' who are located amongst you. You have, indeed, in spite of every prejudice,—of every misrepresentation—and in the face of a truckling and corrupt press, vindicated the right of a common humanity, which will shed a hrighter lustre on your character as a class, and be of far deeper import to the cause of progress than any blood-stained victory which either conquerors or tyrants can achieve.

Nor is this to be wondered at when we reflect that the noble and heroic conduct of these faithful men have secured the love, the gratitude, and admiration of every man aspiring to the name of freeman. Unfortunately, however, their noble deeds, and pure hopes have been frustrated, and they are now east as exiles npon our shores,many of them in a most helpless and distressed condition. We therefore implore you to continuo the good work you have so nobly begun: teach the wealthy classes that there is a power in the pence of the poor, when given in an earnest and truthful spirit, that can achieve victories even for poverty itself.

Through the exertions of the two Liverpool Committees, the one at the Brunswick Hotel, and your own Operatives' Committee, meeting at 10, Williamson-square, aided and assisted by the generosity and genuine benevolence of the true triends of freedom in different parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the number has already been reduced from 262 to 75: and these brave men, or a large number of them, are doing what they expressed their desire to do, -earning their bread by honest industry, or are humanely and kindly taken care of until provided for in a similar manner.

To secure this desirable object, and enable the Committees to carry their intentions to a suecessful issue, funds are yet required, and we feel confident we need only make this statement to secure the continued assistance of all those who are sineercly attached to those great principles of rational and constitutional liberty for which these sterling patriots are now suffering banishment and exlie.

All communications for the Central Operatives Committee for the Relief of the Polish-Hungarian Refugees to he Addressed to James Spurs, 10, Williamson-square, Liverpool.

Modern Miracles.-We are surrounded by marvels which change the material world around us; and each of them sprang from an act of faith in the omnipotence of the soul over the world. In the moral order of things, how many who were lame a century ago have been raised from their bed by one word—Liberty! For how many years of the rovolution were not France and her armies satisfied with five loaves, which were multiplied by the enthusiasm and religion of a good cause! age of miraeles is not gone by, though they are no longer done in the church; if there be some dead nations, the world will not wait till the last days of the Apocalypse to see them raised again to life. -Lectures by Professor Quinet, delivered in 1844-45.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Monies Received.—For the Refugees at Liverpool:— J. M'Intyre, Alexandria, 1s. For the Fraternal Democrats:—W. Brafield, 1s. W. A. Symmonds.—Mr. Ruffy received the money, which would have been acknowledged by post, but that all the address you gave was simply—"Limehouse."

"Homo."—Received. No room at present.

"Homo."—Received. No room at present.

Reviews.—Press of matter compels postponement of
reviews of several publications.

"The Jacobin of Pabis."—We have been repeatedly requested to re-publish the "Jacobin of Paris." In compliance with the wish of our friends, that poem shall appear in our next number, May 31st, that being the anniversary of the rising of Paris against the Girondists.

JULIAN HARNEY'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.

AFTER addressing meetings in Aberdeen and Dundee, early in June, I purpose to proceed through Perthshire, Stirling, &c. to the West of Scotland, and after fulfilling engagements in that part of the country, to proceed by Hamilton, &c. to Edinburgh; from Edinburgh to the North of England.

With pleasure I accept the invitations (received since the publication of a previous list of places) to South Shields, Bradford, and

Todmorden.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, MAY 24, 1851.

MAGISTERIAL JUSTICE ON THE MEND.

MAY-FAIR is agitated by a storm of mingled grief and indignation; Park Lane threatens to "pronounce;" Belgravia talks of barricades; and "but for the vigilance of the authorities" the tocsin would even now be sounding from the tower of (the church of) St. James!

Would you believe it-unless it was in (that record of truth) the newspaper-that a real live Captain, a scion of the ducal house of BEAUFORT, has been sent to the House of Correction?

Can such things be, And overcome us like a summer's cloud Without our special wonder!

Captain Paulett Henry Somerset, of the Coldstream Guards, driving "a phaeton and pair," was dashing along the road in Hyde Park leading to the Exhibition, contrary to the express commands of "Her Majesty's Commissioners," who had ordered that all vehicles going in the direction of the Glass Palace, should proceed up Rotten-Row. Police-Constable GRIFFIN, D 69, in charge of the forbidden ground, signalled to the Captain to go back, and called out that "there was no thoroughfare for carriages up that road." The Captain instead of obeying orders whipped his horses, upon which the Griffiu seized the reins. This fired the blood of the aristocrat, and he commenced flogging at the constable with his whip, lashing his face and shoulders, and "drawing blood slightly." The Griffin relaxed his grasp, and the Captain, for the moment victorious, whipped his horses into full gallop, and tried to get away. But, alas! Fortune does not always favour the brave. Victor over the Griffin, the Captain had next to face another of the Commissioners' monsters, in the shape of "a horse patrol," and thinking he had done enough for glory for that day, the Coldstream hero judiciously beat a retreat.

Frightful consequences were destined to flow from this adventure.

The Captain was had up before Mr. HARDWICK at Marlborough Street Police Office, and after a full investigation, the Magistrate wound up a lecture on the evil of "an officer in Her Majesty's service not setting a better example of obedience to those in authority," with the awful announcement: "You will go to the House of Correction for ten days."

"House of Correction!" exclaimed the defendant, "Pray allow me to pay a fine. I trust you will consider your decision over again. Such a sentence will probably oblige me to leave my regiment. I will pay any fine you may inflict."

But the Magistrate was inexorable, and Captain Somerset was removed to the lockup cells, "evidently in a state of the most

uncomfortable bewilderment."

This is an example which we trust other magistrates will not be slow to follow. We hope too that this case is but the prelude to the abolition of the system of fines. The usual course is to sentence an offender to pay a fine or go to prison for a certain term. Under such a sentence it invariably comes to pass that a rich man, or any one above the class of workers, escapes imprisonment, while almost as invariably the poor and working man is sent to gaol. The manner in which Captain Somersetasked as a favour: "Pray, allow me to pay a fine," adding "I will pay any fine you may inflict," shewed that the payment of five pounds, or even any larger sum would have been no hardship to him, and, therefore, no punishment.

The Magistrate has done his duty, but we would wager the Bank of England against a St. Michael's orange that, although consigned to the House of Correction, the nephew of the Duke of BEAUFORT will not be subjected to the discipline of the prison. Far be it from us to desire to pursue any one in the present position of Captain Somerset with unnecessary rigour. But remembering the treatment of political offenders, remembering that men who had been guilty of no moral offence, of no real crime-their alleged misdemeanour being in reality an act of virtue-were put to all the torture of the separate and silent systems, compelled to wear the prison dress, their hair cropped, &c., remembering that in answer to all appeals for a mitigation of treatment there was the one unvarying reply, "Such are the rules of the prison; no distinction can be made;" and remembering too, that under this treatment SHARP and WILLIAMS were "done to death," and ERNEST JONES nearly shared the same doom; remembering these facts, we ask is Captain PAULETT HENRY SOMERSET subjected to the prison discipline? Does ho wear the prison dress? Has his hair been cropped? Does he breakfast on skilly, and dino on rotten rotatoes? Does he pick oakum, or is exempted only because his friends have paid the usual exemption money? We shall try to get an answer to these questions.

Two drunken medical students, and a soldier charged with a brutal assault upon an unoffending man, in the Strand, and the police-constable and other persons by whom they were taken into custody, and whose only excuse was, that "they were too drunk to know what they were doing," were sentenced one of them to 21 days' imprisonment,

the other student to pay a fine of £5, or one month's imprisonment, and the soldier to imprisonment for 14 days. The reason for giving one of the offenders the option of paying a fine instead of going to prison, is not stated in the report of the case. If he deserved a month's imprisonment, it was to say the least a blunder to allow him the opportunity of escaping by paying a money penalty. "A subsequent appeal for a mitigation of punishment was made by the friends of the student committed for twenty-one days, on the ground that it would prevent him passing his examination; but Mr. HENRY (the magistrate) adhered to his decision, remarking that the Medical Students of London were the most disorderly class with whom the police and the magistrates had to deal." very proper determination.

We must say we hail these decisions with much satisfaction, and trust they will have a wholesome effect in restraining the insolence and brutality of the "men about town," sprigs of the aristocracy and plutocracy, who because hitherto they have rarely suffered any penalty beyond the infliction of a fine, have considered themselves licensed to commit any outrage, knowing that, at the worst, they would only have to pay for their amusements.

THE REVOLUTION COME AT LAST.

OUR readers know that for several weeks in succession Mr. O'CONNOR amused himself. and did his best to frighten his readers, by predicting "a bloody revolution" in London, to be led by the kill 'em and eat 'em "foreigners," at the opening of the Exhibition. But the fates were unpropitious, and Mr. O'CONNOR was forced to announce that, up to the second day of the Exhibition, the revolution had not come off. To console the disappointed, the prophet announced that the sanguinary "flare-up" would certainly take place on the 4th of May, only the scene was changed from London to Paris. Again a failure. Not even Louis Napoleon and CARLIER could induce the Republicans to descend into the streets, and again the prediction of our worthy leader ended in smoke -happily not the smoke of battle. Since then we have been wondering whether the roar of revolt would break forth at Snig'send. At last comes the bouleversement almost at our own doors. The revolutionor revelation, much one and the same-is not yet consummated, but has commenced in the shape of civil war, in the heart of that famous building, known on the one side as "Number 493, New Oxford-street," and on the other as "Number 144, High Hol-

The Daily News, of May 15th, contained a letter addressed "To the Depositors in the National Land and Labour Bank, and the Members of the National Land Company;' and signed by "William Dixon, Phillip M'Grath, Christopher Doyle, and Thomas Clark." In this letter, the "gents," who sign it, commence by quoting the following circular, which they say—"Feargus O'Connor, M.P., has just issued to all those persons who have placed money in the National Land and Labour Bank, of which he is the proprietor :-

National Land and Labour Bank, 493, Oxford-street, London, 10th May, 1851. Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Feargus O'Connor to inform you that, pending the decision of parlia-

ment on the subject of the liabity of the National Land Company to repay the advances made by him, and to assist which company you will remember this bank was originally established, he is reluctantly but unavoidably compelled, in compliance with the unanimous vote of the Land Compliance with the analysis to a temporary suspension pany's directors, to submit to a temporary suspension of payment to depositors. The claims of Mr. O'Connor against the Land Company, which far exceed the liabilities of the bank, have been made the subject of an inquiry before a parliamentary committee, and their correctness was then admitted in a report to the House of Commons; subsequently a bill was introduced for winding up that company, on which the house will go into committee on the 19th instant. Clauses have been introduced into the bill to provide for the repayment of Mr. O'Connor's private advances, and the payment of your claims on this bank (full particulars of which will be forwarded to you with as little delay as possible) will be effected as soon as parliament authorises the satisfaction of Mr. O'Connor's just demands. But for the difficulties which have been thrown in the way to impede the prosperity of the Land Company, I should not have been ealled upon to make an announcement, which, however imperative, no one laments more sincerely than Mr. O'Connor, who has, to a very considerable amount, met the demands of depositors for several months past out of his own private resources. The entire liabilities of the bank do not exceed £4,000, and I have every confidence that, from the source I have named, every depositor will be paid in full. Until Mr. O'Connor has received the repayment of his claim against the Land Company, this bank will necessarily be closed; but any letters, addressed to me as formerly will meet due attention. am, sir, your obedient servant, per pro., Fcargus O'Connor, THOMAS PRICE, Manager.

The comments of the four "directors," on this ominous-looking circular, arc to the

following effect :-

1. They repudiate the responsibility sought to be cast upon them. 2. The statement that a vote of theirs has occasioned suspension of payment to depositors "is cntirely without foundation." 3. In 1848, Mr. O'Connor assumed the whole proprietorship of the Bauk to himself; that, from that time until the introduction of the bill into the House of Commons for winding up the Land Company, they had not interfered in the management of the Bank; but, finding it was proposed to defray all the losses and expenses of that establishment out of the sale of the Land Company's property, they protested against anything being done by the Bank which should entail further liabilities on the Company; but "had not the remotest idea," that this "would be construed by Mr. O'CONNOR into a warranty for refusing to meet the immediate demand of the depositors." 4. They object to the amount assumed to be due by the Land Company to Mr. O'CONNOR. Since August, 1849, that gentleman has received several thousand pounds on account of the company, of the appropriation of which we, in common with the shareholders, know nothing." [A precious set of directors!] 5. Mr. O'Connor has "ceased to have any personal pecuniary interest whatever in the Company which could be made available to the bank depositors," as witness the following notice, served upon the Land Company directors, in April last, by Marshall Turner, Esq., Mr. O'Con-Non's solicitor :-

Gentlemen,—Take notice that by indenture of assignment dated the 31st day of March, 1851, made between Feargus O'Connor, of Notting-hill, in the county of Middlesex, Esquire, of the one part, and me, the undersigned, Marshall Turner, part, and me, the undersigned, marshall fuller, of the other part, for the consideration therein of the other part, for the consideration therein mentioned, the said Feargus O'Connor has assigned to me all that debt or sum of £3,298 5s. 3d. signed to me all that debt or sum of £3,298 5s. 3d. which was in the year 1848 found to be due and which was in the year 1848 found to be due and

owing from the society or association called the National Land Company to the said Feargus O'Connor, and all such further or other debt and debts, sum and sums of money, as are now due or owing to him from the said society or association, to hold such debts or sums of money, to me, my executors, administrators, and assigns, absolutely subject, as in the same indenture of assignment is mentioned.

Dated 1st April, 1851. MARSHALL TURNER. To the Directors of the National Land Company.

In conclusion, Dixon, M'Grath, Doyle, and Clark, "disclaim all connection with or participation in closing the National Land and Labour Bank against the prompt dis-

charge of claims of depositors.'

The Daily News of May 16th contained a very lame reply from Mr. O'Connon-the reader, if he is curious as to the full particulars, may ascertain them by referring to the Star of the 17th. Mr. O'Connon's reply amounts to this, that he has paid Dixon, Doyle, and M'Grath, as directors, out of his own pocket for several months; and that he has received and disbursed a great number of sums, which he enumerates, and the result of which he sums up as follows :-- "There has come out of my pocket £11,926 14s. 11d. From this deduct the amount I have received, £4,921 10s. 8d. Due to me, 7,005 4s. 3d. "FEARGUS O'CONNOR."

Mr. O'CONNOR takes no notice of the most important part of the letter of his brother directors, that in which they quote the deed of assignment of all debts due by the company to him, to Mr. TURNER. That deed expressly declares that "the said Feargus O'Connor has assigned to me all that debt or sum of £3,298 5s. 3d., which was in the year 1848 found to be due, and owing from the society or association called the National Land Company, to the said Feargus O'Con-NOR, and all such further or other debt and debts, sum and sums of money as now (April 1st, 1851) are due or owing to him." Truly, this holds out a comfortable prospect for the luckless depositors!

We cumber our columns with this matter mainly that it may serve as a note of warning to persons who otherwise might be disposed to play the fool a second time by contributing their cash to some one of the New Land Company Schemes recently announced through the columns of the Star. Instead of risking moncy in hand in the vain attempt to get back that which is gone-God knows where, perhaps "where the good niggers go," they will do well to console themselves with

HAMLET'S wise reflection-

"Better to bear the ills we have, Than fly to others which we know not of."

The Star of May 17th, contains a letter from three devoted admirers, apprising Mr. O'CONNOR that his friend and brother director Clark was holding forth at the People's Institute, Manehester, on the preceding Sunday, where does the money come from to enable these worthies to steam to Manchester so often ?], and that Clark, Leach, and Donovan, combined to impeach the honesty of F. O'Connor and W. P. Roberts. Mr. O'Con-NOR appends a note in which he says "I think there may be some error about Leach's and Donovan's remarks; but none about Thomas Clark, Esq.'s, who has now become a great advocate of the Financial Reformers."

must begin to be evident to the most prejudiced dupes. As yet we are only at the beginning of the revelations. O'CONNOR alienated from himself the affections of all honest men; surrounded himself with none but sycophants and traffickers; and now he begins to reap his well-merited reward. "Here's a fine revolution, if he had the trick to see't!"

FOREIGN POLITICS.

THAT precious compound of knave and fool, "our own correspondent" of the Times has been playing on the credulity of that journal's readers by forwarding from Paris, a secret "Message" "addressed by M. MAZZINI to the Central Committee of London." The fact that our dear "correspondent" vouched for the authenticity of the "Message" prepared us to doubt its genuincness. This very natural suspicion was strengthened on our perusal of the document, which contained sentiments and forms of expression not exactly of a character likely to emanate from MAZZINI. The writing was an attempted imitation of MAZZINI'S style, but rather a caricature than a close copy. With this opinion of the "Message" we withheld it from the printer suntil MAZZINI should deny—or by his silence confirm—the authenticity of "our own correspondent's" revelation. The Times, in its haste to have a stab at the Triumvir, had already committed itself to a ridiculous "leader" on the subject, when, behold, the chief of "Young Italy" ruthlessly extinguished this latest concoction of the gentleman "who does the Foreign" for the Times, by declaring the pretended "Message" a forgery.

Nil desperandum. Let "our own correspondent" never give up. Proclaimed liar and forger to-day, he may revenge himself by——lying and forging to-morrow.

"As busy as the devil in a gale of wind,"

the ordermongers in

FRANCE

are meeting, scheming, resolving, re-resolving, swearing eternal union, and plotting against each other at the same time; agreeing to do their best to destroy the Republic, and, in their secret souls, swearing mutual destruction! One day we are assured that the "fusion" of the two Bourbon gangs is an accomplished fact. The next day comes word that Madame, the lady nicknamed by nobs and snobs the Duchess of ORLEANS, is determined to maintain the isolation of herself and son, the heir to Louis Philippe's claims, to wit, his umbrella and tri-coloured cockade; that Joinville is swearing all sorts of sailor's oaths at his "good cousin" Henry, whose "subjects" return the compliment with interest; and thus "confusion worse confounded" reigns in the camp of the "fusion. ists." The Buonapartists, too, are at their wit's end: one day their organs intimate that if the Constitution is not likely to be revised in a Buonapartist sense, the President will demand the repeal of the electoral law of the 31st of May, in the hope of thereby reviving his popularity, and committing his fortune once more to the chances of Universal Suffrage. The next day his principal minister, LEON FAUCHER, forwards a telegraphic despatch to the department of the Landes, apprising the electors that the Government DARRIEU, the candidate pledged to support

for the existing Assembly to decree the prolongation of both its own and the President's powers. But that would be a violation of the Constitution, and would be resisted by force. Another dodge is for the present Assembly to declare itself dissolved the moment "the revision" is seen to be impossible,—at the same time to decree the election of a kind of Provisional Assembly to sit until the period fixed for the regular elections in 1852. "But then," remarks "our own correspondent" (of the Times), "possibly the new electron would produce a Revolutionary Assembly, which would overturn all obstacles, and break through all resistance." It is admitted by the worthy just quoted, that "the party of order has, during the last six months, lost much ground, and is every day losing ground." The Times which, up to this ruoment has encouraged all the conspiracies of the traitors, and applauded all their crimes, begins to entertain anxious misgivings regarding the future, and hints that, after all, the least perilous course would be to "give the Republic a fair trial." The Puddle-Dock thunderer takes this doleful view of the

"If the Constitution be revised it does not follow of necessity that Louis Napoleon will retain his present position, and even if the fusion of the two branches of the royal family and their adherents be complete, it does not follow that monarchy will be restored. There are lions in the path; and whatever course may prevail for one or the other of these purposes in the National Assembly, the republican party is sufficiently strong and well organised to defend its position, if necessary." What of the "fu-sion," adds the Times,—" What is to come next? What is to come at last? How will the rough out of doors politician of our day, who bluster in the club and fight on the barricade, yield decile obedience to the spell of the diplomatists, or the alchemy of the cabinet?' Lastly, the Times argues that the very attempt—these ostentations alliancesto restore monarchy will probably tend to consolidate the Republic!

"revision," and the "fusion:"-

To add to the anxieties of "the situation" trade (as in England) is rapidly declining. The accounts from Lyons are deplorable, great numbers of the people are absolutely starving. This state of things may have helped the triumph of the Reds at La Guillotiere, a suburh of Lyons, where at the municipal elections they have returned nearly the whole of the councillors. Other signs of the times are manifested by the dissolution of the National Guard at Grenoble and Rouilly for their "republican tendencies." At the latter place some of the officers lind "attempted to replant publican tendencies." a tree of liberty." Let the intriguers continue to conspire, they but hasten their doom. The salvation of France is certain.

Our courtly readers (?) will rejoice to learn that the Queen of

is "in an interesting situation." This precious announcement appears day by day in the Madrid correspondence of "our best possible instructors." A new concordat with the Pope restores all the power of the discomfited priests, the fires of the Inquisition perhaps excepted. The elections are tarming in favour of the government, not only on account of the very limited number of

wavering resolves. Oue hopeful scheme is have recourse to all kinds of intimidation and brutality to secure the return of government tools. Between royalty and priestcraft, greedy adventurers and military cut-throats, poor Spain is bewildered almost beyond hope of redemption.

"Order" does not yet reign in PORTUGAL.

The miserable despot and kicked-out tyrant. COSTA CABRAL, nick-named Count de THOMAR, has arrived in England; and the "King," deserted by the troops, had to fly from Coimbra and arrived at Lisbon without a solitary soldier to escort him! "Her Majesty" has sent a very humble letter to SALDANHA, declaring her erown to be at the mercy of his honour. Unluckily for her one of SALDANHA's partisans has intercepted a letter written by "Her Majesty to her husband, in which she calls Saldanha a coquin (rascal), and urges "no compromise." Donna Maria aided by "Sir" H. SEYMOUR, the British envoy has been trying to get Saldanha to come alone to Lisbon to form a ministry; but the Marshal fearing a trap wisely declines to leave Oporto, excepting in the company of four or five thousand of the troops most attached to his cause. Convinced of the unalterable perfidy of Donna MARIA, many of the liberals demand her abdication and the proclamation of her eldest son, Pedro, as king, with a regency, he being but fourteen years of age. Young hopeful is very indignant at the conduct of the army in deserting to Saldanha. This shows him to be a chip of the old block; and shows too that there is but one way of dealing with such a set, namely to utterly cast them out, -seed, breed, and generation. Portugal, however, is not yet ripe for a radical revolution; and even if ripe, would be crushed by foreign tyrants. But wait a-

Y ITALY,
Premonitory symptoms of another struggle abound. The moral crusade against smoking and snuff-taking, in order to deprive the Austrian government of the revenue it derives from tobacco, and which preceded the outbreak in Milan and other cities in 1848 is again manifested throughout "the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom," and is spreading to Tuscany, and the Roman states. The Austrians meet this movement with imprisonment and the bastinado; and threaten death in addition! Military executions take place every day; and acts of vengeance on the part of the people are not uncommon. Savage contests repeatedly occur between the Pope's soldiers and his French restorers. The latter occasionally hinting that in capturing Rome they merely obeyed orders, and had their mission been to cut the throats of all the priests they would have executed it with equal zeal!

GERMANY

Comes word of the prorogation of the Prussian Chambers. Laws to further enslave the press, and to apply the blessing of a "state of siege" to the happy subjects of FREDERICK WILLIAM, should they turn refractory, were the last acts of the villains composing the two Houses. His Grace-of-God kingship failed to exhibit (probably the previous night's champagne was good, plentiful, and not spared!). Mr. Man-devil read the "royal speech," which contained the follow-

The enemies of divine and human order cerelectors but because the government agents tainly repose as little as do the passions that excite

But revolution, no matter under what them. form or whence it may arise, will find the King's government watchful and steadfast, and Prussia in arms. The menacing attitude of these enemies. independent of other motives, renders it an urgent duty for all German governments not to permit Germany to remain longer without a central organ universally recognised at home and abroad.

This looks very like "His Majesty in a sweat!" His big words but poorly conceal his terror at the advance of "the enemies of divine and human order,"—that is, the friends of justice and freedom, the enemies of royal tyrants and perjured traitors.

The little reliance the Kaiser can place in his "faithful troops" is proved by the swarms of deserters who daily take refuge in Switzerland, and the proclamations threatening the inhabitants of Hamburgh with punishment for harbouring and aiding deserters from the

Austrian garrison. If the devil would throw his net over Warsav just now, what a precious haul he might make. In the ancient capital of outraged Poland,

THE CROWNED BRIGANDS OF RUSSIA, AUSTRIA, AND PRUSSIA,

Have met to conspire against Humanity. They see the storm of revolution gathering over France, and they meet to concoct their schemes of slavery and extermination. But vain their plots, their armies, and all their hellish devices to arrest the progress of the Human Race.

Europe shall not be "Cossack," and that means she must be "Republican."

Despair, ye Accurst! ye Oppressors! The hand of the Brave turns the glass; And the steps of the World's Redressors Shall tread you to dust as they pass,

KOSSUTH.

Ir is reported that the Turkish government has delivered its ultimatum concerning the refugees to the Austrian government. are not to be detained beyond the autumn. As this is on the authority of the Times we cannot vouch for its accuracy. Any way it is imperative on all friends to Hungary to bestir themselves, hold meetings, and memorialise the Foreign office to take a bold and resolute course in this matter. The memorial adopted at the public meeting, convened by the fraternal democrats, held at the John-street Institution on Tuesday, May 13th, and presided over by THORNTON HUNT, has elicted the following reply from the

Foreign Office,
May 15th, 1851.
Sir,—I am directed by Viscount Palmerston to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th inst., enclosing a memorial from certain inhabitants of the metropolis assembled at the Literary Institution, Fitzroy-square, praying the iutorference of Her Majesty's Government in favour of the Huugarians detained in Turkey; and I am to request that you will acquaint the memorialists that this matter continues to engage the earnest attention of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, sir, Your most obedient humble servant, H. W. ADDINGTON.

To Thornton Hunt, Esq., Broadway, Hammersmith.

The earth being free, and its possession secure and easy, every man was a proprietor, and the division of property preserved morals and prevented

Teams from our Library.

CONSUELO. BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 23.)

" In the course of the day Consuelo saw a strange group defile past her window and proceed towards the public square. They were robust. weatherbeaten men, with long moustachies, naked legs; and leather sandals secured like the buskins of the ancients with thongs; they were a sort of pointed caps, had their belts garnished with numerous pistols, and each held in his hand a long Albanian musket, while over their uncovered neck and arms was thrown a red cloak, which completed their costume.

" Is this a masquerade?' exclaimed Consuelo to the canon who had called to pay her a visit. We are not now in the carnival that I know

"Look well at those men,' replied the canon; it will be long ere we see the like again, if it please God to protect the reign of Maria Theresa. See how the people look at them with a curiosity mingled with terror and disgust. Vienna saw them hasten to her assistance in her hour of anguish and distress, and she received them more joyfully then than she does to day, ashamed and terror-stricken as she is to have been indebted to them for her safety.'

"Are these the Sclavonian bandits of whom I heard so much in Bohemia, and who committed so

many outrages there ?' said Consuelo.

"' They are no other,' replied the eanon; 'they are the residue of those hordes of Croatian serfs and robbers whom the celebrated Baron Francis Trenck, cousin to your friend Baron Frederick Trenck, manumitted with incredible ability and daring, in order to enter them as regular troops in the service of the empress. Behold him!-this redoutable hero-this Trenek with the burnt throat, as the soldiers eall him-this famous partisan chief—the most cunning, intrepid, and necessary during the sad and bloody years gone by; the greatest romancer, the greatest robber certainly of his age, but at the same time one of the bravest, most vigorous, most active, and incredibly daring mer of modern times. Behold him, Trenck, the Pandour, with his famished wolves, a savage and bloody herd of which he is the savage shepherd !'

"' Baron Francis Trenck was even taller than his cousin of Prussia, and was nearly six feet six inches in height. His scarlet mantle, which was secured round his neck by a ruby clasp, was open at the breast, and displayed to view a whole museum of Turkish weapons studded with precious stones, disposed around his person. curved seimitars, and cutlasses-nothing was wanting to give him the appearance of the most determined and expeditious of man-slayers. His cap was adorned, instead of a plume of feathers, with a minature scythe, with four blades falling in front. His face was frightful. Having descended into a cellar, during the pillage of a Bohemian town, in search of a quantity of concealed treasure, he incautionsly approached the candle too near some barrels which he thought contained the promised gold; but instead of gold the barrels contained powder, and the consequence of his mistake was an explosion, which destroyed a portion of the vault When he was at last and buried him in the ruins. dug out he was almost expiring. His body was severely scorched, and his face seamed with deep and indelible wounds. 'No person,' say the annals of the time, 'could look on him without shud-

dering.'
"This is then that monster, that enemy of the human race!' exclaimed the horror stricken Consmele, turning away her eyes. 'Bohemia will long remember his passage: cities burned and plundered-children and old men cut to pieces-women outraged-the country pillaged-the harvest

rooted up-flooks destroyed, when they could not be carried away—everywhere ruin, murder, desolation, and flames! Alas! unhappy Bohemia, the theatro of so many sufferings, the seene of such dreadful tragedies!

"'Yes, unfortunate Bohemia?' replied the canon. 'Ever the victim of man's fury-ever the arena of his strife! Francis Trenck renewed in that unhappy kingdom all the frightful excesses of John Like him unconquered, he never gave quarter, and the terror of his name was so great that his outposts have taken cities even when far in advance, and while the main body were struggling with other enemies. It might be said of him, as it was of Attila, that the grass never grew where his horse had left his footmarks. The conquered will curse him to the fourth generation.'

Baron Francis Trenek gradually disappeared in the distance, but Consuelo and the canon could long distinguish his richly caparisoned horses led by

gigantie Croatian hussars.

"' What you see,' said the canon, 'is but an insignificant sample of his riches. Mules and chariots, laden with arms, pictures, precions stones, and ingots of gold and silver, cover the roads which lead to his Sclavonian estates. It is there that ho buries treasures which might serve to ransom kings. He is served on gold plate which he took from the King of Prussia at Soraw, where the King of Prussia himself narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by him. Some say he only got off by fifteen minutes; others say that he was actually in Trenck's liands, and that he purchased his liberty dearly. But, patience! the Pandour, perhaps, will not long enjoy such glory and riches. It is said that he is threatened with a criminal charge, and that the most frightful accusations are impending over him; that the empress is terribly afraid of him, and that such of his Croatians as have not, according to their usual practice, taken French leave, are about to be incorporated with the regular troops, and disciplined in the Prussian fashion. As for himself, I augur badly of the compliments and recompenses that await him at court."

"'But general report attributes to them the honour of having saved the Austrian throne.

- " 'And doubtless they have. From the frontiers of Turkey to those of France, they have spread terror everywhere around, and have taken places the most strongly fortified and won battles at every odds. Always in the van of the army, and ever first at the escalade or in the breach, they have extorted admiration from our greatest generals. The French fled before them in every direction, and the great Frederick himself, it is said, grew pale like any other mortal when he heard their war-cry. Noither rapid torrents, nor pathless forests, nor treacherous morasses, nor steep and shelving rocks, nor showering balls, nor crackling flames, arrested their progress by night or day, in winter or in summer. Yes, most certainly they have saved Maria Thoresea's throne more effectually than all the antiquated military tactics of our generals, or all the schemes of our most accomplished diplo-
- "'In that case their crimes will be unpunished, their thefts glorified!'
- " 'Perhaps, on the contrary, they will be too severely punished.
- "But a monarch would not thus requite men who had rendered such services?'
- "'Pardon me,' exclaimed the eanon, with caustic irony; 'when the monarch has no more need of them-
- "But were they not suffered to commit these excesses, which they practised in the territories of the empire, or on those of the allies?

" Doubtless, everything was permitted to them, because they were indispensable.

" And now?

- " And now, as they are so no longer, they are reproached with the very misdeeds which were formerly winked at.
 - "And the high-minded Maria Theresa?"
 - "'Oh! they have profuned churches."

- "I understand. Trenck is lost, reverend canon.
- "'Hush! Speak low,' replied he.
- " 'Have you seen the Pandours? exclaimed Joseph, running in, quite out of breath,
- With very little satisfaction, replied Con-
- " And did you not recollect them ?
- "'I see them now for the first time.
- "'No, it is not the first time. We met those men in the Boehmer Wald.'
- " Thank God, not that I recollect."
- " Do you not remember a chalet where we passed the night, and where our slumbers were disturbed by some strange, fierce-looking men demanding admittance.'
- "Consuelo did in fact remember the circumstance, but as she was very drowsy, she had not paid much attention to the men, who both she and Joseph had taken for contrabandists.
- "'Well,' said he, 'these pretended contrabandists, who did not observe our presence, and who left the chalet before day-light, carrying bags and heavy packages, were no other than Pandours. It was the arms, the faces, the moustachios, and the eloaks, which I have just seen pass, and Providence spared us, without our knowing it, from the worst encounter we could possibly have met with.'
- "" Without any doubt, observed the canon, to whom Joseph had often related all the details of their journey, 'these worthy fellows had disbanded themselves of their own free will, as they usually do when their pockets are lined, and they were regaining their homes by a long circuit, rather than carry their booty through the heart of the empire where they might have been subjected to a reckoning. But be assured they would not reach home without molestation. They rob and assassinate each other by the way, and it is only the strongest who regain their forests and their caverns, loaded with the booty of their slaughtered companions."
- "The hour for the performance, which was now approaching, distracted Consculo's attention from Trenck and his cruel Pandours, and she hastened to the theatre. Here she had no dressing-room. Madame Tesi had hitherto lent her hers; but on this occasion, enraged at her success and now her sworn enemy, she had carried off the key, and the prima doona of the evening was totally at a loss how to act. These petty treacheries are usual at theatres; they serve to annoy and harass a rival whose power is feared. She loses time in looking for an apartment; she fears she will not succeed in finding one. The hour approaches; her companions say to her passing—'What! not dressed yet? They are going to begin!' At last, after much running to and fro, and many angry threats, she obtains an apartment where nothing she requires is at hand. The dressmakers have been bribed, and the costume is not ready, or does not fit. tirewomen are at the service of any one but the unfortunate vietim. The bell rings, and the call-boy (butta fuori) bawls along the corridors: 'Signore's signori, si va cominciar,' terrible words which the debutanto bears with affright, for she is not ready. In her haste she tears her sleeves, breaks her laces, puts on her mantle outside in, while ber diadem totters and threatens to fall with the first step she makes upou the stage. Nervous, palpitating, indignant, her eyes full of tears, she must appear with a celestial smile upon her lips; her voice must be pure and fresh, when her throat is choking and her bosom ready to burst. Oh! all those crowns of flowers which rain upon the stage at the moment of her triumph are mingled with countless

"Happily for Consuelo, she met Corilla, who said, taking her hand :-

"Come to my room. Tesi flattered herself she could play the same trick she practised on me when I made my first appearance. But I will come to your assistance, were it only to enrage her! it is a Roland for her Oliver !"

(To be continued.)

Poetry for the People.

THE LITTLE GRAND LAMA.

(From Moore's Fables for the Holy Alliance.)

In Thibet once there reign'd, we're told . Is Thibet once there reign'd, we're told, A little Lama, one year old—Rais'd to the throne, that realm to bless, Just when his little Holiness Had cut—as near as can be reckon'd—Some say his first tooth, some his second. Chronologers and nurses vary, Which proves historians should be wary. We only know th' important truth, 'His Majesty had cut a tooth."

And much his subjects were enchanted,
As well all Lamas' subjects may be,
And would have giv'n their heads, if wanted,
To make tectotums for the bahy.
As he was there by Right Divine—
(What lawyers call Juve Divino,
Meaning a right to yours, and mine,
And everybody's goods and rhino)
Of course, his faithful subjects' purses
Were ready with their aids and succours;
Nothing was seen but pension'd nurses,
And the land groan'd with hibs and tuckers.

Oh! had there been a Hume or Bennet Oh! had there been a Hume or Bennet Then sitting in the Thibet Senate, Ye gods, what room for long debates Upon the Nursery Estimates! What eutting down of swaddling-clothes And pinafores, in nightly battles! What ealls for papers to expose The waste of sugar-plums and rattles! But no—if Thibet had M.P.'s, They were far better bred than these, Nor gave the slightest opposition During the Monarch's whole dentition.

During the Monarch's whole dentition.

But short this calm—for just when he Had reach'd th' alarming age of three, When royal natures—and, no doubt, Those of all noble beasts break out—The Lama, who till then was quiet, Show'd symptoms of a taste for riot; And, ripe for mischief, early, late, Without regard for Church or State, Made free with whosoe'er eame nigh—Tweak'd the Lord Chancellor by the nose, Turn'd all the Judges' wigs awry, And trod on the old General's toes—Pelted the bishops with hot huns, Rode cock-horse on the city maces, And shot, from little devilish guns, Hard peas into his suhjects' faces.

In short, such wicked pranks he play'd, And grew so mischievons, God bless him! That his chief nurse—though with the aid Of an Archbishop—was afraid, When in these moods, to comb and dress him. And ev'n the persons most inclin'd For Kings, through thick and thin, to stickle, Thought thay directly a goliver pickle.

Thought him (if they'd but speak their mind, Which they did not) an odious pickle.

Which they did not) an odious pickle.

At length some patriot lords—a breed Of animals they have in Thibet, Extremely rare, and fit, indeed,
For folks like Pidcock to exhibit—
Some patriot lords, seeing the length
To which things went, combin'd their strength, And penn'd a manly, plain, and free Remonstrance to the nursery;
In which, protesting that they yielded To none, that ever went before 'em, In loyalty to him who wielded
Th' hereditary pap-spoon o'er 'em—That, as for treason, 'twas a thing
That made them almost sick to think of—That they and theirs stood by the King
Throughout his measles and his chin-cough, When others, thinking him consumptive,
Had ratted to the heir presumptive!—
But, still—though much admiring Kings (And chiefly those in leading strings),
They saw, with shame and grief of soul,
There was no longer now the wise
And constitutional control
Of birch before their ruler's eyes;
But that, of late, such pranks, and tricks,
And freaks occurred the whole day long,

But that, of late, such pranks, and tricks,
And freaks occurred the whole day long,

And freaks occurred the whole day loads all but men with bishoprics
Allow'd, iu ev'n a king, were wrongWherefore it was they humbly pray'd
That Honourable Nursery,
That such reforms be henceforth made
As all good men desir'd to see;—

In other words (lest they might seem Too tedious), the gentlest scheme
For putting all such pranks to rest,
And in its bud the mischief nipping—
They ventur'd humbly to suggest
His Majesty should have a whipping!

When this was read, no congreve rocket Discharg'd into the Gallic trenches E'er equall'd the tremendous shock it Pischarg a fifty the tremendous shock it
Produc'd upon the Nursery benches.
The Bishops, who of course had votes,
By right of age and petticoats,
Were first and foremost in the fuss—
"What, whip a Lama! suffer birelt
"To touch his sacred — infamous!
"Deistical!—assailing thus
"The fundamentals of the Church!—
"No—no—such patriot plans as these
"(So help them heaven—and their sees!)
"They held to be rank blasphemies."
The alarm thus giv'n, by these and other
Grave ladics of the nursery side,
Spread through the land, till such a pether,
Such party squabbles, far and wide,
Never in history's page had been
Recorded, as were then between
The whippers and non-whippers seen.
Till, things arriving at a state,

The whippers and non-whippers seen.
Till, things arriving at a state,
Which gave some fears of revolution,
The patriot lords' advice, though late,
Was put at last in exceution.
The Parliament of Thibet met—
The little Lama, call'd before it,
Did, then and there, his whipping get,
And (as the Nursery Gazette
Assures us) like a hero bore it.

And though, 'mong Thibet Tories, some Lament that Royal Martyrdom, (Please to observe, the letter D In this last word's pronoune'd like B) Yet to th' example of that Prince So much is Thibet's land a debtor, 'Tis raid he with Laws or the state of the s 'Tis said her little Lamas, since,
Have all behav'd themselves much better.

CO-OPERATIVE CHRONICLE.

FORTHCOMING CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE. At a meeting of the committee appointed by the Bury Co-operative Conference, held at the People's Hall, Rochdale, present: Messrs. Greenwood and Hill of Rochdale; William Bell (sec.), Heywood; P. Chappel, Pendleton; Thomas Hull, Padiham; Chcetom, Oldham; Choffes, Halifax (Chairman); Ross, Manchester; and Dowson, Bacup; it was unanimously resolved to call a conference to be held in Manchester, on the Friday in Whitsun-week, at 10 o'clock in the morning, of all the co-operative stores and workshops. All societies numbering more than twelve members, and under one hundred and twelve, to send one delegate, and one more for every additional hundred. Messrs. Hull, Bell, and Greenwood were appointed a committee to prepare a programme for the guidance of the Conference, get it printed, and send a copy to all co-operative concerns they know of. The committee recommend the establishment of a general depôt in Manchester for the sale of all kinds of grocery goods and provisions. To raise a capital of £2,500 to start business with, from co-operative stores or private individuals, and pay interest at the rate of five per cent. They particularly request all societies to get guarantees for their offi-cers or parties entrusted with sums of money or goods, through the medium of some guarantee society, in order to avoid all losses. Stores are requested to purchase such articles as they can bring best, from the London Co-operative Store, Charlotte Street.

TO THE BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

DEAR FRIENDS, -This is the period in which democratic literature is needed; not democracy of the olden sehool alone, but a democracy that shall be a reflex of the advanced mind of the agc. This pause—this lull in agitation is the opportunity during which the seed of knowledge should be sown, the words of truth be showered on the rural districts, and the people's mind prepared how to act in the time of coming power. I desire to be one of the pioneers in the field of progress. I have much to say to you, much to impart, that I means adequate to the extent of the subject, I have determined not to let the connexion, now re-

newed between us in my present publications, cease. I have therefore resolved on continuing, if possible, those publications weekly, under the title of

NOTES TO THE PEOPLE.

and refer you to the advertisement in this paper

for the remaining particulars.

Brother Chartists! If you think that democracy in its real aspect still needs propounding to the many-if you think that I have been tried in the cause and found faithful,—if, therefore, you think that cause will find an honest and determined advocacy in my pages, support me in the attempt!

Our movement still needs elevating-it needs raising from personal contention to higher principles—from the noisy platform to the thoughtful study. Will you help me in the undertaking?

I believe that, in the present aspect of our agitation, more good is to be done by the tract and the lecture than by the meeting only. I desire to serve the cause in that way, which is most adapted to its present eireumstances. I seek to write more, and to speak less; I therefore offer you a magazine at the low price of a tract. A large eirculation is necessary to cover expense—a low price is necessary to enable it to reach the poor. Try it-and, if you find it wanting, diseard it; if not, give mc your assistance.

ERNEST JONES.

Adbertisements.

A FRATERNAL FESTIVAL,

being the first of a series of Monthly Tea-Meetings, convened by the Society of Fraternal Democrats, for the purpose of promoting active and practical fraternity amongst the friends of Democracy and Social progress, will take place on Tuesday evening, May 27th, 1851; in the Coffee Room of the Literary Institution, John Street, Fitzroy

G. JULIAN HARNEY will be present to take leave of bis friends before proceeding on his tour in Scotland.

Tickets 9d. each. Tea on table at balf past seven pre-

eisely.

SHORTLY WILL BE PUBLISHED. A NEW WEEKLY DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER,
TO BE ENTITLED THE

FRIEND of the PEOPLE.

EDITED BY

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This journal will be devoted to the exposition and advocacy of uncompromising Democracy, and the Social Rights of the Millions. In addition to its political features, the "Friend of the People" will contain reports of the Debates in Parliament, Public Meetings, &c., also Legal, Police, Mercantile, and general intelligence.

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> Publishing every Saturday, NOTES TO THE PEOPLE.

A new periodical to reflect the advanced mind of the age, and prepare the people for the advent of popular power, by

ERNEST JONES,

ERNEST JONES,

Of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law,
Containing forty columns of close print (besides wrapper)
for TWO-PENCE.

Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are already out, and contain: THE NEW
WOELD; BELDAGON CHURCH, (giving the ritual of nature,
the Bishop of Beldagon's sermon, and the Hymn of his
flock); Westminster Prison; and A Letter on CoOPERATION, shewing the fatal errors of the present movement, and the remedy; Letters on the Chartist ProGRAMME, answering the Times, Dispatch, and Post, and
shewing the reasons for, and the working of, each clause;
A Democrat, the Confessions of a Demagogue, and the Minutes of a Spy; The Currency—what ought it to be?
The Superstitions of Man—I. and II.; The History of
Florence; Why will the shopkeepers lose by the Exhibition? Rewards in the Army; Panslavism Revealed; and
various other matter. In the following numbers—Our
Colonies, their Climate, Produce, and the Prospects of
Emigrants: 1. The Cape; 2, New South Wales, &c.;
Our Land, its Lords and Serfs; Letters to Farmers and
Labourers; and a varied course of instruction and amusement.
Published by R. Pavey, 47. Holywell Street Strand

Published by R. Pavey, 47, Holywell Street, Strand, London; and to be had through the booksellers.

^{*} See Turner's Embassy to Thibet for an account of his interview with the Lama. "Teshoo Lama (he says) was at this time eighteen months old. Though he was unable to speak a word, he made the most expressive signs, and conducted bimself with astonishing dignity and decorum."

FRIEND OF PROPLE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

PRICE ONE PENNY. SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1851. No. 25.] CONTENTS: 218 216 Socialism versus Re-action Secular Education 213 Another "Count-out" "Consuelo." By George Sand ... Poetry—"The Jacobin of Paris" 218 216 214 Rogues Ali! ... The Land National Property 220 218 215 The Russian System Chartist Ethics Co-operative Chronicle, &c., &c. 220 218 Austrian Poland ... Notices to Correspondents .. 216

Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—Million.

ANOTHER "COUNT-OUT."

ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES OUTRAGED AND INSULTED BY THE "HOUSE OF COMMONS."

THE impartiality of our best possible legislators is most admirable! If one week they insult and outrage the people of this country, the next week they favour our brethren in the colonies after a like manner. Witness their conduct on the 13th and the 20th of

On the first of these dates they were expected to give their best consideration to the important question of Parliamentary Reform. It cannot be said that the public generally expected the "honourable members" to assent to the proposition of Mr. Joseph Hume; but it was expected that they would at least have deigned to go through the form of discussing that proposition, and given reasons, however bad, for voting the perpetuation of the present blessed system of oppression, chicanery, and corruption. But not so. Even to do thus much was deemed by the "honourable gentlemen" unnecessary trouble. Popular apathy assured them that they had nothing to apprehend from popular justice; and so they simply shelved the unpleasant question of THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS by staying away from the "House," and betaking themselves elsewhere; -some to their mistresses, some to the gambling hell, some to the Opera, and some to the Glass House. Brown-bread Joseph patronised the last-named place, where the London correspondent of the Birmingham Mercury "saw him evidently enjoying himself." That writer adds :--" It was truly pleasant to observe the worthy veteran busily engaged in exploring the wonders and glories of the Crystal Palace, where he was, as he deserved to be, 'the observed of all observers.' It certainly did happen somewhat oddly that he should be seen at the Exhibition on the very day on which his

his motion, and he should not be blamed for the negligence and remissness of his friends." Our Birmingham contemporary's "own correspondent" is evidently a member of "the Fudge Family."

The fact is, the "No House" of the 13th of May was planned and determined on beforehand. The policy of "the Manchester School," for the time being, is to "keep out the Tories." Hume has renewed his notice of motion for the 3rd of June; but either the farce of a "count-out" will be repeated on that occasion, or if, "for decency's sake," a discussion takes place, it will be but a shamfight. Once for all, the people may make up their minds to expect nothing but humbug at the hands of the moderate Reformers.

Most earnestly I desire to conciliate all men whose co-operation is worth having. Most sincerely I seek the aid of those who have it in their power to advance the cause of popular progress, but who have not yet given their adhesion to the democratic cause. I would reproach no man with his class-position or his class connexions. I would ask no man why he came at the eleventh, when he might and should have come at the first hour. But I cannot but advise the people to insist that those who would pass as their champions, and enjoy their support, should subscribe to that declaration of principles which alone can assure the people both a thorough reform, and that that reform will be advocated in a spirit of earnestness and integrity. If the people abandon the solid ground of principle for the quicksands of expediency, what can they expect but to find themselves engulphed in ruin? If they will follow the "trafficking politicians" who cover their corruption with the "balmy balderdash" of "moderation," they must expect to be juggled to the end of the chapter. In short, if the masses will be dupes they shall be slaves.

was truly pleasant to observe the worthy veteran busily engaged in exploring the wonders and glories of the Crystal Palace, where he was, as he deserved to be, 'the observed of all observers.' It certainly did happen somewhat oddly that he should be seen at the Exhibition on the very day on which his the Exhibition on the very day on which his motion for Parliamentary Reform was announced; but he did all he could to bring on

very time there come cheering reports from the border land. In Newcastle-upon-Tyne democracy is shaking off its long-continued sleep, and rising "like a giant refreshed." But what of other parts? What of Scotland? Yorkshire and Lancashire? The Midlands and the West? In the metropolis there is some movement, but not powerful enough to be felt. Honour to the men of the Tyne for taking the lead. Which section of the masses will be the next on the list of the next army of freedom?

the new army of freedom?

The work before us is to form a veritable PARTY OF THE PEOPLE. No mere noisy agitation, no mere meetings and speechmaking and shouting will serve us in the future. All that has been tried and failed. Nor, on the other hand, can we be saved by lending our support to the cause of moderate, bit-by-bit reform. That too has been tried both in this and other countries, and always resulted in placing the people under a worse yoke than that of their old, "legitimate" oppressors. Neither the Reform Bill agitation, nor the past Chartist-agitation can be revived. The only possible agitation, at least the only agitation that can possibly succeed is, for the advanced democrats to make themselves veritable TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE, by scizing upon the grievances of the injured, and demonstrating to the wronged that the remedies for the evils they complain of, are to be obtained only through democratic power, and the operation of democratic reforms. There is no need for talk of "moral" or of "physical" force; rather there is need for avoiding all such suicidal talk. The moral force of enlightened, thoughtful, carnest, organised masses will carry with it irresistible physical potency. Such a movement would either force the Moderates, as a body, into making a virtue of necessity, by giving their adhesion to the principles of the Charter, or at the least would extract from that party all its honest would attract from that party all its honest and well-meaning members, who would cast their lot with men whom they found striving in the right spirit and taking the sure road to

The examples set to us by our kinsmen of the colonies—not to speak of the United States and the nations of continental Europe—should shame the people of this country

out of their present state of abject apa-

One after another, the colonies have succeeded in wresting representative institutions from the British government, and although those institutious confer the franchises and advantages of citizenship only upon classes answering to our aristocracy and bourgeoisie, the development of working-elass strength will result, sooner or later, in breaking down that monopoly. After fourteen years of outlawry the proclaimed "rebel," Mackenzie, finds himself elected to the Canadian parliament. In the memorable contest between the Cape of Good Hope and the Colonial office on the transportation question, the colonists were victorious simply by force of patient perseverance and dogged determination. The very same question is exciting an agitation thoughout the Australian states, an agitation which will lead to redress, or—the dismemberment of those colonies from the empire.

This brings me to the conduct of our "honourable" legislators on the 20th of May.

On that evening, "Sir" WILLIAM MOLES-WORTH moved that "an address be presented to Her Majesty in council, praying for the discontinuance of transportation to Van Dieman's Land." The member for Southwark made out an appalling ease in favour of his motion, by showing the moral and social evils that have resulted from transportation. He also proved that all classes of free setlers carnestly desired the boon he sought on their behalf. He convicted the government of having broken faith with the colonists; and, lastly, he pictured the wide-spread discontent arising from the injustice done to the colonists, and made manifest their resolute determination to obtain justice at any eost. "Sir" GEO. GREY opposed the motion, on the ground that this country being a great manufactory of crime, transportation could not be abolished without raising the question:—
"What are we to do with our criminals?" The Home Secretary seems to imagine that a regular and enormous crop of criminals is as natural as the production of wheat or the manufacture of cotton. The idea of preventing crime seems to have no place in his mental speculations. If for no other reason than that the abolition of transportation would force "the great criminal question" upon the government, every true reformer should give his support to the demand made by the free settlers of Van Dieman's Land. That demand involving most important considerations, including even the continuance, or the severance of Van Dieman's Land from the parent country, was surely one that deserved the most serious consideration of the House of Commons. Not so, thought the "honourable members." "Sir" WILLIAM MOLES-worth made his speech to almost empty benches, "Sir" GEORGE GREY delivered his reply, and then-"An hon. member moved that the house be counted, and there being only thirty-three members present, the house adjourned."

The next day the Times came out with a mocking article, telling the colonists they must not be vexed, the members of the House of Commons had no wish to insult them, but having to attend "the Derby" next day they considered it better to go to bed at 11 o'clock, [they broke up at half-past 7,] than to sit listening to, or taking part, in a dreary debate on transportation.

hob-nobbing with black-legs and blackguards are of more moment than the welfare of thousands and the safety of the empire. The house had previously voted to adjourn over "the Derby day," and accordingly on the 21st. the "honourable members"—at least a large number-joined the motley crowd of gamblers and grooms "flats" and flunkies, to whom a horse race is the acme of enjoyment, and betting the great end of existence.

A large portion of the public must share the censure justly falling upon the legislators of the land. Horse-racing or rather horse-betting, has become a mania amongst all classes from lords to labourers. Under an affected love for "a fine old English sport," tens of thonsands, who never see a race, give their thoughts entirely to the grand question of the "winner:" and even those whose income is insufficient to supply their own and their families' wants, will, nevertheless, risk their money in the hope of winning the money of some one else. This vile spirit of gambling, pervading all classes down to the frequenters of the lowest beer-shop, is oue of the most crying evils of the present time, and one of the most serious obstacles to popular progress. Your "sporting men" are always either brutally ignorant of, or callously indifferent to, every question save that of betting. Demoralized themselves they demoralize all around them; and constitute one of the strongest bulwarks of Injustice and Misrule.*

The Times need not flatter its patrons that the Derby or the "Exhibition," or any such excuse will stifle the just indignation of the people of Van Dieman's Land. The very day of the "Count-out" news reached this country from Port Phillip of an important meeting or convention of delegates from all the Australian Colonies, for the purpose of adopting measures to prevent the further introduction of convict labour. The delegates passed resolutions to the effect that the colonists pledge themselves to employ no convict labour after the present time, nor to hold any communication or have dealings with any who shall employ such labour. It was also resolved that a sum of £20,000 be raised by public subscription to carry out the object of the meeting. Before separating the delegates drew up an appeal to the people of England, calling upon them to co-operate with them in their anti-convict agitation.

Of course this "appeal" will be published in some of the London papers. As soon as a copy can be procured let the Chartist Executive respond thereto, showing the different treatment the colonists would receive from a democratic parliament and ministry to that which they meet with at the hands of our bourgeois-elected legislators; at the same time pledging democratic aid to the colonists and invoking, in return, colonial aid in the great struggle against class-usurpation.

No sane man doubts the triumph of the colonists. With, or without, and, if necessary, in spite of England they will have justice. Is there in this no example for us? As the Daily News truly observes, "the resolutions of the delegates at Port Phillip 'is the handwriting on the wall. " Happily there is yet time to save the Empire-but only on condition of the people of this country at once engaging in a real and final struggle for the establishment of Democracy. If sunk in

Cool—very! Horse-racing, betting, and "The Race and the Road," in The Pioneer of May 24, 1851.

apathy, they continue to accord slavish submission to the existing system, the southern colonies will right themselves; and for the second time insurgent, aye, and victorious colonists will declare to England MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN :- Thy Southern rule is finished. Thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting. Thy Australian Empire is given to the men who know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain them !

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

Correspondence.

The Editor is not to be held responsible for the spinions of Correspondents.

THE LAND NATIONAL PROPERTY.

LETTER II.

PRESUMING that the establishment of a government founded upon the suifrages of a people understanding their social rights, to constitute the first and most important pre-requisite in making the land national property, I now proceed to develop the propositions which I promised in my last letter to submit to the consideration of the public, for purchasing the land on behalf of the state.

It seems to me that the first step upon the part of the government ought to be the appointment of a board of commissioners, authorised to survey and value the entire lands of Great Britain and Ireland, taking, of course, sufficient care that a clear and valid title be made out by the different elaimants, and that thereupon the aforesaid commissioners should also have full power and authority to cause to be issued Treasury notes, to the amount of, say, £50,000,000 annually, to purchase such portions of land on behalf of the state as might seem to them the most desirable.

The aforesaid Treasury notes, immediately upon the issuing thereof, to form a portion of the circulating medium or currency of the country, to be given and received in all commercial transactions, to be accepted in the payment of government and parochial taxes, and to become to all intents and purposes the legal tender-money of the realm. It is thus I propose to create the means to purchase the land on behalf of the state.

Be it well understood that the representative value of Treasury notes, issued as here recommended, would always be found in the land which they would be applied to purchase, and other state property, which together with their being issued and stamped with the national authority, would make them a legal tender of greater security than any of our present banking establishments can

I have mentioned the sum of fifty millions in notes that might be issued and added to the currency of the country, as that is about the sum which government requires annually in taxes, and therefore, after being issued by the state govern-ment to meet all its liabilities, would be at once put into circulation, and in due course would again be received back into the Treasury in the payment of government taxes, and immediately cancelled.

Taxation upon industry would, however, no donbt be considerably reduced under a better system of government, but that would by no means interfere with the annual issue of even a greater sum than the value of fifty millions sterling. The prosecution of public works by the state—the establishment of a secure and useful system of credit, to afford those that might be without means the chance of a fair commencement in the world, which, together with state taxes, would afford every facility for a considerable period for issuing, and causing to be cancelled in due course, even a greater sum, if necessary, than the amount of fitty millions annually, inasmuch as all loans advanced by the state could be made in Treasury notes, repayment being made at fixed periods into the Treasury of notes of a similar

By this plain and easy process the funds may be provided to purchase the whole of the land on behalf of the state, without levying a single farthing in taxes. Credit would be afforded to those without means to enable them to do what perhaps they never had the chance to do in their lives before to live by their industry-while, at the same time; a considerable increase would be made to the currency of the country, a thing which is considered very desirable by all shades of reformers, as there can be no doubt but our restricted currency operates most injuriously to the industry of the nation and the development of its resources.

With respect to the system of credit here proposed, I hold that to be indispensably necessary, and look upon it as the mainspring of action in stimulating the industry of the nation, because to merely give to the people free access to the soil, without the means to cultivate it, would be no better than giving them a stone. Give them, however, credit where required as a means of subsistence, while they apply the quickening power of their bodies to the bosom of their parent earth, and bread is given them to assist them in producing more. By the establishment of a safe and impartial system of credit, there could be no danger of any loss being sustained by the state, as it would be the business and interest both of the state and the citizen to take care that the notes so advanced should be properly applied. Tho state would have perfect security for capital advanced in the labour of the citizens, and the property which such loans would immediately confer upon them, and their industrial exertions would soon enable them to return by instalments what had been advanced them as "a loan."

As the propositions contained in this and my former letter are intended more particularly to be applicable to a transition state of society, it will therefore not be expected that any perfect social system will here be propounded. I am, however, convinced that whatever may be the future destinies of society, that the laws of justice and necessity will compel the adoption of the main features of the propositions here recommended before any real progress can be made.

It is impossible to fully carry out social reform while the great bulk of the most valuable land is completely locked up by the present feudal tenures. These feudal barriers must be broken down, and there can be no just settlement of this question of the land other than a total abolition of private property therein, and making the whole of it national property. If the democratic and social reformers wish to become practical men, they must become thoroughly united upon this question, as I maintain that state property in land is the only true and legitimate basis upon which all landed property can socially or politically rest. By the establishment of that principle full scope would be given for associational progress, as also to such individuals as might wish to farm a portion of the land on their own account. This would be true liberty, which would convince men by practice what it is difficult to make them believe in theory. Take, for instance, the rural population in general, whose training, habits, and predilections greatly disqualify them from comprehending any philosophical dissertation upon the various branches of a perfect social system.

Let the leaders of the people, however, go forth to the rural population and speak to them in the language of simplicity and truth, and show them that by making the land national property they would in the course of a few years have to pay less in rent for their land than they have in many instances now to pay for their poor rates; and that instead of hand ng over yearly the produce of their farms in the shape of rent to an individual in the name of a landlord, to take it from the district where it has been created to be spent in keeping up ex ravagant foreign and domestic establishments, while the producers are impo-verished at home a that henceforth their only

landlord would be the state, their only rent-charge a few shillings per acre for state purposes: that all the wealth thus wasted would remain to be distributed in the immediate district where it was created, giving peace and plenty to all: let, I repeat, the rural population be told these things in language suited to their understandings and adapted to their condition, and the usurpation of the soil would no longer find defenders in tho peasantry and tenant-farmers.

In another letter I will endeavour to show how the National Debt may be paid in notes in the same manner as the land.

ALFRED A. WALTON.

CHARTIST ETHICS.

(Concluded from No. 24.)

Much that is painful, and to be regretted, has been said by middle-class men and workingmen, and retorted again; as if their interest was not one, as the interest of all men should be, and could be made to be; not denying that as things now are, that there is a considerable difference in the interests of large sections of each class. They seem to me so intimately blended, that I cannot say where the interest of one begins or the other ends. Large sections of the middle-class are but workers in a different stage. They are termed the selfish middle-classes, as if there was an unselfish class. Chartists seek the interests of working-men, as the aristocrat seeks the interests of his class. The selfishness of the Chartist is most noble; for while demanding his rights, he denies not those of others. In the character of all classes there is a large margin in which to write good intentions. The happiness of all is the interest, of all. The middle-class and working-class are necessary to each other, till all are absorbed in one. If a republic based upon manhood-suffrage was a fact to-morrow. Government could not be carried on safely and beneficially whilst these two classes were antagonistic. Witness France. Here, as there, the cunning and unprincipled, taking advantage of the dissentions, would fleece both-perhaps again enslave both. Each class is too strong to be annihilated by the other. Their legitimate opponents monarchy and landed aristocraey, only exist while the workers and traders differ. They must, before we can progress with any eelerity, embrace. Surely we can be fraternal and work to a common end, though we differ in some things. A new principle is springing into action (association) which may aid this.

To concede the integrity of opponents is not only just, but politic. The chieanery, the lies, the tyranny, that is perpetrated is done in the name, or under the guise, of truth and justice. Unless we allow the integrity of all those who are opposed to us, we lose the opportunity of showing they are in a false position. How strongly can this be put, that a man is acting unjustly while professing justice. He desires truth and justice; show he has not these, then tender what truth, what justice, you have to offer. If well put, this will be irresistible to the meeting, if not to your opponent. If you deal in personalities, your opponent, if honest, will in all probability follow your bad leading; if dishonest, he will take advantage of your oversight, and retort. The real question wil, be forgotten in the strife of passions; iu justice, instead of being exposed, will be consolidatedmistakes, instead of being corrected, will be confirmed. You and your opponent, hurried into blind partizanship, will return home with no increase of information, but a larger stock of indignation-bewildered, not enlightened.

From the foregoing remarks may be deduced the following suggestions, which may tend towards a reform in the ethics of Chartism

1stly. That as the unenfranchised consist of 6,000,000, active Cartists but of a few thousands;

first to seek a revolution of opinion by careful and carnest enunciation of Chartist principles rather than the revolution in forms of government by force of arms.

2ndly. The integrity of opponents should never be questioned. Their principles and arguments are the legitimate points to attack. Never attack the honesty of their actions, but the justness and usefulness of them.

3rdly. Personalities and abuse should be received as idle breath-never be retorted. With an iron will and perfect serenity enunciate principles. Opponents should be shamed by our deportment, if they cannot be argued into an acknowledgment of our integrity and worth.

4thly. We should rely more upon the good intentions of men, and their desire for justice, than on their fcars-upon individual effort and individual improvement, than upon uncertain combinations of undiscipliued men.

If there is anything worthy of attention in the principles here sketched, it is not by dreaming over them, but by patiently and earnestly striving to put them in practice, that they will be of any service to the cause of liberty. If (as some may say) we cannot learn to be calm, to suppress indignation and to depend upon reason and the justice of a good eause,-We cannot learn to be wise enough to earn freedom and prosperity, nor to keep freedom, should any fortuitous circumstance place it within our grasp.

The editor of the English Republic says, "We are a handful of men elinging to a forlorn hope: some few believers in the impossible, waiting for opportunity to come back." The history of the last thirty years (not merely of Chartism), the increased influence and improvement in public opinion, the increased amount of liberty in oral and written discussion (won principally by the individual efforts of such men as Carlile and Hetherington), are a sufficient proof of our hope being anything but forlorn, the outposts of Chartism are already won. The last convention has made a giant stride towards reasonableness and practical ability. For the indolent there never was, and never will be, an "opportunity." For the unwise and undisciplined no "opportunity" is sufficient. To them opportunity is but the gateway to destruction. The intelligent, the earnest, and courageous do not wait for oppor-The intelligent, the tunity, but make it. To them, to day is their opportunity. The present-neither the past nor the future. Ever active, they are ever hopeful. They know of no opportunity, and wait for none; but work on, and grasp the ever existing and practical-now. SERVO.

CORRECTION .- The quotation at the head of my last article is made by the printer to be from F. Foot, instead of Frank Lot. In the following, "We should always distinguish between a true statement and the statement of the truth. The first we are bound to accept, though not bound to act upon it, unless we have positive corroborated proof that it is intentionally false." what I do not mean. It should read thus:-"The first we are bound to accept (unless we have positive corroborated proof that it is intentionally false) though not bound to act upon it." I thought I had run my pen through the sentence in brackets, and inscrted it as a noto. I suppose the mistake occurs through my carelessness, Will you be good enough to notice the mistake. as I have no wish to write nonsense, or to be misunderstood.

THE FOUNDATION OF INEQUALITY.—" The mass of the people are deprived of birthright to the soil, and now have their choice between servitude and starvation. The many being thus disabled from working for themselves, are obliged to sell their as vast numbers of men stand neutral, and are labour to such of those in power as are willing to merely conservative from habit or fear; we ought give them employment."—John A. Collins.

JULIAN HARNEY'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.

I commence my tour at Dundee, instead of Aberdeen, as originally announced. I am to address meetings at

DUNDEE,

Monday and Tuesday, June 9th and 10th.

ABERDEEN,

Monday and Tuesday, June 16th and 17th. From Aberdeen I purpose to proceed through Perthshire, Stirling, &c., to the West of Scotland, and after fulfilling engagements in that part of the country, to proceed by Hamilton, &c., to Edinburgh; from Edinburgh to the North of England.

With pleasure I accept the invitations (received since the publication of previous lists of places) to Glasgow, Barrhead, Edin-

burgh, Blackburn, and Coventry.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Moneys Recrived: For the Fraternal Democrats: A Friend at John Street (name forgotten), May 18th, 1s. For the Refugees at Liverpool: An East London Republican 22

For the Refugees at Liverpoot. An publican, 28.

J. Thounton (Aberdeen).—For what find is the shilling intended! Palne's Age of Reason is a theological work. Write to Mr. Watson. Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, for a list of Paine's Works.

G. F. (Buckingham.)—No room.

J. A. Woon, and "A Welsh Proletarian."—Received.

J. Hinchelite.—Received. The lines are commendable.

J. HINCHELITE.—Received. The lines are commendable.

The CHARTIST CONCERTS.—"Cltizen Editor,—Having attended the concert at John Street, Tottenham Court Road, on Tuesday evening last, I beg to state that after the anthem was sing." Save omenative Land," there was aloud call by the andience for the? Marseillaise Hymn, "which was not responded to by the choir, for this reason, said R. Y. Holyoake, the Conductor. "It would interfere with politics which we desire to avoid." Is not that hypocrisy, when the orchestra was decorated with the Red and Tricoloured hanners with political devices thereon, and the front of the platform lined with red cloth, typical of the "Democratique et Socialle" flag? The concert Itself was a political one, being expressly for the benefit of the Chartist fund. If you attend at the theatres, concerts, and other places of amusement in London, you will find the band either commence or conclude by "striking up" "God save the Queen." Is not that political? Whenever it is encored by the audiences, it is immediately responded to, without consulting the feelings of any democrat who might happen to be present. At Julien's Concerts, which took place at Drury Lane Theatre some time ago, you would get your hat smashed in if you did not pull it off the very moment the band began to play the so-called "National Anthem." And are we then, the Socialists and Red Republicans, to be deprived of our anthem, when called for, because afraid of glving umbrage to a fow respectable toadies who might happen to stray into our called for, because afraid of giving umbrage to a few respectable teadles who might happen to stray into our concerts? I am yours fraternally, J. W. Suag, New-road, London.

New-road, London.

Riohts of Woman.—To the Editor of the Friend of the People.—Esteemed Friend,—Thy name In La République is come to me with several other names, showing the Chartists are just waking out of their sieep, and aro meeting for a good many things,—but still persisting in their infathation of calling that universal which is only half, in spite of the suggestions of common senso and the appeals of the injured majority of your speeles. Some have united to demand the right, but it is futile to expect that slaves can break their bands. It is hardly likely any other town will rouse to the sense of wrong, and ask for redress; and it is no trouble to you just to add the name of Woman to your demands, end will cost you nothing,—but rather confer on you giory for overcoming the selfishness which has too long warped the minds of meny of the race. A simultaneous demand will, my good brother, cost you nothing, and rejoice the hearts of many, with that of thy sincere friend, Anne Knight.—Paris: Avenue Santo Maneda Roule 8. 5 mo., 12, 1851.

YANKEE, DERIVATION OF .- The word Yankee is nothing more than the word English so transformed by the imperfect pronunciation of the natives of Massachusets.—Yengkis, Yanghis, Yankies.

THE GREAT EVIL .- " Some of the most honest and fearless of the Radicals have shown the institution of private property in the soil to be what it really is, namely, an evil of the first magnitude, and one, the abolition of which must be an early fruit of the political enfranchisement of the people. Samuel Bower.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, MAY 31, 1851.

SECULAR EDUCATION.

THE vote of the House of Commons on the Education motion of Mr. Fox, M.P. for Oldham (May 22nd, 1851), affords an additional and striking illustration of the rottenness of the present system of representation, and supplies another to the long list of "reasons" in favour of Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Fox moved, "That it is expedient to promote the education of the people in England and Wales by the establishment of free schools for secular instruction, to be supported by local rates, and managed by committees elected specially for that purpose by the ratepayers. Notwith-standing some "Manchester School" fallacies, such as that while there is a superabundance of unskilled, there is a deficiency of skilled, labour; that "strikes" are the consequence of ignorance; and that education is the remedy for both evils—fallacies eagerly seized upon by the Times; in spite, too, of the usual error of affirming ignorance alone to be the cause of crime;—the member for Oldham made a powerful appeal to "the wisdom (?) of the Legislature" in favour of What had his opponents to say? his motion. Why, that "knowledge by itself was an unmixed evil;" that "the country had expressed its opinion that education should be based upon religion;" and that "the effect of the proposed plan would be to sweep away all existing religious schools supported by voluntary contributions." Acting upon these enlightened views, our precious legislators rejected the motion by a majority of 98—there being for the motion 41: against, 139.

It cannot be denied that much of the bigo-

try on this question, whether real or affected, manifested by "the collective wisdom," reflects the feeling of a large section of the present electoral body—perhaps even a majority, that is counting the active electors, and not numbering the "indifferents." Assuming the bourge isie and aristocracy to be the "country," and ignoring the unrepresented masses, consisting principally of working men, but partly of the professional and artist classes, "Sir" GEORGE GREY and his supporters are probably pretty near the truth when they aver the liostility of "the country" to purely The obstacle to the essecular education. tablishment of that kind of school-training is, therefore, not merely in the House of Commons, it exists in full force in the constituent body from which that House proceeds. Respectable church and chapel going people are fiercely resolved rather to perpetuate popular ignorance than to give up their mind-enslaving authority over the children of the masses. They will quarrel amongst themselves, Protestant and Catholie, Churchman and Dissenter, agreeing most heartily to "bullyrag" each other, but they none the less unito to contest all attempts to release education from the baneful domination of priests and churches in general.

If Mr. Fox makes his annual motion in favour of secular education purely for the sake of having the question discussed, and thereby helping to enlighten the public mind, we can appreciate and approve his policy; but if he hopes for the adoption of his views by the

existing, or any future, House of Commons, appointed by the present electoral body, we must-to say the least-wonder at his simplicity. The member for Oldham is not of the SIBTHORPE breed, and therefore while he eulogises the cducation of Massachusetts, should understand that Republican education is the consequence of Republican legislation. To have the "free schools" of the New England States we must have New England franchises. In short, the only path to National Education lies through UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

If Mr. Fox and his friends are in earnest, let them join the democracy to first seek and obtain a radical reform of the House of Com-That achieved, there will be no difficulty in establishing a system of NATIONAL, GRATUITOUS, SECULAR, AND INDUSTRIAL EDU-

CATION.

ROGUES ALL!

At the moment this number was ready for the press a friend placed in our hands a copy of Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper of May 25th, containing another revelation from that delectable body, the Land Company directors, showing up the honest stewardship of their chief and patron Feargus O'Connor. By withdrawing several articles we are enabled to give all the important portions of this precious exposé. In so doing we cannot but remark on the audacity of these directors who, while sacrificing their "great leader," attempt to pass themselves off as honest men. Lct them not "lay the flattering unction to their souls," that they can redeem themselves by destroying O'CONNOR. On the contrary, the more they succeed in blackening his character, the lower they sink themselves in the slough of infamy. They shared the spoil with him when the money came rolling in, and now they must share with him the exceration of their long confiding—but at last enlightened—dupes and victims. The public may be assured that there will yet be further, and, probably, more damning revelations or both sides. Altogether, this is "a very pretty quarrel as it stands."

"THE DIRECTORS TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NA-TIONAL LAND COMPANY, AND THE DEPOSITORS IN THE NATIONAL LAND AND LABOUR BANK.

"Gentlemen,-The position in which we find ourselves placed in relation to you, renders it incumbent upon us to lay before you, as far as we have the means of so doing, a full statement of the present position of the affairs of the National Land Company, and also the extent to which it has been liable to the depositors in the National Land, and Labour Bank. This course is rendered the more necessary, in consequence of a statement recently put forth by Feargus O'Connor, M.P., in which he has sought to make the Land Company responsible for engagements for which he is himself alone liable, and in which he has taken credit for having paid sums, as he says, 'out of his own pocket,' on account of the Land Company, but which amounts he has realized by sale of part of the land entrusted to his care.

." By a report of a Parliamentary committee, made to the House of Commons, on the 21st July, 1848, it appears that there was at that time in hand, a balance of £7,659 14s. 2d. Since then he has received various sums, of the amount and disbursement of which we give the following abstract :-

We have not room for the lines of figures; but according to this account it appears that "the Company is indebted to Mr. O'Connon the sum of £899 17s. 12d." The directors then quote Mr. O'Connor's statement published in the Daily News and Northern Star, according to which the Company owes him £7,005 4s. 3d. On this extraordinary increase of "elaims on the Company," the directors observe as follows:—

"It will he seen that in order to make out this greater charge against the Company, Mr. O'Connor has been compelled to set down £3,606 which he has lost by his own bank, £2,000 for travelling expenses, and interest upon the money which he says is due to him, after the rate of £4 per cent.

per annum.

"With regard to the first of these items, £3,606, in our opinion Mr. O'Connor has no more right to charge it to the company than he has to charge his own private and domestic expenses. For the past three years the bank has been his own private property; and has always been regarded as such, not only by the members of the Land Company, but also by the depositors in the bank themselves. This is one of the sums which Mr. O'Connor says he has paid 'out of his own pocket,' and that certainly is the only legitimate source from which the losses of his bank ought to have been paid: but a reference to the following account, furnished by Mr. O'Connor himself, in his letter to the Daily News, will show that the money paid into his bank to meet the losses of that speculation did not come 'out of his own pocket,' as he asserts, but that it was the proceeds of sales of lands and of other property belonging to the National Land Company":— National Land Company

They then quote "the account furnished hy Mr. O'Connor himself," and which has appeared in the Star as well as the Daily News, and which — "leaving the bank out of the question and putting aside the sum charged for travelling expenses"—makes the Company debtor to Mr. O'Connor to the amount of £1,398 19s. 9d. The

directors add :-

"In the account of receipts here given Mr. O'Connor has omitted to acknowledge the sum of £409 18s. 4d. paid over to him by the directors from August, 1849, and which would augment the amount received by him to £5331 9s., and would consequently reduce his claim upon the company

to the sum of £989 1s. 5d.

"What, then, becomes of Mr. O'Connor's charge for interest upon the whole sum of £6,320 10s, 5d., which he still claims as being due to him, seeing that whilst such interest has been accumulating against the company, he has heen receiving sums amounting to £5,331 9s. 01d? Take, for example, the item of £1,200, which in September, 1849, Mr. O'Connor charged against the company as an additional deht due to him. Upon that sum he has charged as interest, at four per cent., for two years, £96. He had, however, as he shows in the above account of receipts, at that time in his possession, but of which he made no mention in the balance-shect which he then produced, £1,514 0s 6d, the interest of which, for two years, at the rate per cent. charged by Mr. O'Connor on his own money, would be £121 2s 4d, and which would more than cover the interest of the twelve hundred pounds advanced by himself. The only sums paid by Mr. O'Connor out of the whole amount of £5,331 9s received by him since October, 1848. are two-one amounting to £216 10s 5d, paid to Mr. Fetherston, and the other being that of £1,000, paid to meet current charges of various kinds. Mr. O'Connor has, therefore, now to account for the principal and interest upon £4,114 18s 7d, heing the difference between the sum of £5,331 9s actually received by him, and that of £1,216 10s 5d paid away on account of the company. Mr. O'Connor says that he has, out of the gross amount received since 1848, paid into his own bank £3,606. Then we require him to pay the same interest for that money as he is now charging for what he says is due to himself. It is clear that this sum of £3,606 did not come out of his 'own pocket,' as he has stated, but, as we have already declared, has been realised by the alienation of the property of the company.

"If it were possible to procure from Mr. O'Connor a return of the various properties sold by him to obtain this sum, which he says has come out of his 'own pocket,' we have the strongest reason to believe that it would appear that sales have been effected at a ruinous sacrifice to enable him to

carry on his hank.

"It will no doubt astonish you to find that a mortgage of £1,383 158 7d has been effected upon O'Connorville, and your astonishment will naturally increase when we inform you that, although nominally directors, we were ignorant ourselves of the fact until Monday last, when, for the first time, we obtained the knowledge from a written marginal note, on the hill for winding up the company. Nor is this all,—the mortgage is in this case, Mr. W. P. Roberts, who is himself the solicitor of the company, and whose duty it was to have refused to have allowed such a proceeding, without the consent and concurrence at least of the directors of the company.

"To the charge for travelling expenses, we have no objection in principle, but the amount, 2,000l., appears to us enormous. Mr. O'Connor must have incurred an outlay of 10l. per week for every week for four years to have warranted such a demand. The active operations of the company have not extended over a period of more than three years; and certainly Mr. O'Connor during

that period did not travel every week.

"Another of the mistatements made by Mr. O'Connor, and which we are bound to notice, occurs in his letter to the Daily News, already referred to, and in which he asserts that for months past he has been paying the salary of three of our own body, whom he names, out of 'his own pocket.' This assertion is totally untrue, as for the past eighteen months the officers of the company have not obtained a fourth part of their salaries, although Mr. O'Connor has, within the same time, received very large sums of money by selling off the property of the company to an extent which is even yet unknown, but the proceeds of which he has squandered upon his bank, and upon another sinking property, (Query, the NORTHERN STAR?) which, without the aid derived from the sale of the company's land, would have been long

ago extinct.

"Mr. O' Connor, acting upon the principle that possession is nine points of law," and having all the property of the company in his own name, has withheld or paid at his pleasure; and by converting a trust proprietorship into a personal one, he has mistaken the exchequer of the company for his own pocket; otherwise it need hardly be remarked, that little indeed could be obtained from this lutter source for any purpose whatever. We are bound in justice to ourselves to expose the falsity of the ostentations bounty of Mr. O'Connor, and have to assure the members that his statement in reference

to us is totally untrue."

"THE BANK AND ITS LIABILITIES.

"We have already explained that the debt due by the company to the bank at the close of the Parliamentary inquiry in 1848, and amounting to £6,858, 155, 3d., was discharged at the time of the severance of the two institutions, and since that period no connection of any kind whatever has existed between them. Mr. O'Connor has, herever, in a circular recently issued to the depositors, announcing to them that their money (£4,600,) is non-existent, declared that the claims which they have upon him shall be discharged upon the liquidation of his own demands by the National Land Company."

The Directors then quote the first paragraph of the circular from the bank, dated the 10th of May, published in our last number, and add:—

"Here we have again to correct an error made by Mr. O'Connor. It will be observed, that he attributes the refusal to honour the cheques of the depositors in his bank to a 'reluctant compliance with the unanimous vote of the Land Company's directors.' The fact, however, is, that the 'Land

Company's directors' never came to any such vote at all. In the bill which is now before Parliament, for winding up the affairs of the Land Company, and which bill was never seen by any member of the company-not even by one of the directors-until after its introduction into the House of Commonsit is proposed to make the bank a part of the machinery of the National Land Company, during the whole existence of the bank, so as to throw upon the company the losses which, as a banker, Mr. O'Connor is responsible for. The directors, as soon as they saw the bill, protested against this bank preceeding, and unanimously resolved that, pending the decision of Parliament upon the merits of the bill, no further bank expenses should be incurred which Mc. O'Connor might intend the company to bear; and in this resolution Mr. O'Connor has found sufficient to warrant him to refuse to pay his depositors in 'reluctant compliance with our 'unanimous desire,' It is right that the members should know that the resolution of the directors was absolutely necessary, inasmuch as the bill now before Parliament proposes to throw the whole expenses of the bank upon the Land Company, and that those expenses are equal to £15 per week, although for many months past the receipts of the bank have not been as many shillings per

"The liabilities of the bank to the depositors are £4,000, and to meet these, the depositors are informed, in the circular already referred to,-The claims of Mr. O'Counor against the Land Company, which far exceed the liabilities of the bank, have been made the subject of an inquiry before a Parliamentary committee, and their correctness was then admitted in a report to the House of Commons; subsequently, a bill was introduced for winding up that company, on which the house will go into committee on the 19th inst. Clauses have been introduced into the bill to provide for the repayment of Mr. O'Cennor's private advances, and the payment of your claim on this bank (full particulars of which will be forwarded to you with as little delay as possible) will be effected as soon as Parliament authorises

the satisfaction of Mr. O'Connor's just demands."

"The private claims, as set down by Mr. O'Connor, amount to £7,000, but this sum includes £3,606, which he has advanced out of the funds of the National Land Company to his own bank, and, therefore, not likely to be allowed by the Parliamentary committee, and which would, therefore, lessen his claims to £3,394, being £604 less than the amount due to the depositors, even this sum includes £2,000 for 'travelling expenses' -an amount which, to be allowed, will most probably have to be proven. But presuming the company to owe Mr. O'Connor all that he charges against it, even in such case the depositors would obtain no advantage, as Mr. O'Connor has already, before he closed his bank against the depositors, made an assignment of all debts due to him by the Land Company to hissolicitor, Marshall Turner, Esq., and therefore such debts, even if they do exist to the amount assumed by Mr. O' Connor, cannot be of any advantage to the depositors in the bank.
"Philip M'Grath. William Dixon.

"PHILIP M'GRATH. WILLIAM DIXON.
"THOMAS CLARK. CHRIS. DOYLE.
"Office of the National Land Company, 144, High Holborn.

"May 23rd, 1851."

An Editorial Appeal.—The Portsmouth U.S. Messenger has the following stirring appeal to the "unterrified electors:—"Freemen of New Hampshire! your candidates are before you—choose ye between them. To the poll, every man of you. From wood and plain, mountain and valley, come forth and strike a blow for your cherished principles. Let Windham and Sandown pour forth their legions, armed for the contest, and let the hardy sons of Gosport hold not back. Patriotic citizens of Portsmouth, come out in your strength—from Gravelly Ridge to Rebellion-road, from Jericho to Puddle Dock, rally to the poll on Tuesday next, and vote for—whom you please.

RUSSIA.

Facts Illustrative of the Russian System, related by an Eye Witness.

THERE is a proverb in Russia, "Be thou a physician," meaning that, when the Tsar will's, you must be a medical man, whether you have studied medicino or not. The following carious instance is one of many others, which proves that that proverb is founded on reality.

A Russian captain, having left the military service, and being without means of subsistence, repaired to St. Petersburgh in order to solicit a place in any branch of civil administration. this object in view, he presented a petition to the minister of the interior; but months having elapsed, and no answer arriving, he requested his former commander to intercede with the minister in his behalf. Although the commander took him under his protection, he nevertheless, for a long time, dared not venture to speak to the minister in his favour, because the latter was in a continual illhumour, at not having obtained a decoration he much coveted. Finally, the moment arrived; the captain was apprised by his protector that he might sec the minister, who was well disposed towards him, and had promised to provide him with an office. He hastened to the minister, who, upon giving him a paper said-" Be off!" The eaptain was delighted with the reception he met with, on the part of the minister, and above all with an office he so anxiously awaited. But how great was his surprise, when unfolding the paper, he found that he was appointed a district physician at Drohochin. His first thought was to refuse the appointment, for which he was not in the least qualified; but, having no other property, and being pressed by the greatest want, as well as by the encouragement of his wife, a German lady, he proceeded to the place of his destination.

Scarcely had he arrived at Drohochin, when the apothceary of the place, a German by birth, and at the same time a physician, paid him a visit, in order to gain his good graces. At the first glance, the chemist perceived that the newly-appointed physician was in needy circumstances, and at the same time moved by a feeling of sympathy for his countrywoman, the captain's wife, he offered him, as a loan, several hundred roubles, to enable him to buy his necessary furniture, and to procure his most argent necessaries. Of course, the newcomer did not refuse the offered money; and, in token of his gratitude, as well as to show his disinterestedness, he declared to the apotherary, that he should not think of taking his practice from him. We need hardly add, that he rigidly kept ais word; and that, from the first day of his arrival, to the last day of his sojourn, he sent every patient applying to him to the apothecary, pretending that he had no time to undertake their This conduct pleased the latter so much, that he entered into a closer intimacy with the "Mêdecin malgré lui;" who, however, most carefally avoided all professional conversation; nevertheicss, onco, when regaling themselves somewhat too much with spirits, the whole secret was diselosed; the district-physician confessed to his. colleague, that he had never studied the Materia Medica, and that he was never anything else but This candour pleased the chemist so much, that he taught him how to make a post mortem examination, and to dissect a subject; he moreover assigned to him an annual pension out of his own purse. Although, this secret became known, the improvised doctor nevertheless performed his duty for more than ten years, with the zeal and skill of a Russian—captain.

This system is carried to such a ridiculous extent in Russia, that soldiers, who can hardly read er write, are even appointed curators of universities and high schools. The present curator, for example, of the university of Dorpat, Major-Ger. J. B. Wraffstroam, who was appointed in 1836, is the most ignorant man in the Russian army.

AUSTRIAN-POLAND.

THE whole of Galicia is in a state of siege. In consequence of a collision between the then existing national guard and some of the Austrian soldiery, the city of Lemberg, on the 2nd of November, 1848 was subjected to a terrific bombardment. The Hotel de Ville, the Ecole Polytechnique, the Public Library, in which the archives of the province were deposited, and many private houses were utterly consumed. The Hotel de Ville has risen from its ruins, and the work of reparation is slowly preceeding in other places; but the walls and roofs of many houses, riddled with cannon shot, though they escaped dostruction, still bear witness to the extent as well as the severity of the chastisement which was inflicted. A goneral disarmament of the population followed, and I was informed that even a moderate-sized elasp-knife, which, in the innocence of my heart, I brought with me to use as a table-knife on an emergency, was a prohibited weapon. One unavoidable consequence of the disuse of fire-arms has been a large increase in the number of wolves, who have almost entirely eaten up the hares, and who, now that hares are scarce, prowl about the villages in the autumn and winter, earry off the pigs, and not unfrequently the children of the peasantry.—Correspondent of the Morning Chronicle.

SOCIALISM versus REACTION.

Is it true that Socialism, the new religion which is a necessary product of the age, is a disorganizing power, destructive of humanity, of patriotism, of family affections, and of property? No, if this were true, we might be told,-"You must bow down before the powers that be-you must be meek and humble-you must make common cause with autocrats, and kings, and popes, and aristocracies—with every dead and noxious thing which still cumbers the earth." But if the partisans of this system be wrong, if Socialism be the contrary of what they say, if it desire to destroy neither the love of one's country, nor of one's family, nor property,-if Socialism be destined to bring all these things into accordance with the principle of human fraternity,-then we need have no fear of that Colossus which has arisen in the Greek heresy; and to that false prophet we may reply, that France will assuredly be victorious, for she is the guiding star of humanity, the initiatrice of the world. If France had principles, if she knew her destiny as a nation, if she understood her past, her future, -France would have so clear, so self-evident, a course of political action, that we should not be embarrassed by the most difficult questions. The Russian autocrat was right; it is a want of faith, it is scepticism, which has reduced us to the miserable state of having no consistent line of political action whether exterior or interior. Truly there is a strong likeness between the two systems; at home, the suppression of thought by bruto force; abroad, the same regime of terror, suppression, and physical force. Yes, the systems of our home and foreign policy are closely connected. France has since the February revolution, attached herself to the most decrepid, worn out form of Christianity. It is monstrous that Frenchmen should be sent to re establish the sway of a spiritual despot. Laying hold of the vague term, French influence, we have been compelled to move in a retrograde direction, and to act against the most evident, the elearest, principles of Republicanism. The reactionists fear the spirit of the age, which tends to emancipate humanity, and free it from its swaddling-clothes; they invoke the help of old social forms, and accuse the innovators, who merely follow the impulse of their predecessors in translating the vague grouns and plaints of humanity, they accuse them of wishing to destroy country, family, property! Reactionists! Every time we interfere with your petty compressive system of foreign and domestic policy-with that system of terrorism which has caused all our sufferings, and which will cause yet greater ones-

every time we tell you that intelligence finds it necessary to dreate new forms, you protest in the name of all those worm out, lifeless dogmata and formulas, which destroy intelligence. You say to us Socialists, who follow the spirit of the 18th and of preceding centuries, to us—the disciples of the Christ of Nazareth—"you wish to destroy the ties of family and country, the institution of property." Yet we show you that all these things are progressive, and that, if they do not follow the developments of humanity, they become social scourges instead of social blessings. We tell you, and we are ready to prove it, that the Divine Will has made humanity progressive, and you desire to stand still; the whole of Europo is convulsed. and you would remain tranquil. France, the initiatrice, has—for a time—fallen into the rear of humanity!

PIERRE LEROUX.

Leaves from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 25.)

"Before Consuclo had put on her robe, Corilla thrust aside the screen, and impatiently advanced to embrace her in gratitude for her gift. It was not gratitude alone however which prompted this demonstration; mingled with it was a treacherous wish to see if she could not detect some fault in her rival's figure. But Consuelo's waist was slender as a reed, and her chaste and noble outline needed no assistance from art. She guessed Corilla's intention, and smiled: 'You may examine my person, and search my heart,' thought she, 'and find out nothing false in either of them.'

"' Zingarella,' exclaimed Corilla, resuming, in spite of herself, her hostile air and sharp voice; 'do

you love this Anzoleto any longer?'

"'No longer,' replied Consuelo, smiling.
"'And he—did he not love you well?"

"'Ho did not,' continued Consuelo, with the same firmness and sincerity.

" Ah! then it was just as he told me,' cried Corilla, fixing her clear, blue eyes on her rival's countenance, as it she hoped to detect there some

hidden pang.
"Consuelo was ignorant of finesse, but she had

that openness and candour, which are far more powerful weapons when used to combat with trickery and cunning. She felt the blow, and calmly-resisted it. She no longer leved Anzoleto, and felt no pang of wounded self-love. She therefore yielded this triumph to Corilla's vanity.

"He told you the truth,' she replied; 'he loves

me not

"But did you never love him? replied the other, more astonished than pleased at this confession. Consuelo felt that here there could be no concealment. She determined that Corilla should

"'Yes,' said she, 'I loved him dearly."

"" And are you not ashamed to own it! Have. you no pride, my poor girl?"

"'Yes, enough to cure myself."
Ah! I admire you, Zinga I admire you, Zingarella. young to triumph over love-the passion, of all others, the most fatal to our repose, our beauty, and our fortune. It fills me with respect! I know it by dear-bought experience; if I could have been cold, I should not have suffered so much. But look you, I am a poor creature I was born unhappy. Ever, in the midst of my highest success, I have been guilty of some folly that spoiled everything: I have fallen in love with some poor devil, and then adieu fortune! I might have married Zustiniani once. He adored me, but I could not bear him. This miserable Anzoleto pleased me, and for him I sacrifleed everything. Come, you will give me your advice—will you not? You will be my friend? 100 will preserve me from the weaknesses, both of my heart and head, And to make a beginning, I must confess that latterly I have a feeling of preference for a man on whom fortune lowers, and who may soon prove more dangerous than useful at court. One who has millions, but who may be ruined in a twinkling. Yes. I must throw him off before he drags me down the precipice. Ah! speak of the devilhere he is! I hear him, and I feel a pang of joalousy shoot to my heart. Close your screen, Porporina, and do not stir; I would not have him know you are here.'

"Consuelo did as she was told: she had no wish to be seen by Corilla's admirers. A masculine voice echoed along the corridor, there was a knock, as a matter of form, and then the door was opened without the visiter waiting for a

"'Dreadful profession!' thought Consuelo; 'no, the intoxication of the stage shall nover seduce

me; behind it all is too impure.'

"And sho concealed herself in a corner, horrified at the company in which she found herself, indignant and even terrified at the manner in which Corilla had addressed her, and, for the first time in her life, brought in contact with scenes of which she could previously have formed no idea.'

"While hurriedly completing her toilet, fer fear of a surprise, she heard the following dia-

logue in Italian:—
"'Why do you come here? I told you not to enter my apartment. The empress has forbidden us, under the severest penalties, to receive the visits of any but our fellow-actors, and even then there must be some urgent necessity respecting the business of the theatre. See to what you expose me! I did not think the police of the theatre was so negligent.'

"'There is no police for those who pay well, my angel. Only fools meet with resistance or delay in their progress. Come, give me a little kinder reception, or, mort du Diable! I will not

return in a hurry.'

"'You could not give me a greater pleasure." Come, be off! Well, why don't you go?

"'You seem to desire it so earnestly that I shall remain to provoke you.'

"'I warn you that I shall send for the manager to rid me of your presence.'

"'Let him come if he is tired of his life! I am

"'But are you crazy? I tell you that you compromise me; that you make me break a rule recently introduced by her majesty; that you expose me to a heavy fine, perhaps to a dismissal.

"'I shall take upon myself to pay the fine to your director with a few blows of my cane. As to your dismissal, I ask nothing better. carry you to my estates, where we will lead a jovial life together.'

"I follow such a brute as you? never! Come, let us leave this together, since you are deter-

mined not to leave me here alone.

"'Alone, say you my charmer? That is what I mean to satisfy myself of before leaving you. There is a screen there which seems to me to occupy too much space in this little room. If I kicked it to one side I think it would be doing you a good service.'

"'Stop, sir; stop! a lady is dressing there. Would you injure a woman, bendit that you

are?' "'A woman? oh! that is another affair; but I must see if this woman has not a sword by her

"The screen began to yield, and Consuelo, now fully attired, threw on her mantle, and while they opened the first fold of the screen, she endeavoured to push the last so as to make her escape by the door which was not two paces from her. But Corilla, who saw her intention, stopped her, saying: 'Remain there, Porporina; if he

did not find you, he would say it was a man, and might perhaps kill me.' Consuelo, frightened. was about to show herself; but Corilla who had stationed herself between her lover and Porporina, again prevented her. She hoped perhaps by exciting his jealousy to make him overlook the grace and beauty of her rival.

"If it be a lady,' said he, smiling, 'let her reply. Madam, are you attired? may I offer my

respects to you?"

"'Sir,' replied Consuelo, on a sign from Corilla, 'please reserve them for some other occasion; I am not to be seen.'

" 'That is to say, that this is a good time to look at you,' said Corilla's lover, again threatening to push aside the screen.

"" Take care what you do,' said Corilla, with a forced laugh; 'perhaps in place of a handsome shepherdess, you may find a respectable aucnna.

" By Jove, it is not possible! Her voice hardly betokens twenty. If she had not been young and handsome, you would have shown her to me

long ago.'
"The screen was very lofty, and, notwithstanding his height, the stranger could not see over it unless by throwing down all the articles of Corilla's dress which were seattered over the chairs; besides as he had no longer feared the presence of a

man, the sport amused him.
""Madam," cried hc, if you are old and ugly,
do not speak, and I shall respect your asylum. But if, on the other hand you are young and handsome, say but a word, were it only to refute Corilla's

calumnies.'

"Consuelo did not reply.

" 'Ah! by my faith, I am not going to be duped in that way! If you were old or ugly you would not acknowledge it so readily; you are doubtless angelic, and therefore mock my doubts. In any case I must see you, for either you are a prodigy of beauty, fit to bear the palm from the fair Corilla herself, or else you have wit enough to admit your ugliness, and I should be glad to see for the first time in my life an ugly woman who makes no pretentions to beauty.

"He seized Corilla's arm with two of his fingers, and bent it in his grasp as if it had been a straw. She uttered a shrill cry, and pretended to be bruised and hurt; but heedless of her plaint he thrust aside the screen and revealed to Consuelo's gaze the horrible countenance of Baron Francis Trenck. A rich and fashionable dress had replaced his sayage war costumo, but his gigantic proportions, and the reddish black scars which disfigured his weather-beaten countenance, at once trayed the bold and pitiless leader of the Pandours.

"Consuclo could not repress a cry of terror, and suddenly turning pale she sank back into her

"Do not be afraid of me, madam,' said tho baron, sinking on one knee before her, 'and pardon the boldness which I now feel I cannot sufficiently expiate. But suffer me to believe that it was out of pity towards me, seeing that to see is to adore you, that you refused to show yourself. Do not grieve me so far as to make me believe I terrify you. I confess I am ugly enough; but if the wars have converted a tolerably handsome fellow into a sort of monster they have not rendered him less good-natured on that account.

"'Less good-natured? no, that would be impossible," replied Consuelo, turning her back

on him.

"Come, come, replied the baron, 'you are a somewhat wayward child, and your nurse has doubtless told you frightful stories about me, as the old women of this country do not fail to do. But the young ones do me more justice; they know that if I am a little rough with the enemies of my country, they can easily tame me if they will only take the trouble.

"And he leaned towards the mirror in which

Consuelo pretended to look, fixing on her at the

same time the bold and ardent gaze which had fascinated and subdued Corilla.

"Consuele saw that she could not get rid of him.

unless by affronting him.

"'Sir,' said she, 'you do not inspire me with fear, but with disgust and aversion; you delight, in butchery, and though I do not fear death, I detest sanguinary minds such as yours. I am just come from Bohemia, where I have seen the bloody traces of your footprints.'

"The baron changed countenance, and shrug-

ing his shoulders, said, turning to Corilla-

"'What mad sytil have you got here? The baroness Lestocq, who once fired a pistol point blank at me, was not more frantic. Is it possible that I can bave crushed her lover without knowing it in galloping over some bush? Come, my fair one, I was only jesting with you. If you are of the savage a turn, I ask your pardon; but I deserve to be served so for having for a moment forgotten the divine Corilla.'

"'The divinc Corilla,' replied the latter, 'cares nothing about you, and only wishes to get rid of The director will be here presently, and if

you do not disappear-

"'Well I'm off," said the baron; 'as I do not wish to vex you, and injure your voice in the estimation of the public, hy making you shed a few pearly drops. My carriage will be waiting for you when the performance is over. Is it agreed?"

" Here he saluted her, in spite of a pretended re

sistance before Consuclo, and retired.

"Corilla forthwith embraced her companion, and thanked her for having so well repulsed the Consuclo turned her head baron's advances. away, for Corilla and her lover were at this moment

boy at the door.

"Begin!' shouted a stentorian voice from the

quarter occupied by the chorus-singers.

"'Begin!' repeated a hollow voice from the foot of the stairs, which ascended from the back of the theatre; and the last syliables echoed from scene to scene, becoming every moment fainter, until, almost expiring, it reached the prompter, who announced it to the leader by three blows upon the

"From the very first act of Zenobia, Consucio produced the complete and irresistible effect which

Haydn had predicted.

"After the first act she remained behind the scenes to listen to and applaud Corilla who acquitted herself charmingly; but after the second act she felt the necessity of an instant's repose and returned to her private apartment. Porpora, who was otherwise engaged, did not follow her, and Joseph, who, in consequence of the imperial patronage had obtained the privilege of being admitted to the orchestra, remained, as may be supposed, in his place.

"Consuelo entered Corilla's room, of which she had procured tho key, swallowed a glass of water, and threw herself for an instant on the sofa; but suddenly the recollection of the Pandour Trenck made her shudder, and she hastened to bolt the door. There was no probability, however, that he would make his appearance. He had been in the body of the theatre from the rising of the curtain, and Consuclo had distinguished him in a balcony amongst the most enthusiastic of her admirers. He was passionately fond of music. Born and bred in Italy, he spoke the language with all the purity and grace of a native, he sang agreeably, and acted so well that it was said, had he not been born with other resources, he might have made his fortune on the stage.

"But what was Consuelo's terror, when, on retiring to her sofa, she saw the fatal screen pushed aside, and the hateful Pandour appear

before her! "She darted to the door, but Trenck was thece before her, and placed his back against it.

(To be continued in No. 26.)

Poetry for the People.

THE JACOBIN OF PARIS.

(From " Historic Fancies.")

BY THE HON. GEORGE SYDNEY SMYTHE, M.P.

[Reprinted, at the request of many readers, from No. 4 of the Red Republican.]

Ho, St. Antoine! Ho, St. Antoine, -thou quarter of the

Arise with all thy households, and pour them from their

Rouse thy attics, and thy garrets,—rouse cellar, cell, and cave,—

Rouse over-worked, and over-taxed, -the starving and the

slave. "Canaille"-uyc, we remember it, that word of dainty

scorn,
They flung us from their chariots, the high and haughty

horn.

Canaille—canaille—aye, here we throng, and we will show to-night,

How ungloved hand, with pike and brand, can help itself to right.

It was a July evening, and the summer moon shone fair, When first the people rose, in the grandeur of despair, But not for greed, or gain, or gold, to plunder, or to steal,

We spared the gorgeous Tuileries,-we levelled the Bas-

A little year, we met once more, yea "Canaille" met that

In the very heart of his Versailles, to beard the man Capet

And we brought him back to Paris, in a measured train and slov

And we shouted to his face for Barnave and Mirabeau.

Ho. Condé, wert thou coming, with thy truant Chevaliers Didst thou swear they should avenge the Austrian wanton's tears

Ho, Artois, art thou arming, for England's ceaseless pay, Thy Brunswickers, and Hessians, and Brigands of Vendee? Come then, with every hireling, Sclave, Croat, and Cos-

sack We dare your war, beware of ours-we fling you freedom back.

What, tyrants, did you menace us?-now tremble for your own!

You have heard the glorious tidings of Valmy and Argonne!

How like the Greek of olden time, who in the self-same

At Platon, and at Mycale, twice crushed the invader's power; So we had each our victory, and each our double fray,

Dumouriesz with the stranger, and we at the Abbaye.

O but it was a glorious hour, that ne'er again may be, It was a night of fierce delight we never more shall see; That blood-stained floor, that foe's red gore, the rich and ruddy wine,

And the strong sense, all felt within—our work it was divine.

They knew that men were brothers, but in their lust they

On the lessons of their priests, and the warnings of their

They knew that men were brothers, but they heeded not the Lord,
So we taught them the great Truth, anew, with fire and

with sword. O but it was a glorious hour, the vengeance that we

When the mighty knelt for pardon, and the great in anguish-

But we jeered them for their little hearts, and mocked their selfish fears,

For we thought the while of all their crimes, of twice fivebundred years.

He used to laugh at Justice, that gay Aristocrat, He used to scoff at mercy, but he knelt to us for that; But, with untiring hate we struck, and as our victim fell, He heard,—to hear them echoed soon,—the cries and jests of Hell.

Ho, St. Antoine, arouse thee now,-Ho, brave Septembrists all.

For Tocsin rings, as then it rung! Arise unto its call.

Has told us, he hath need of the people's arms again.

For the Gironde hath turned traitor, and the Moderates have sold

The hard-earned rights of Hoche's fights, for promise of Pitt's gold,

and the Pedant, and the Upstart, as Upstart only can, Have dared deride, in lettered pride, the plain and working man,

What we, who hurst the bonuage, our fathers bore so

That oppression hath scemed sacred in its venerable wrong, What we, who have out-spoken, and the whole world

With its Princes, and its Monarchs, on their high thrones

afraid; What we, who broke that mighty yoke, shall we quail be-

And shall we bow to him as lowly, as he would have us

And shall we learn the Courtier's lisp, and shall we cringe

To the lily hand of fair Roland, like love-sick Barbaroux ? No-hy Great Heaven, we have not riven, the mighty

chains of old. The State-craft, and the Priest-craft, and the grandeur

and the gold,—

To be ground down by doctrines, to be crushed by Forms

To starvo upon their Corn Laws, but to live upon their rules.

No, if we must have leaders, they like ourselves shall he, Who have struggled and have conquered with single hearts and free;

Who do not ape the nohle, nor affect the Courtier's air, With Tallien for a Richelieu, and Louvet for Voltaire.

No, we will have such leaders, as the Roman Tribuues were,

Couthon, and young St. Just, and simple Rohespierre; Now glory to their garrets, they are nobler far to own, Than the fair half-hundred palaces, and the Carlovingian

And glory to the thousand proofs, that day by day they

Of some great end to which they tend, those solemn lives they live, When the Monarch, and the Auarch alike shall pass

away,
And morn shall break, and man awake, in the light of a

fairer day.

CO-OPERATIVE CHRONICLE.

Co-operative Butchers Meat Shops in France. -The recent discussion in the French National Assembly on the condition of the labouring classes, notwithstanding the violent attack made by Royalist speakers on the principle of association and the whole Socialist movement, as well as on certain of the Paris labour associations, and the large majority which supports such views in the Assembly, seems to have done much good to the Socialist cause throughout the country. There are now springing up, apparently stimulated by this very discussion. various co-operative associations in the provincial towns in the north, in the east, and in the south. In particular, there are a number of co-operative butchers' meat shops (boncheries societairies) just being set on foot—an entirely new development of the Socialist principle. And this movement is extensive enough to have made the butchers in many others towns, apparently with a view to check its progress, reduce very considerably the prices of fresh meat. This reduction has amounted to nearly one-third in Boulogne, Arras, Lille, and Cambrai. From a late number of La Republique we learn that a society of this kind has just been established at Nancy, in the department of the Meurthe. It includes the sale of butchers' meat and of pork. It is established by shareholders, or foundation members, who receive no dividends on thoir sbares, but only the right to deal at the shops of the association, and io nominate one other dealer for each share after the first; no member, however, being allowed to hold more than fifty shares. The cost grice of the meat, including the purchase of stock, the kilting and preparing for market, and other expenses of distribution, is calculated every fortnight, and posted conspicuously in all association shambles. The selling prices is fixed according to the relative value of the different parts of the carcase. Five centimes per kilogramme are added to the cost price, for a reserve fund to provide against casualties, to provide meat gratuitously to the famishing and the sick, to provide for the workmen employed in their declining days, and, finally, to form a fund destined to aid the application of Socialist principles to other wants of life, and establish solidarity with other associations having similar objects. Purchases are to be paid for cash only; except that workmen receiving salaries periodleally are permitted to purchase on credit on the guarantee of their masters, such essedit not to exceed one month in duration without a special vote to that effect. The foundation members, or first shareholders, wito such citizens in town or country as shall, upon their own request, be admitted by the administrative council, form the association.

It does not seem that the nominees of shareholders, althaugh entitled to purchase of the association, are members of it. The society reserves to itself the right to repurchase shares, thereby extinguishing the rights of shareholders bought out. The wives and families of deceased members are all entitled to membership. The amount of the original shares is ultimately to be returned, but without interest or profits. The order of this repayment to be decided by lot. At the same time, the society invites the donation of shares on behalf of the reserve fund; the names of all donors, except upon their own request to the contrary, to be published as benefactors to the society. The business of the society is conducted by a responsible manager, chosen by the administrative council, who must be a person understanding the trade. He is required to give security, and, having the appointment of the work-people employed (subject to the approval of the council), he is responsible for their conduct. The accounts are kept by the manager, under the surveillance of a special committee of six, elected half-yearly. A general meeting of members is to be held quarterly, all questions being decided by the majority of the members present. The shops are to bear the inscription, Boucherie Societaire (Co-operative Meat From the Store). - Leader.

THE POWER OF ENTHUSIASM .- Every great and commanding movement in the annals of the world is the triumph of some enthusiasm. The victories of the Arabs after Mahomet, who. in a few years, from a small and mean beginning, established a larger empire than that of Rome, is an example. The naked Derar, horsed on an idea, was found an overmatch for a troop of Roman cavalry. The women fought like men, and conquered the Roman men.—Emerson.

"Every one cultivating for himself, culture was more active, produce more abundant, and individual opulence constituted public wealth."-- Volney's Ruins.

Advertisements.

A NEW WEEKLY DEMOCRATIC NEWSPAPER, TO BE ENTITLED THE

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FRIEND OF THE PROPLE.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 26.7

SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1851.

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Letters to the People.

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all liberties."—MILTON.

HAYNAU TORRINGTON.

CRUELTY AND DESPOTISM are eternally allied. Permit a man, a class, or a particular race of men, to exercise absolute power over their fellow creatures, and it is invariably found that that power is exercised in a bloody and pitiless spirit. From the king to the gaoler the individual tyrant's chief enjoyment is to witness the sufferings of his victims, and to feel that his power is based on fear. To name only a few instances connected with the present time, that which I have just asserted is pre-eminently true of such monsters as NICHOLAS, and the blood-lapping KING OF NAPLES. The same may be said of such miscreants as HAYNAU, WINDISCHGRATZ, and a host of cut-throats, great and small, who within the last three years have deluged Europe with blood. Oligarchies have always ruled by means of the axe and the sword. The terrible history of Venice presents a signal—though by no means solitary instance of the terrible rule of an unbridled aristocracy. From the time of NIMROD to that of SESOSTRIS, from SESOSTRIS to ALEXAN-DER, from ALEXANDER to CÆSAR, from CÆSAR to CHARLEMAGNE, from CHARLEMAGNE to NAPOLEON, and from the days of the Corsican bandit to the present time, the history of the world is-for the most part-a record of the crimes of conquering races and nations, and the sufferings of the conquered. At this very hour the inhabitants of Iudia, Africa, Mexico, Italy, Poland, and Hungary, grean under the yoke of English, French, American, Austrian, and Russian oppressors, who never scruple to maintain their ascendency by the most truculent means. They shed torrents of blood, and boast of "Glory." They impose slavery and suffering on millions, and vaunt the "march of civilization." They "make a solitude, and call it l'eace."

When the working men of this country raise their voices to protest against the wrongs of their continental brethren, and to execuate the slayers of men and desolators of

nations, they do well; and, so doing entitle themselves to the applause of mankind. But they should be not the less ready to denouuce tyranny and cruelty when practised by their own government,—or rather, the government which, unhappily, rules over them. If it be a duty to sympathise with the oppressed of Europe, it is, to say the least, not the less a duty for Englishmen to sympathise with the wronged of those colonies and dependencies which go to make up the vast aggregate of countries denominated The British Empire.

In Nos. 8 and 9 of this publication I gave a lengthened statement of the brutal atrocities perpetrated by the British Haynau "Lord" Torkington upon the unfortunate people of Ceylon; adding thereto an account of the dirty and disreputable means employed by the Whigs to burke inquiry and shield their agent from punishment. As the subject has been again before Parliament, I will briefly recapitulate the ease of the Ceylonese versus

"Lord" TORRINGTON.

A Whig, a "Reformer," and Free Trader "Lord" Torrington signalised his accession to the governorship of Ceylon by repealing export and import duties, and imposing instead a variety of new taxes, several being of a most oppressive and vexatious character. Petitions and memorials signed by both natives and English residents urged the Governor to retrace his steps; but in vain. Agitation and excitement led to assemblages of a somewhat tumultuous character. Some unlucky instrument of the priests-who had their own special grievances—was reported to have been put forward as a "king," to reeover the independence of Ceylon. At the town of Matelle the British troops eame into collision with a riotous multitude. The so-called "insurgents" were immediately routed, losing in killed and wounded upwards of two hundred men; while on the side of the British only one soldier was slightly wounded. At another place, named Kurnegalle, some thousands of the disaffected fled before one officer and twelve men of the Ceylon Rifles. In this affair twenty-six of the natives were killed, and numbers were

were deliberately planned by the infamous government. The infernal policy acted upon being to encourage the congregation of the discontented in masses that so the agitation might be made to assume the appearance of a "rebellion," and thereby afford a pretext for enabling the tyrants to "strike terror" into the hearts of the population. Following up these "victories" (!) with "vigour," "Lord" TORRINGTON placed a large part of the island under martial law. Courts martial composed of military officers, completely ignorant of the language of the country, tried, convicted, and put prisoners to instant death. In two instances innocent men charged with having played the part of "Pretender" were shot. Subsequently it was proved that neither of them was the Pretender; this was admitted by "Lord" TORRINGTON himself. Houses were plundered and set on fire by the British.

This reign of military ruffianism continued between two and three months. At length "his lordship" graciously gave the word

"Let the blood-reeking sword of war be sheathed, That the law may take vengeance on the rebels." He prepared the jury-lists and did his best

to procure the destruction of the unhappy creatures dragged before the civil courts. Seventeen were condemned to death, but were publicly recommended to mercy by the Chief Justice. "His lordship" sulkily assented to this recommendation, but consoled himself by sentencing the convicted to transportation. He well knew this punishment would be felt most bitterly, as shown by his remarks to "Earl" Grey, that "the dread of transportation amongst the natives is almost greater than that of death."

is almost greater than that of death."

Behold the list of "Lord" TORRINGTON'S achievements, so honourable to British hero-

so-called "insurgents" were immediately routed, losing in killed and wounded upwards of two hundred men; while on the side of the British only one soldier was slightly wounded. At another place, named Kurnegalle, some thousands of the disaffected fled before one officer and twelve men of the Ceylon Rifles. In this affair twenty-six of the natives were killed, and numbers were wounded and taken prisoners. These mere butcheries for "fighting" there was none, Add houses destroyed, property plundered,

a people terror-stricken, broken-ficarted widows, and children consigned to wretchedness, and it must be admitted that the cousin of "Lord" JOHN RUSSELL, ex-Lord of her Majesty's Bedchamber, and reported to be still a favourite at Court and a pet amongst aristocratic ladies, has entitled himself to a place on the infamous roll on which is inscribed the names of HAYNAU and other miscreants of a kindred character.

If the reader will refer back to No. 9 of the Friend of the People, he will find therein an exposé of the almost numberless shifts and dodges, tricks and frauds, by which the Whigs tried to shield themselves and their protégé from the terrors and discomfiture of a fair and open investigation. I have not space to recapitulate these matters. Suffice it to say, that in spite of all their attempts at mystification, Public Opinion declared and "Lord" TORRINGTON found it prudent to "resign."

Mr. BAILLIE, member for Inverness, whose labours in the good work of dragging to light the atrocities connected with this affair entitle him to the thanks of the community, moved in the House of Commons, on the 27th of May, the following resolutions:-

"That this house, having taken into its consideration the evidence adduced before the select committee appointed to inquire into the affairs of Ceylon, is of opinion that the punishments inflicted during the late disturbances in that island were excessive and uncalled for. That this house is of opinion that the execution of eighteen persons, and the imprisonment, transportation, and corporal punishment of 140 other persons on this oceasion, is at variance with the merciful administration of the British penal laws, and is not calculated to seonre the future affections and fidelity of her Majesty's colonial subjects. That this house is of opinion, that these severities are the more sincerely to be deprecated as they were exercised after the supression of the disturbances, during which none her Majesty's troops or public servants were killed, and only one soldier slightly wounded. That this house is of opinion that the conduct of the late Governor of Ceylon, in keeping in force martiallaw for two months, after his chief legal adviser had recommended its discontinuance, and during which period the civil courts were sitting without danger or interruption, and also his refusal to allow a short delay in the execution of a priest, at the request of the Queen's Advocate, who wished further investigation into the case, was in the highest degree arbitra y and oppressive. That this house is therefore of opinion that the conduct of Earl Grey, in signifying her Majesty's approbation of the conduct of Lord Torrington during and subsequent to the disturbances, was precipitate and injudicious, tending to establish precedents of rigour and severity in the government of her Majerty's foreign possessions, and injurious to the character of this country for justice and humanity."

I must refer the reader to the daily papers for a report of Mr. BAILLIE's speech. I can only say that he ably and temperately made out his case, and substantiated even more than I have set forth in the preceding narrative. He showed that the prisoners brought before the courts martial were pre-doomed beforehand; that a certain Colonel DROUGHT, and a certain Captain Warson, played the part of -Austriaus, or Algerines; that confiscations of property were carried out with most heartless injustice; and that the aforesaid Captain Warson profited by these acts of plunder. In the course of his speech Mr.

Queen's Advocate in Ceylon, who had vainly solicited "Lord" TORRINGTON to suspend the execution of a condemned priest, Mr. Selby being impressed with the conviction that the man was innocent. The statement was originally addressed to "Lord" Torrington, and contained the following passage-I have not space to quote the whole-

"I informed your lordship that I had heard a priest was to be shot next morning; that Mr. Smith, the proetor, had been with me, and had informed me that he had attended the court martial, and was satisfied for reasons he had mentioned to me, that the priest was innocent, and the evidence againt him false, and that Mr. Dunuville, the proctor, and Mr. Jayetillike, the interpreter of the court, who had also been present at the trial, agreed with him (Mr. Smith) that it was a conspiracy against the priest; and that, under these circumstances, I thought myself hound to apply at once to your lordship, with a view of delaying the execution until further inquiry had been made. Your lordship became pale whilst I was speaking, and when I concluded, struck your hand on your thigh, exclaiming, 'By God, if all the proctors in the place said the man was innocent, he should die to morrow morning,' or words to that effect. The only words I have any doubt about are 'place,' and 'die.' It is possible that your lordship used the word 'island,' instead of 'place,' and the words 'be shot,' instead of 'die.' Thereupon, I said, 'That is a matter for your lordship's consideratior. I thought it my duty to let you know what I had beard. Your lordship continued, by remarking that courts martial were the fairest courts in the world; that you would rather be tried by the gentlemen who had tried the pricest, than by all the judges of the supreme court; and, besides, that the priest had confessed."

That the priest did confess is extremely doubtful. Be that as it may, the brutality expressed in the words of "his lordship," would have come fitly from the lips of HAYNAU. I must here quote from Mr. BAILLIE's comments on this abominable conduct of "Lord" TORRINGTON :-

"It was right governors of distant colonies should know what were the acts by which they would be entitled to the cordial approbation of the Colonial office and the thanks of the crown (renewed cheers). Already they found that these transactions had not been without their fruits. Sir Henry Ward, in the Ionian islands, seemed to have followed very closely on the footsteps of Lord Torrington, (hear). He, too, had received the approbation of the Colonial-office; but such acts, though they might receive the approval of the minister, would not confer honour or credit on the government or the people of this country (loud cheers). It was right that the people of England, who were ever ready to condemn acts of severity, practised by foreign governments on their subjects. should learn to appreciate the severities of their own government. It was right the people of England should learn to appreciate those sufferings which British subjects had to endure when, far removed from the paternal eye of the Sovereign, they were handed over to the colonial governor, and the tender mercies of the Secretary of State (cheers). It was right the people of England should learn to appreciate these, truths, however unpalatable they might be (hear, hear)."

"Sir" F. THESIGER, in the course of his speech in support of the motion, quoted the following from an account of one of the courts martial :- "There were four prisoners; against the first and third there was not one tittle of evidence to implicate them in illegal transactions; and in regard to the second and fourth such questions as these were put : BATTUE read the statement of Mr. Selby, 'Did you see the prisoner with a gun?' he was speech-making in defence of Lord

'No: I did not; but Mr. MACKELWIE told me he did.' 'Did you see No. 4 prisoner running out of the jungle?' No: but several people said they had seen him.' Upon that evidence all four prisoners were sentenced to be executed, and were shot the next morning.

On the other side, the speakers applied themselves to the congenial task of attempting to whitewash "Lord" "TORRINGTON by trying to blacken the characters of those who had exposed his mal-administration. They argued, moreover, that, 1st, The alleged number of those who had been tried by court-martial had been much exaggerated. 2nd. The measures of severity had resulted in the establishment of "order," and the end achieved excused the means. 3rd, That on resigning his post the ex-governor of Cevlon had left the revenue of the colony in an improved state, with a "surplus" at the disposal of his successor. 4th, That even if any excesses had been committed, the mischief was done three years ago; and it was ungenerous to rake up the ashes of past misdeeds. 5th, It was the duty of the Home Government to protect its representatives from censure, otherwise colonial disaffection would be encouraged, and "our Empire" would be jeopardised.

Answer. 1st, There are various accounts of the number of persons brought to trial, but even the Attorney-General admitted there had been 18 sufferers capitally punished; enough to justify the outcry against TORRINGTON. 2nd, The same argument might be urged to justify the atrocities of all the tyrants that ever goaded a people to revolt, and then smothered the flames of insurrection in the blood of their misgo erned victims. 3rd, The prosperous state of the revenue, the "surplus," &c., only prove that the unhappy Ceylonese, besides being subjected to the sword of martial law, were more closely fleeced by "Lord" TORRINGTON than they had been by his predecessors. 4th. No length of time can efface the guilt of cruelty, and the crime of oppression and as long as the criminal is in life those who complain of his crimes have a right to look for justice; moreover, if the question of Torrington's guilt has not been earlier considered, the blame rests with his friends and apologists, who have done all they could to burke inquiry. 5th. The sure way to encourage disaffection and excite batred of British rule is to protect such tyrants as Torrington from the punishment justly due to their crimes.

The Attorney-General (COCKBURN, M.P. for Southampton), who only last session was so eloquent in his denunciation of Austrian tyranny and cruelty, and so forward in declaring his ardent sympathy with the Hungarians, treated the executions of the Cevlonese with heartless and insolent flippancy. He, however, made some startling admissions as to the hatred of English rule felt by "Within the past the natives of Ceylon. forty years there had been no fewer than six rebellious or conspiracies, chiefly arising from dislike to the foreign dominion, dislike to the yoke of the stranger, and a yearning for national independence." His conduct this year Bo widely differing from that exhibited Tast year is to be easily accounted for. Then he was out of office; now he is in.

PALMERSTON, to get a place; now he is en-

joying the sweets of office.
That "Lord" JOHN RUSSELL, the ATTOR-NEY-GENERAL and Mr. Soapey Hawes should recklessly defend the conduct and character of the ex-governor of Ceylou was to be expected, seeing that they were in jeopardy of sharing his condemnation. It was also natural for "Sir" J. W. Hogg, one of the Leadenhall-street tyrants of India, to sympathise with a ruler who had shown all the inhumanity of a WARREN HASTINGS, though lacking the capacity of that famous brigand. But no excuse can be offered for the conduct of Mr. Sergeant MURPHY and Mr. Ros-BUCK for their shameless defence of TORRING-TON. The "learned member" for Cork avowedly appeared as the retained advocate of " his noble friend"-for he had the good taste to boast that he was "honoured with the intimacy" of "his lordship." I wonder if the modest Sergeant was ever "honoured" w th the intimacy of THURTELL or Mrs. MAN-NING! Mr. ROEBUCK argued that " Ceylon was not a colony, that it was not peopled by emigrants from this country, but was a conquered state acquired by the sword, and the possession of which was to be maintained by force. The only proper government for such a country, and for India, was an enlightened despotism. Under the circumstances, the shooting of eighteen persons by order of the courts-martial was a most merciful proceeding." Let the reader bear in mind that this atrocious argument applies as much to Ireland as to Ceyion or India. That country was not colonised, but acquired by the sword, aided by fraud and corruption; and according to the member for Sheffield, such a country should be for ever ruled by the sword of despotism. Do the electors and mon-electors of Sheffield give their assent to this damnable doctrine?

After two nights' debate, the House divided, when there appeared for the motion 202, against 282. Majority for TORRINGTON and the Whigs, for cruelty and oppression, 30 !

I turn to the division lists, and there I find that only three decided "liberals" -exclusive of the Trish members-voted for the motion; namely :- Messrs. Hume, Lusnington, and

Colonel THOMPSON.

Against the motion, and in favour of Tor-BINGTON and the Whigs, I find the names of BINGTON and the Whigs, I mu the hames of Achionby, the philanthropic "Lord" Ashley, Bass, Brotherton. "Sir" Wm. Clay, D'Eyncourt, De Lacy Evans, Ewart, "Sir" B. Hall, Lawrence Heyworth, Hindley, Alderman Humphrey, "Sir" Wm. ALDERMAN HUMPHREY, "Sir" Wm. MOLESWORTH, tribune of the colonies (!!!); ROEBUCK, VILLIERS, WYLD, Sir JOSHUA WALMSLEY, and T. WARELEY. Sorry am I to find the last name in such a list.

The name of T. Duncombe appears amongst

the "pairs."

The skulking absentees include the names BRIGHT, COBDEN, Fox, GIBSON, and FEAR-

qua O'Connor!

The absence of O'CONNOR is the more shameful taking into account that he was in the house early in the evening, and engaged in denouncing the luckless land allotees as "ruffians," until called to order by his brother M.P's. Strange that he could not remain to give a vote for the victims of TORRINGTON'S ruffianism.

But for the recreancy of "Liberals" and "Chartists" who either voted with the Whigs,

or skulked from the division, the motion would have been carried.

"These be thy gods, O Israel!"

Away with the shams, the recreants, and hypocrites!

The question is decided. JUSTICE FOR CLYLON is not to be obtained from the present parliament; nor, let me add, from any parliament elected under the present sys-

"Lord" TORRINGTON is safe. Those who should have brought him to punishment have

voted approbation of his crimes.

Every aristocrat, and underling of aristocracy, appointed to domineer over the inhabitants of "our colonies and dependencies" may play his fantastick tricks with the certainty of impunity, assured that even "liberals" will defend the greatest atrocities, and parliamentary majorities vote down all appeals for justice.

Our colonists and tributaries may resign themselves to misgovernment until-strong enough to right themselves by force, and able to turn the argument of ROEBUCK against the

mother (?) country.

The British people, dishonoured by such as TORRINGTON, betrayed by their parliamentary friends (?), and outraged by the House of Commons, must submit to their degradation until they exhibit the sense and courage to put an end to the existing system, and establish THE REIGN OF DEMOCRACY. For themselves and for the empire there is no other course of salvation.

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

TORRINGTON AND CEYLON.

(From the Morning Chronicle.)

WE cannot call to mind any former case in which such barefaced attempts were made to defeat the course of justice, by those whose hounden duty it is to administer it, as those which have been made, and are still persisted in, in the present instance. Intimidation of witnesses, suppression and garbling of evidence, deliberate and fortunately detected fictions, have all been largely, recklessly, and, we are happy to add, not very skilfully, called into play in defence of Earl Grey and Viscount Torrington. Wide and active has been the conspiracy to extricate the Minister and the ex-Governor, in decent plight, from the hands of their assailants, Places have been lavishly given, and more lavishly promised, to ensure doubt ful votes; all the seductions of society have been expended upon those whose voices or pens could possibly be rendered subservient to the great object in view; and even the temptations of fashion and of the culinary art have played no unimportant part in the stratagems resorted to by the desperate and anxious friends of "the Family." Excited dowagers of high degree have been heard loudly to declare their utter disbelief that such a well-connected man as the ex-Governor, whom they had been in the habit of seeing riding backwards so amiably in the Royal carriages, could be guilty of aught that was ungenteel; whilst his Lordship's more immediate contemporarics, gratefully mindful of his former prowess in the now obsolcte valse à trois temps, triumphantly argue that, if he were in any degree guilty, he would surely not be invited to the Palaco concerts; and they vehemently express their general conviction, "that he served tho

they have no appeal. The Parliament of England has been forced into the position in which the Government previously stood, and has tacitly signified its approval of all the dark deeds that have been done in Ceylon under the name of martial-law. The unusual mode in which the courts martial were conducted will now form established precedents for the conduct of similar tribinals in similar emergencies; and the merciless correspondence of Colonel DROUGHT will henceforward be incorporated in that useful manual, the British Officers' Hand-book.

RUSSIA.

FACTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE RUSSIAN SYSTEM. RELATED BY AN EYE-WITNESS. IV.

THERE was in one of the Russian regiments a superior officer, a major, of the name of Seeanoff. who was, as is frequently the ease, one of the most disreputable characters. He was an inveterate drunkard, insolent, and a gambler of the worst kind. As he was not the only bad character of the regiment, he was for many years tolerated; at last, having become so bad that he far surpassed every other, the petience of his commander was exhausted, and he brought a formal accusation against him, before the supreme authority, in consequence of which he was dismissed, and his diseharge worded as follows :-

" Major Seeanoff being a drunkard, an insolent fellow, a gambler, and having broken glass utensils,* is consequently expelled trom the regiment. But eonsidering his high talent, and his intellectual accomplishments, the choice is left to him, -1st, either to accept the post of inspector of the imperial stations, or, 2ndly, that of director of the high

school of Lublin.

(Signed) " Nicholas."

The worthy major, having at heart the moral education of the human race, preferred the guardianship of the Polish youth to that of the Muscovite stations.

The following ancedote proves the power which money excreises on the Muscovite mind:-

"General Doobelt was appointed member of a commission of inquiry into political offences. In a private conversation the general had with one of the political prisoners, a Pole, the latter replied, "I assure you, General, that I know nothing, and that I am quite innocent!" From the continual repetition of the above answer, the General became impatient, and exclaimed, 'Why, you Poles are famous for eternally protesting your ignorance of mischievous actions, and your innocence! Now, I'll tell you; it little matters to me whether you are guilty or not guilty, but give me some money!"

Of course, money was given, and the prisoner released as not guilty.

The following fact will show two curious characteristics in the Muscovite system; Istly, that a soldier can be appointed to any branch of administration, and 2ndly, that the power of the autocrat extends itself even beyond the grave, so much so that a decrased person can be rewarded or punished:

"Colonel Protassoff, president of the Most Holy Spiritual Synod, entered into an agreement with the Arehbishop of Riazan, who was to pay him a certain sum of money for the canonization of a triar of the name of Mitrafan, who had died some time before. As the Archbishop was short of money at that time, the payment of the sum was postponed until some income should be realized from the pilgrimage of the pious to the holy tomb. After the return of the Archbishop from St. Petersburg,

horrid black creatures quite right."

* Amongst other important reforms introduced by Peter the Great, he ordered the use of glass utensils in house. Holds. The ignorant people refused to submit, and considering it to be a dangerous innovation, they broke their glasses, so that the Ts. was obliged to issue a ukase inflicting severe punishment for breaking or throwing away glass utensils. The mentioning of the broken glass and that from the acts of a tyrannical Colonial Minister, or of an incapable Colonial Governor,

miracles took place at Riazan: sick people became restored, lame recovered the use of their legs, blind men their sight. Immediately a report of what had occurred was forwarded to the Most Holy Synod, and in consequence of Colonel Protassoff's personal intercession, the Synod recognized the saintship of the late Mitrafan. But it afterwards came out that Protassoff was not cautious enough in his agreement with the Archbishop, for the latter not only indefinitely postponed the payment, but finally entirely refused. Protassoff's position was rather a difficult one: he could not insist upon the payment of the agreed sum, and to bring an action against the Archbishop would have been imprudent, because the guilt was mutual. He, however, resolved to have his revenge. As it was utterly impossible to get at what had already entered the priest's purse, he endeavoured, at least, to prevent anything from entering it in future. For that purpose he got an extract concerning the newly-appointed saint Mitrafan from the formulary, from which it appeared that he was a drunkard and a thief (" Vor e Pecanitsa"), and presented it at a meeting of the Synod; and the consequence was, that by a decree of the Autocrat, the late Mitrafan was not only degraded from the rank of a saint, to that of a friar, which he really was during his life-time, but also to a still lower position, that of a chanter."

JULIAN HARNEY'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.

I commence my tour at Dundee, instead of Aberdeen, as originally announced. I am to address meetings at

DUNDEE,

Monday and Tuesday, June 9th and 10th. ABERDEEN.

Monday and Tuesday, June 16th and 17th. From Aberdeen I purpose to proceed through Perthshire, Stirling, &c., to the West of Scotland, and after fulfilling engagements in that part of the country, to proceed by Hamilton, &c., to Edinburgh; from Edinburgh to the North of England.

I will try to visit my Birstal friends on my

way southward.

23 My friend, G. J. HOLYOAKE, who has just returned from the North, apprises me that I am expected to visit a number of places from whence I have not yet received invitations. Friends must not expect me to visit them excepting upon their invitation, as I am not the man to "invite myself."

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

P. S. After the date of this number of the Friend of the People, all letters for the editor to be addressed, until further notice, as follows: "G. Julian Harney, care of Mr. M'Crae, Seafild Lane, Perth Road, Dundee."

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

AUCHTERSUCHTY, - Some friend at this place has written ACCHERMICHTY.—Some friend at this place has written to Mr. Ruffey a letter requiring to be answered, but the writer has omitted to give his name. He is requested to forward his full address to Mr. Reffey, 13, Tottenham Court, New-road, London.

J. B. Jones, (Bristol).—Received. Thanks.

THE LIVERTOOL REFUGES.—I request that, at least during my absence from London, all monies for the Refugees be forwarded to Mr. James Spurr, 10, Williamson-square, Livernool.

THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS: All correspondence for the Fraternal Democrats to be addressed to John Pettie, 52, College Place, Camden Town, London.

Ill fares the land, to hast'ning woes a prey, Where wealth accumulates, and men decay .-

"What are the rights to which men are entitled by the laws of nature, or the gifts of the Creator? The Declaration of [Independence] has already named some of them; i. e. 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' to which I will add, an equal right to the earth and other elements, all equally indicates the articles of the pursuit of the pursuit of the earth and other elements, all equally indicates the articles of the pursuit THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1851.

THE PRACTICAL POLITICIAN.

AT the fourth monthly soirée of the "National Reform Association," Mr. COBDEN made his appearance, and gave his formal adhesion to the "Little Charter." He excused his past backwardness on the ground that, being a "practical politician," he had hitherto addressed himself to "practical questions." " Neither the blandishments of the Whigs, nor the almost unanswerable appeals of the complete suffragists, nor the ferocious attacks of the Chartists, ever induced him to swerve one moment from the practical question of Free Trade." But at length he had come to the conclusion that "the question of Parliamentary Reform was the most practical of the day.

Now what has brought the "practical politician" to this conclusion? The realization of Chartist predictions. The "ferocious" Chartists said :- "Apart from principle, from every question of right and justice, your policy is wrong, for you begin at the wrong end. Even if you succeed, the result will be disappointment and reaction. Your free trade can only benefit one section of the community at the expense of other sections. Your cheap bread will introduce lower wages. First you will have the agricultural classes against you, and ultimately the manufacturing workers as well. Even though free trade could realize all you promise, you could not be sure of retaining the fruits of your victory. As long as the House of Commons is elected as at present, you have no guarantee that a burden removed to-day will not be re-imposed tomorrow, or that a reform gained will not be abrogated almost as soon as achieved." "And," added the Chartists, "if you will not listen to us, if you will not unite with us for a radical reform of the source of all bad legislation, our suppositions as to the results of your victory the future will realize."

Well, the warnings of the Chartists are now in course of realization. The free-traders look forward with horror to the next "appeal to the country," as they have good reason to fear the return of a Protectionist majority. Hence the sudden enlightenment of Mr. CoB-DEN as to the "practical" character of the question of Parliamentary Reform.

The audacity of this man is really to be admired. His own confessions show that ten years ago the "ferocious" Chartists were the really "practical politicians," and he the bungler or impostor, self-deceived or wilfully deceiving those who trusted to his "leadership."

Now that he exhibits a disposition to take up "the most practical question of the day," he gives his support to a measure of "reform" designedly framed to exclude the most wronged and suffering portion of the people from the enjoyment of their political rights. He is greatly in love with the ballot, of course to protect "the many against the rich and right to the earth and other elements, all equally indispensable to the existence of man."—Mr. Jaques. | Privileged few,"—but also for another reason: | dispensable to the existence of man."—Mr. Jaques. | "He ha been told by gentlemen from

France that the ballot was there regarded as the most conservative of their institutions: to it the men of order looked for protection from the red republicanism and socialism which were rampant in the streets. (Hear, hear.) By its means universal suffrage had returned the most conservative chamber ever assembled in France." Mark the "hear, hear," of the "little Charter" men! This needs no comment. The orator proceeded to observe: "He was inclined to believe that Lord John Russell would give a pretty liberal extension of the suffrage; but what would be the benefit of it without a redistribution of the franchise? What would be the advantage of universal suffrage at St. Alban's, if it was to return the same number of members as Liverpool?" Although for popularity's sake these precious Reformers make a great parade of their desire to "extend" the suffrage, the truth is, that a very small extension, if accompanied by the ballot and a redistribution of the constituencies, would best meet their views and promote their aims. Such a "reform" would give the towns a greatly preponderating number of representatives, while those representatives elected by the middle-class and the best paid of the working-class would constitute a "garrison" for the defence of the present system, strong enough to defy the utmost efforts of the unrepresented classes to establish universal citizenship.

The "reforms" which this precious scheme of "parliamentary reform" is to produce are not less significantly set forth in the speech of Mr. COBDEN: "Legislation had come to a dead lock, even in the matter of the budget; and the government had kept up such an extravagant expenditure, that there was a glorious opportunity for a reform ministry to come in and reduce the burdens of the people. (Hear, hear.)" Not a word about social amelioration, real reforms. Merely a "reduction

of taxation."—Bah!

A COBDEN ministry would do wonders. Reduce taxation, but "keep faith with the public ereditor;" shear the monarchy of its "barbaric splendours," confiscate the State Church, abolish the laws of primogeniture and entail, and establish the unshackled supremacy of money-mongers, merchants, and manufactures, as the absolute lords of the land, the capital, and the labour of the coun-

But this consummation cannot be arrived at unless the working-classes allow themselves to be juggled again into supporting these schemers. If they are wise they will treat as their bitterest enemy any one who would attempt to persuade them to pursue so suicidal

a course.

Geutlemen of the Reform Association, if you really believe yourselves to be honest men have done with your thimblerig-policy, and come out, for the only honest principle in connexion with the suffrage question, that of the right of ALL to a voice in the legislation of the country. Come out for UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE and the necessary adjuncts thereto. Until you do so, all your patriotic displays —including your exhibition of real (?) "working men" who advocate "the complete enfranchisement of the people, but feel it no inconsistency to support "your little charter, all your affected regard for "the rights of the producing classes," all your "balmybalderdash" will be distrusted; and (we hope) you will continue to have cause to lament that your

association has not the aid and support you

expected.

The "practical politicians" are those who means the second representation in the second representation representatio politicians are those who will consent to the enfranchisement of the entire people—by the enactment of the principles and provisions set forth in THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER.

PRISON DISCIPLINE—THE FARCE OF "EQUAL JUSTICE."

WE praised the decision of Mr. HARDWICK in the case of the renowned Captain Somer-SET; at the same time we declared our belief that the aristocratic offender would not be subjected to those rigorous regulations which constitute the principal pain of imprisonment.

We were right. Scarcely was the ink dry with which he had written on the subject when it was announced in a Sunday paper that from the day of his arrival at Coldbath Prison, he was visited by troops of friends. No fewer than a hundred carriages, most of them coroneted, drove up the prison gates within four days, and their occupants were allowed to enter the prison to take part in the Captain's levees. True, it was reported that the hero of these attentions was in all other respects compelled to submit to the ordinary regulations; that he wore the prison dress and partook of the prison fare. If he really did wear the prison dress, a point on which we confess our scepticism, he wore it as he might wear the costume of "Dusty Bob" at a masquerade, no doubt greatly to his own and his visitors amusement. As to the food it would take a forty parson power of faith for us to swallow that whale. Even supposing the prison rations were served to him to keep up appearances, we would wager the wisdom of Sibthorpe against the modesty of HAWES that the pigs's-meat never defiled the lips of the gallant captain. Turnkevs are but men, and if (gold) dust is thrown in their eyes they must close their "top-lights," and, if only for a moment, that would suffice to enable his noble visitors, with the help of their flunkeys, to stock the hero's larder.

The admission of this gang of "noble visitors," day by day, to see the prisoner was at once an act of gross partiality, and an insult to the law the captain had broken, and the magistrate by whom he was sentenced to incarceration. The Duke of Buccleugh the Marqius of STAFFORD, Lord MULGRAVE. the M.P's. colonels, captains, &c., deliberately testified their contempt for the law by their ostentatious thronging to Coldbath prison. What a pity but they could be lo-

cated there for a time!

Let the people contrast the treatment of Captain Somerset with that of Ernest Jones as set forth in the annexed petition. It is unnecessary for us to recapitulate the terrible revelations therein made public. They will be universally read, and cannot fail to excite a strong feeling of sympathy for the sufferer, and one of corresponding indignation towards his persecutors and torturers.

That Ernest Jones will obtain anything in the shape of justice or compensation, we have not the most distant idea. Possibly, however, Magistrates and gaolers, and their master the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, may be driven to the adoption of a system of prison regulations more in accordance with justice and humanity. If so, the

been in vain.

BARBAROUS PRISON TREATMENT OF ERNEST JONES.

The following petition of Ernest Jones has been printed with the votes:-

The humble petition of Ernest Charles Jones, of the Middle Temple, harrister-at-law, showeth,-

"That your petitioner, for a speech delivered by him in June, 1848, was sentenced at the July sessions of the same year, by the then Chief Justice, to be imprisoned for two years and one week, no other punishment being embraced in the sentence, but receiving while in the dock, in reply to a question asked, repeated assurances of cousiderate and lenient treatment.

"Your petitioner was subsequently conveyed to Tothill-fields Prison, Westminster, and there during the entire period to which he was sentenced, kept in separate confinement, on the silent system, which was enforced with such rigour that he was severely reprimanded for even reading the Bible to himself. though in a searcely audible voice. Your petitioner was further compelled to piek oakum, which he did on his arrival, and which labour was remitted only in consideration of a weekly payment of money. He was made to wear the same dress and parti-coloured cap as culprits guilty of heinous offences, and marched about the prison in the same files with eommon felons, subjected to convict discipline so rigorous, as to make an involuntary smile, turning the head to the right or left, or folding the arms, punishable offence; supplied with indigestible and unwholesome food, to the serious injury of his health; not allowed a fork, being obliged to use his fingers instead; and not furnished with sufficient underelothing for health and cleanliness.

"During the greater part of the months of November and December, 1848, (which were remarkably severe), your petitioner was kept without fire, and with the same clothing as in the height of summer, iu a day cell, two windows of which were unglazed, having merely shutters, and its doors (which closed imperfectly) opening directly on the prison yard. In neither winter during his detention was any additiou, even in the most rigorous weather, made to the clothing he word in summer. Your petitioner was further forced, during the chief period of his imprisonment, to sleep in a small night cell, about six feet wide by eight feet long, in a thorough draught, between the window and the door; the former fitting so badly as to admit the rain, and the latter, as did also two large gratings of about one foot square each in that cell where he was principally confined during both winters, opening directly on the outer air. Such was the damp and fog in these cells during winter that your peti-tioner has of mornings brushed the dew off his blanket, and suffered from the humidity of his clothing. Your petitioner thence became afflicted with tic-douleureux and rheumatism, so severe as almost to deprive him of the use of his limbs; notwithstanding this, his cell was not changed while suffering thus, till shortly before his leaving the prison, and, though afflicted during five winter months with the most aggravated attack of neuralgia, he was compelled to rise at a quarter-past six in the morning, and even in snow or rain to walk through two yards, and wash and dress in the open air, under a recess in the

"Your petitioner was by this treatment reduced to a state of health so precarious that he lost sixteen pounds in weight in seven weeks, as the infirmary-books will prove, and was unable to walk across his cell; the surgeon was compelled to order him into the infirmary, where he remained nineteen weeks, at two intervals. On leaving the infirmary the first time, no alteration being made in his treatment, the consequence was the surgeon was obliged to send him back, after the lapse of a fortnight, in a more dangerous state than before. Daring part of this time, as he then asserted on charges to make against them (the visiting

sufferings of the Chartist leader will not have I his oath, and as he still believes, his life was in imminent danger; his wife, therefore, petitioned for leave that Mr. Cholmondeley, of 3, Nottingham Place, Regent's Park, who has attended petitioner and his family for twelve years, might be allowed to see him, but was refused. Mr. Wakley, a member of your hon. house, applied as such, and in his medical capacity, to see petitioner, but was also refused permission, by both the visiting justices and Sir George Grey.

"Your petitioner, after leaving the infirmary, a second time, was (with the exception of obtaining, after a while, a larger night-cell) once more subjected to the same treatment as before, the effect of which was the ruin of his health, and the infliction of nervous and rheumatic complaints, from which he is still suffering severely, and from which he believes he can never wholly recover. Your petitioner further begs to state that (with two exceptions) he was not allowed to see any friend or relative more than four times in the year, and then only in the presence of a turnkey, and for twenty minutes each time; that after the first three months, he was not allowed to write a letter, even to his wife, more than once a quarter, the permission of writing oftener, after the period named, having been withdrawn without petitioner's having given any cause, or broken a single rule of the prison, but, on the contrary, having been repeatedly commended for his conduct; that not even during the fearful visitation of the cholera, though petitioner made a special request to be allowed to hear from home, was that request acceded to; that he was during the first nineteen months of his imprisonment not allowed the use of pen, ink, or paper (except for a few moments once a quarter for the aforesaid quarterly letter); that though petitioner's wife was so ill as to be long in danger of her life, permission was refused her to inform her husband, or to communicate with him; and that when petitioner was himself dangerously ill, he was not able to acquaint his wife with his condition until the time for writing his quarterly letter had come round.

"Such was the treatment to which your petitioner was subjected during two years and one week, the entire period for which he was sentenced; and petitioner begs to remind your honourable House that the sentence of the udge, as delivered in court, was simply this:-The sentence of the court is, that you be imprisoned during two years on the first count, and one week on the second,' coupled with the assurances previously stated; and petitioner begs further to observe that the same treatment would naturally be far more injurious to the health of a man in his station in life than to that of a man long inured to hardships and privations; whereas petitioner can prove that prisoners convicted on infinitely more serious charges were treated in a far

more lenicht manner.

"Your petitioner now solicits the attention of your hon. House to the treatment he experienced when endcavouring to obtain some alleviation of his sufferings. On the 19th of March, 1849, petitioner, finding his health unable to bear the treatment inflicted, and feeling convinced such treatment was not intended by the Court, asked permission to write to the judge who sentenced him, for the purpose of inquiring whether his treatment was in accordance with the sentence passed; but the permission was refused. Petitioner was then threatened with additional severities of an aggravated character, if he did not cease complaining of his sufferings; he was even told he would be set to scrub the floors of the convicts' cells. Petitioner then applied for leave to see the prison rules, but even this was denied him. Petitioner then desired to see his solicitor, or to write to him, but was refused. Petitioner then asked leave to petition your hon. House, which was prohibited by the visiting justices, although he stated, as one reason among many adduced for so doing, that he had several serious justices) themselves... Petitioner then applied to the board to know under what clause, of what act, he was prevented writing, for the purpose named, to the judge who sentenced him, and from petitioning parliament. The board refused even to answer his questions. Petitioner was further told that he should not be admitted to see the visiting justices at their weekly board-day. though the act and the prison rules alike specify such to be the right of prisoners. Petitioner had never abused that right, and had previously to such refusal (during a period of ten months) applied only four times to see the magistrates. The governor thus arrogated the right to himself of admitting a prisoner to see the magistrates or not, at his pleasure. Petitioner was further told if, in his quarterly interviews with his wife, he alluded at all to his treatment in prison, he would immediatly be forced from her presence, though the act gives no such power. Petitioner was desirous of acquainting some members of your hon. House with the treatment he experienced, and accordingly, in his quarterly letter, directed his wife to write to Mr. Wakley, Mr. G. Thompson, and Mr. F. O'Connor, requesting them to come and see him at the quarterly period of seeing visitors. The prisoner was warned to desist. since it would, he was told, be highly injurious to him to see those gentlemen; every obstacle was thrown in the way of the interview, and, as petitioner persisted, the governor, with his own hand, added a paragraph to petitioner's letter, warning his wife not to write to those gentlemen under peril of being herself forbidden to see her husband at the periods prescribed by law. Petitioner's wife, alarmed at the communication, obeyed the governor's injunction, and petitioner had the greatest difficulty in acquainting the gentlemen named, with his desire for an interview. Petitioner failed in obtaining attention to his case, owing to the impossibility of again conveying information as to his treatment, and that treatment now became more severe than ever. Petitioner was told if in his quarterly letters he alluded to his treatment, those letters would be suppressed.

"The weekly payment of money being seven days in arrear, petitioner was ordered forthwith to resumo oakum-picking, though his health rendered him unequal to the labour, and his eyesight was seriously injured by the glare of the whitewashed cell. Petitioner then said that, since, on his oath, he believed his treatment to be contrary to his sentence, -since he was prohibited from writing to his judge to ask if such was the ease .since he was prevented from petitioning parlia-ment, acquainting his solicitor, friends, or relatives, appealing to the magistrates, or even alluding to his treatment in his usual letters; and, since his health was rapidly sinking under the infliction, he, on his part, refused to perform forced labour, but at the same time expressed his willingness to pick oakum forthwith, upon his being allowed to write to his judge, or to petition your hon. house. Petitioner here begs to observe that in not one instance during the cut're period of his imprisonment did he knowingly break a single rule of the prison; and in the case alluded to he believed his treatment to be contrary to his sentence, but even then resisted it only because the common right of every prisoner was denied him, and both the laws of the country and rules of the prison were set aside by the authorities. Petitioner was hereupon, on the 3rd of May, 1849, ordered by the governor to be locked up in a refractory cell on bread and water, without books. On inquiring 'for how long a time?' the governor replied, 'As long as I choose. I put you in at my pleasure, and I take you out at my pleasure. Petitioner was then seized by the neck and ankles, and forced lowards the door of the ward, where he was kept during three days in a refractory cell, by the governor's order, though the act expressly provides that no prisoner shall be locked in a refractory cell on bread and water, except by order of two or more of her Majesty's justices of the peace. Petitioner was in the surgeon's hands for several weeks

after that, and on somewhat recovering (the infirmary books will show, by the nature of the medicines administered, that petitioner's illness must have been severe) he was again sent for six days to a solitary cell on bread and water, without books. having even his Bible taken away. Petitioner was seriously ill of a bowel complaint at the time; the cholcra was then raging at its height, the infirmary being then so full that patients were lying in the common cells, and one died near the refractory cell in which the petitioner was locked. Two political fellow-prisoners, Sharpe and Williams, received the same sentence from the board for the same cause, at the same time as petitioner; they were in good health when thus sentenced, but both died immediately after the completion of that sentence, and the inquest commented on the severity of the treatment.

"At the expiration of the six days petitioner was sentenced to be sent back to the refractory cell under the same treatment, but the payment of money, and tho dangerous stato of his health, prevented the sentence from being carried into effect. From that period, as the infirmary books will testify, petitioner never recovered his health, and he feels convinced that, had his imprisonment lasted a short time longer than the period of his sentence, ho would never have quitted the prison with life.

"Your petitioner therefore prays your hon. house to grant some investigation of the treatment to which he was subjected, by which the authority of the judge was superseded, by which the rules of the prison were violated, the laws of the country broken, and by which the health of the prisoner was ruined, and his life imperilled—an investigation that may prevent similar injuries from being inflicted on other prisoners in future.

"And your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

"ERNEST CHARLES JONES."

TO THE CHARTISTS.

(From No. 5 of Poems and Notes to the People.)

FRIENDS,—In continuing the series of this publication, I desire to address a few words to the reader, on the motives that have induced me to maintain our weekly intercourse. I look over the field of literature, and I see scarcely one democratic magazine in existence. I see some publications, that, indeed, appeal to certain sections in democracy, and propound certain phases of democracy—but none that addresses itself to the whole.

Democracy ought not to be without its magazine literature. It ought to have not only its weekly papers—it ought to have a daily paper too:—but there is that which neither a weekly nor a daily newspaper can achieve—and which a magazine alone can do—namely, concentrate in one focus the democratic knowledge and argument of the day. The columns of a newspaper do not admit of this, for want of space—and yet this is, above all, necessary in a movement, of which the mind is still in course of fornation. It requires a full, searching analysis of its principles—it requires a full, searching exposition of all the dangers and difficulties in its path—and an answer to the objections and detractions of its focs.

This, I need not say, can be done only by a publication devoted exclusively to this object. The newspaper cannot do it, except in a limited degree. Therefore democracy needs its magazine, and a magazine in this sense—a magazine embracing the whole of democracy, and not merely one of its isolated features—such a work I repeat, without intending an invidious remark to any contemporary, is not in existence.

It is, therefore, I have endeavoured, however humbly, to supply the deficiency; it is, therefore, friends! I call on you to support me. Little support, indeed, am I likely to find, otherwise than from you direct—two of our leading democratic papers will not vouchsafe even to notice this work, of which the fifth number is now before you!

No matter—I shall not have to thank them for issue."—Thomas Paine.

aught—and I shall have the proud satisfaction of knowing that, if I succeed, it will be owing to your appreciation of the humble, and otherwise unwided effort.

Friends, I will persevere. Neither my tongue shall be silenced, nor my pen be erushed, as long as I have strength to use them in our mutual cause—and, I trust, cre long, that a new organ of demogracy will be opened by myself conjointly with a friend of yours and mine, as announced on the advertizing sheet of this number. But I prepose to continue this publication then as well. What the paper has not space to give, this work shall render—each will supply the deficiencies of the other—and I hope, if I receive sufficient aid at your hands, so to arrange these "Notes," as will enable me to give them an efficiency as public propagandists, which the present limited circulation prevents me from as yet affording.

I trust yet to make this a magazine worthy of the democratic cause. I have preferred a weekly, rather than a monthly issue, because I consider a monthly interval too long in a connected series of argument or narrative.

In conclusion, I repeat, that these "Notes! shall treat of democracy in all its aspects, and all its bearings—that it shall represent, not the views of the individual, but the principles of the cause—that not one breath of personality shall be admitted into its pages—but that they shall endeavour to elevate our thought and action, from those channels in which they have so long been sullied, and to redeem democratic literature from the stigma that, in order to please the people, you must season your writings with abuse and sensuality.

I fling back the assertion in the face of our calumniators—I bring it to the test in these pages, which, if humble in ability, will at least be pure and honest—I have done my part—the rest is in your hands.

ERNEST JONES.

P. S.—I have received many letters complaining that this work has been repeatedly ordered of the agents, but never came to hand. This is a proof of the old burking system of the vendors. The remedy lies in the hands of the subscribers. They must support some agent who will be honest and cease to patronize all others.

This work has appeared regularly every week since the first Saturday in May, inclusive.

Some friends send their orders direct to me. I am not able to attend to them—and earnestly request all parties to send their orders to the publisher in the usual way.

E. J.

Something Nobler than Wealth.—I ought not to allow any man, because he has broad lands, to feel that he is rich in my presence. I ought to make him feel that I can do without his riches, that I cannot be bought,—neither by comfort, neither by pride,—and though the utterly penniless, and receiving bread from him, that he is the poor man beside me. And if at the same time, a woman or a child discover a sentiment of piety, or a juster way of thinking than mine, I ought to confess it by my respect and obedience, though it go to alter my whole way of life.—Emerson,

Whoever is afraid of submitting any question, c vil or religious, to the test of free discussion, seems to me to be more in love with his own opinion than with truth.—*Eishop Watson*.

"When by action of law, cunning, craft, or rude violence, the unproductive parts of nature are shut up from those who are desirous to put forth their industry for the purpose of raising the means of sustenauce and shelter, a tyrannical power is exercised, the natural rights of man violated, and the people oppressed."—L. W. Ryckman.

"There could be no such thing as landed property originally. Man did not make the earth, and though he had a natural right to occupy it, he had no right to locate as his property in peretuity may part of it; neither did the Creator of the earth open a land office, from whence the first title deeds should issue."—Thomas Paine.

Leaves from nar Library.

CONSUELO.

BY OFOROE SAND.

(Continued from No. 25.)

" Calm yourself, my charmer,' said lic, with a hightful smile. 'Since you share Corilla's dressing-room, you must accustom yourself betimes to see her lover, and you could not be unaware that she had a duplicate key in her pocket. You have come to cast yourself in the lion's den-Ob, do not attempt to ery out! Nobody will come. Trenck's presence of mind is well known, as well as the vigour of his arm, and the little value he places on the lives of fools. If he is admitted here, in spite of all the Empress's orders, it is because, to all appearance, there is not among all your knights-errant a single one bold enough to look Come, why are you so pale ?him in the face. who do you tremble so? Have you so little selfreliance that you cannot listen to three words without becoming confused? Do you think I am a person to treat you rudely? These are old wives' person to treat you rudely? stories, my child, which they have told you. Trenck is not so bad os they say. It is to convince you of that that he wishes to have a moment's conversation with you.'

"'Sir, I shall, not listen to a word you atter till you have opened that door. On this condition I shall consent to hear what you have to say; but if you persist in shutting me up, I shall think that this redoubted hero, as he proclaims himself, wants courage to meet my companions the knights-

errant.'

" Ah! you are right,' said Trenck, opening the door wide. 'If you do not fear getting cold, I would rather have it so than breathe the confounded musk with which Corilla has scented this little chamber.

"Thus saying, he seized hold of both Consuelo's hands, and forced her to be seated, while he went on his knees, without relinquishing his grasp which she could not force him to loose, unless by a childish and unbecoming struggle. Consuelo therefore resigned herself to what she was unable to prevent. but a tear which she could not restrain trickled slowly down her pale and anxious cheek. This, in place of softening and disarming the baron, merely served to elicit a gleam of satisfaction from under his blood, and puckered cyclids.

"' You are unjust.' said he, in a voice whose assumed mildness only served to betray his hypocritical satisfaction. 'You hate without knowpocritical satisfaction. 'You hate without knowing me. I cannot submit without a murmur to your dislike. Once, indeed, I should not have cared; but since I have heard the divine Porporina, I feel that I adore her, and must live for her or

die by her hand.

"Spare me this wretched farce,' said Consuelo,

roused to indignation.

Farce, exclaimed the baron. 'Hold!' continued he, drawing from his pocket a loaded pistol, which he eocked and handed to her. 'You shall keep this in one of your beautiful hands, and if I offend you -- were it ever so little-if I continue to be hateful to you, kill me at your pleasure. As to this other hand, I am resolved to hold it so long as you do not give me permission to kiss it. But I wish to owe this favour only to your good nature, and you shall see me ask and await it patiently, under the muzzle of the deadly weapon which can rid you of me when you please.

" Here Trenck placed the pistol in Consuclo's right hand and holding her left, remained with incomparable self-conceit on his knees before her. Consuelo now felt herself completely reassured, and, holding the pistol so that she could make use of it if necessary, said to him with a forced

... Now speak, if you please-I shall listen to you.'

steps in the corridor, and saw a shadow projected on the door. The shadow, however, whether it was that the person had retreated, or that Consuelo's terror was imaginary, immediately disappeared. In the situation in which she was placed, having no longer anything to dread but ill-natured remarks, the approach of an indifferent, or even friendly person, caused her rather fear than pleasure. If she kept silence, the baron on hisknees before her, and with the door open, mustseem to any passerby in the insolent enjoyment of his position as a favoured lover; if she called out, he would instantly destroy the first person who approached. Fifty such instances had already marked his career. In such a frightful alternative, Consuclo desired nothing so much as instant explanation, and hoped by her self-possession to bring Trenck to reason before any one should witness, and interpret after his own fashion, this extraordinary seene.

"Ho understood her in part, and proceeded to push the door to, but without closing it, 'Surely, madam,' said he, turning towards her, 'it would be absurd to expose yourself to the misconstruction of passers by; this matter must be settled between ourselves. Listen to me; I see your appreliensions and I understand your scruples with regard to Corilla. Your honour and reputation are yet dearer to me than the precious moments I can look upon you unobserved. I know very well that this fury, with whom I was for a moment taken, will charge you with treachery if she sees me at your feet. She will not have that pleasure; the moments are counted. She has still ten minutes to amuse the public with her sufferings, and I have time therefore to tell you that if I have loved her for a brief period, I have already forgotten it; do not hesitate therefore, to appropriate a heart no longer hers and from which nothing can efface your image. You alone, madam, rule over mc, you alone are sovereign of my existence. Why do you hesitate? You are guarded by a jealous gloomy old tutor; I will carry you off before his beard. You are beset in the theatre by a thousand in trigues; the public adores you, but the public is ungrateful, and would abandon you on the first failure of your voice. I am immensely rich and I can make you a princess, almost a queen, in my own wild country, where I could build you in the twinkling of an eye, theatres and palaces larger and more sumptuous than anything that Vienna can produce. I am not handsome it is true, but the scars on my face are more honourable than the paint which covers the sallow-faces of your fellowactors. I am severe to my slaves, and implacable to my encmies; but if so, I am kind to my faithful servants, and those I love breathe an atmospliere of glory and opulence. Lastly, I am violent at times; in that you have been correctly informed. People, who like me are strong and brave, love to use their power when vengeance demands its exercise; but a woman, pure, timid, gentle, and charming as you are, can quell my strength, tame my will, and place me at her fees as she would a Only try me, confide in me, were it but for a time, and when you know me better, you will not hesitate to trust me and follow me to my native Sclavonia. You smile-that name you think betokens slavery; nay, heavenly Porporina, it is I who will be your slave. Look at me, and accustom yourself to deformity which you alone can embelish. Say but the word and you shall see the red eyes of Trenck the Austrian, shed tears of tenderness and joy, as pure and heartfelt as the beautiful eyes of Trenck the Prussian-that dear cousin whom I love so well though we fought on different sides, and to whom it is said you were not indifferent. But this Trenck is a child, while he who addresses you has passed his four-andthirtieth year, though the thunder of war which has furrowed his cheek makes him seem sixty; he is beyond the age of caprice and will assure you of long years of devotion. Speak-speak-say yes -and you shall see the searred and disfigured

do not reply-a touching modesty keeps you silent. Well, you need say nothing, suffer me but to kiss your hand, and I will leave you full of confidence and happiness. Judge now if I am the tiger which I have been described; I ask you but this little favour. I implore it on my knees.

"Consuclo looked with surprise at this frightful man to whom so many women had listened with pleasure, and she could not help pondering on this fascination which might have been irresistible in spite of his ugliness, had he been but a good man

and animated by an upright passion.

" 'Have you said all, sir ?' she asked tranquilly; but all at once she grew alternately red and pale, as the Sclavonian despot cast into her lap a whole handful of large diamonds, enormous pearls, and rubies of price. She rose so suddenly that the precious stones rolled upon the ground for the afterprofit of Corilla. 'Trenck,' said she, with all the force with which contempt and indignation could inspire her, 'notwithstanding all your boasting, you are the meanest of cowards. You have never fought but with lambs and fawns, and you liave slain them without pity. If a man worthy of the name, had turned against you, you would have field like a savage and cowardly hound as you are. I' know well where your glorious scars were received-in a cellar where you searched for the gold of the conquered, amidst the bodies of the dead. Your palaces and your little kingdom are cemented with the blood of a noble people, on whom a cruel despotism imposes such a ruler as you. You have torn from the orphan bis bread, from the widow her mite; your gold is the price of treason, your riches the pillage of churches, where you pretended to prostrate yourself in prayer, for you add hypocrisy to your other noble qualities. Your cousin Trenck the Prussian, whom you so tenderly love, you betrayed and would have assassinated; the women whose happiness and glory you boasted to liave formed, have been torn from their husbands and fathers, and your present tenderness for me is but the eaprice of a dissipated libertine. The chivalrous submission which has made you venture your life in my hands, is but the act of a fool, who thinks bimself irresistible, and the trifling favour you ask of me, would be a stain which death alone could wash away. This is my last word cut-throat Pandour! Fly from my presence—fly—for if you do not let go my hand, which for the last quarter of an hour you have held palsied in your gripe, I shall rid the earth of a scoundrel who dishonours and disgraces it.'

"And is this your last word, daughter of Satan?' exclaimed Trenck; 'well woe be to you! The pistol which I deigned to place in your hand is only loaded with powder, and a little burn more or less is nothing to one who is fire-pooof. Fire this pistol-make a noise-if is all that I desire! I shall be glad to have witnesses, before whose faces and in spite of whose beards I shall carry you off to my Sclavonic castle, which you just now despised but to which a short residence will soon re-

concile you.'

"Thus saying, Trenck seized Consuelo in his arms; but at the same igstant the door opened, and a man whose face was hidden by erape knotted behind his head, laid hold of the Pandour, shook him to and fro like a reed beaten by the wind, and dashed him roughly to the floor. This was but dashed him roughly to the floor. the work of a few seconds. The astonished Trenck rose, and with savage eyes, and foaming mouth, darted sword in hand after his enemy, who had passed the door and appeared to fly. Consuelo also rushed towards the doorway, thinking she recognised in this 'disguised individual the lofty figure and powerful arm of Count Albert. She saw him retreat to the end of the corridor where a steep and winding stair led in the direction of the street. There he pansed, awaited Trenck, stooped rapidly while the baron struck his sword against the wall, and seizing him by the body heaved him over his shoulders headlong down the stairs. Consuelo heard the giant thunder down the descent, **As she said this, she imagined she heard foot- Trenck transformed into a glowing Jupiter! You and ran towards her liberator, calling Albert, but

ere she could advance three steps, he was gone. A frightful silence reigned upon the staircase.

"'Signora cinque minuti,' said the crier with a fatherly air, as he issued from the theatre stairs which terminated on the same landing. does this door happen to be open?' continued he looking at the door of the staircase down which Trenck had been hurled. 'Truly, Signora, you run great risk of getting cold in this corridor.' He then pulled the door to and locked it, while Consuelo, more dead than alive, re-entered her apartment, threw the pistols out of the window, and thrusting aside with her foot Trenck's jewels as they lay strewn on the carpet, returned to the theatre."

(To be continued.)

TO THE FACTORY WORKERS OF NORTH WALES.

In my last letter I endeavoured to show the necessity of union, and an effective organization amongst the factory workers in order to protect our labour from the continual encroachments of capital, and although I only exposed two or three of the principal grievances of which we complain, still the manner in which we have been continually treated in the past ought to stimulate us to do something for the future, in order that we may prevent the capitalists from making their incursions into the camp of labour and denuding us and our children of those comforts which we ought to enjoy in return for our toil. Our condition is rapidly progressing from bad to worse, and it is to arrest its further downward progress that I would suggest the necessity of building a chain of forts to protect ourselves from the inroads of the enemy. These defences should extend along the whole frontier of the Welsh flannel trade, because if the enemy effects an entrance into only one locality, he will securely strengthen his position, and in a short time he will make his appearance in other quarters. We find ministers, ambassadors, judges, bishops, lawyers, parsons, and the officers in the army and navy, protected by law, while those who honestly earn their living by their labour are left a prey to the selfish cupidity of the middle and upper classes. I need not say any more upon the necessity of union. If you think, with me, that it is wanting, let the proper steps be immediately taken in your various localities to effect an organization, let communications be opened, and a delegate meeting appointed to sit in some central situation.

That we ought to have some better arrangement than what exists at present must be evident to every thinking man. From an extensive experience in the factory districts, I am convinced that a large amount of the grievances under which we suffer are the result of the long hours of labour. The long-hour system tends materially to produce those fluctuations to which our trade is so subject. We work fifteen or sixteen hours a day, until the markets are glutted, then our masters keep us back by either making us wait for, or by serving us with bad, materials. When trade revives, another push comes, to be succeeded by another depression. Shortening the hours of labour would have a beneficial effect, inasmuch as it would be the means of extinguishing a vast amount of ignorance and vice; for then parents would have some time to devote to the instruction of their offspring, and instead of leaving them to run tho streets learning mischief, they would perform their domestic duties by training them to become useful and intelligent members of society.

At the present time there is a surplus of labour in the market, which our employers are striving to augment by introducing as large a number of apprentices as possible in the trade. Now, you are mostly to be blamed for this state of things; for, owing to your disonganization, you are compelled to fight single handed with a class of men eombined through self-interest; while, if you were united, you could easily counteract their schemes, and instead of competing against each other for

your own ruin, you might adopt such measures as would be necessary to regulate your affairs. Shortening the hours of labour would conduce towards keeping us in more regular employment, and would find employment for many of those who are either out of work altogether or but very precariously employed.

While believing that the working classes may wield an immense power, for good or evil, by union, still the best trades organization can only be regarded as a temporary expedient; for while the present system exists, it is useless to expect that we can maintain even the best exposition permanently. Therefore, we should make the acquisition of our political and social rights our primary object, for without these it will be impossible for us to emancipate ourselves from the galling bondage of wages-slavery.

In conclusion, let me entreat you to raise the standard of union, discard those petty jealousies which have hitherto divided you, and remember

> "Now's the day and now's the hour; See the front of battles lour, See approach the oppressor's power, Chains and slavery.

A WELST PROLETARIAN.

AN ACCOUNT OF "THE EBENEZER." BY PARK GOODWIN, OF NEW YORK.

Mr object is now not to discuss the general question of community, but simply to give you an account of a new organization that has recently come to my notice, and whose history and condition furnishes a topic of appropriate interest. I allude to an associative village which has been established about seven miles from the city of Buffalo, and not far from the Niagara Falls, called Ebenezer. It is a colony of some one thousand Germans, who, about four years since, emigrated from Germany, where they were not allowed so free an opportunity as they wished for carrying out their peculiar plans. They were not driven to the undertaking by any civil or religious oppressions, nor actuated by any peculiar fanaticism, but simply by the desire to live a pure, spiritual, and happy life. Many of them were able to contribute from three to fifteen thousand dollars to the common stock, while one put in fifty, and another as high as a thousand dollars. With a portion of these funds they came to America, and purchased about seven thousand acres of Indian reservation land.

They have cleared completely, and put up in the best order, nearly five thousand acres of their land. erected a great many miles of durable fences, planted twenty-five thousand fruit trees of various sorts, settled three compact villages, about one mile apart, each containing one hundred large and commodious dwelling-houses, some thirty and forty barns, of the largest size, and most substantial structure, four saw-mills, which are kept constantly running, one flour-mill, one oil-mill, one large woollen factory, calico printworks, a tannery, a variety of workshops for mechanics, public halls, and several school-houses. Besides these, they possess extensive herds of cattle and swine, their sheep alone numbering above two thousand head. Indeed, their property, with its improvements, is estimated to be worth more than a million dollars; which, if divided, would give ten thousand dollars to each man, woman, and child on the domaiu. Such are some of the internal advantages of unitary labour.

Their gardens, yards, and fields, display refined taste, and the highest state of cultivation: All of a suitable age, both male and female. are required to work at such business as either their taste, genius, or habit may render fit. And whenever, from any cause, such as change of weather, or sudden ripening of a crop, an extra number of hands are needed, they can bring fifty or a hundred hands into the fields at once, with any requisite number of teams; and thus enjoy great advantages in cultivating and securing their crops. Their cloth and other manufactured articles, are made in the best manner; and

their farm operations are crowned with the highest SIICCESS.

Separate barns, spacious and well-ventilated, are provided for horses, oxen, cows, yearlings, calves, and sheep. So that they are all sheltered in the most comfortable manner during the winter, and apartments for the sheep are thoroughly whitewashed four or five times a year. Then there are a series of barns, say 150 by 40 feet in size, standing in a line, eight or ten rods apart; some with hay, others with wheat, others with oats, barley, &c., and then again other ranges of buildings, enclosing hundreds of swine; and others still to accommodate all the poultry belonging to the com-

They have not yet erected any unitary mansion, most of the families preferring separate dwellings and households; but their cooking, washing, and other domestic operations, are done by divisions of ten families each, so as to avoid the confusion of a large number on one hand, or waste and trouble of an extreme iso ation of families on the other.

The plan is found to work pretty well.

The children are required to attend the schools, where they are instructed in all branches of useful knowledge, and in the English and German lan-guages. They are carefully instructed in their moral duties, though, I believe, no specific forms of religion are taught. The larger portion of the community are attached to the Lutheran chnrch, but do not insist upon others.

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THE CURSE OF A LANDED ARISTOCRACY,

ILLUSTRATED BY THE TYRANNY OF THE PATRICIANS, AND THE SUFFERINGS OF THE PLEBEIANS OF ANCIENT ROME.

(From Marmontel's Preface to Lucan's Pharsalia.)

Ir was neither the jealousy of Pompey, nor the ambition of Cæsar, which destroyed Rome. It was the pride, the cruelty of the Patricians. It was the fact that intestine wars, from the time of the Gracchii, and finally that between Pompey and Cæsar, had their origin in the Senate, and its dangerous policy, and its unjust domination were the causes of those wars. Rome, under the consuls, was at first an aristocracy. The Senate always had a disposition to abuse and degrade the people—to regard itself as the state, by way of eminence, and to make the multitude the plaything of its policy, and the instrument of its grandeur.

In what were termed the prosperous days of the Republic, the Senate entertained three views. The one was that of a small number of men who were wise, virtuous, and pacific, and who had no other ambition than that of zeal for the public. Such as that of the Valerii-tne Servillii Menenius Agrippa—the Cincinnati—and all those true Romans who after their victories and their triumphs, died without leaving enough to pay for their burial. These just, simple, and modest men never ceased to represent to the Senate that its contempt for the people was madness. that it was by the people the state was sustained,—that it was to the people that it owed the power which it had acquired, and the possessions which it enjoyed,—that men, who were free, brave, and continually in arms, not ceasing to be conquerors abroad, would soon be weary of being slaves at home, that prudence, at least, demanded that the people should be managed with indulgence. Another opinion was that of the Appii and Coriolanus, and of all the young Patricians, proud and violent men, who maintained that gentleness was inexpedient—that flattery always rendered the multitude dangerous-that one point would be no sooner yielded, than it would be necessary to yield more; and, in short, that the people were made only to obey and to suffer. The bulk of the senate, more moderate, seemed to occupy the middle ground between these two opposite parties; but while using expedience, to which it was driven by weakness, it never yielded to the people, except when compelled, and never relaxed, but for the moment, that absolute and tyrannical domination which at last destroyed the state.

If the senate had only rejected excessive, unjust, and injurious demands which affected the state, its firmness would have merited the eulogies, which it had so often received. But what were the demands of the people? They demanded that the usury which destroyed them should be abolished, and that there should be given them, for the subsistence of their wives and children, a portion of the lands, which they had conquered and bedewed with their blood. Behold the unfailing sources of all the commotions which arose in Rome between the poor and the rich-between the people and the senate! To feel the full force of the injustice of the senate in the constant refusal of these demands, it is necessary to recollect that during the earlier periods of the history of Rome, the frequent incursions of enemies upon the territories of the Republic, and the interruption of cultivation by repeated wars, ruined the people and rendered debtors insolvent. These were delivered, like slaves, to their creditors, were detained in close custody, and reduced to a state a hundredfold worse than slavery. And that, on the one hand, the people had no other business than war and agriculture, that the rich, by little and little, made themselves masters of all the lands of the Republie, and eaused them to be cultivated by their slaves, to the exclusion of freemen, so that the people, even in time of peace, had no resource from labour. Hence the necessity of

employing them constantly in arms. But war is a state of violence which demands, at lesst, some relaxation. And the people who went to battle voluntarily and from a sense of honour, strongly felt that they had the right to enjoy in peace the fruit of their victories. They did not suffer without complaining; but they complained without using the swords which they wore; and the more this virtuous people showed themselves to be patient, moderate, and doeile, the more the mate were emboldened to oppress them. The senate not only closed their ears to remonstrances, but if any Patrieian appeared to be moved with compassion, he was accused of ambition or base weakness, and they went so far as to refuse such a one the honour of a triumph after the most signal victory. A treatment thus harsb disgusted the people, and they scized the moment when the enemy was at the gates, and declared that they would not take arms until they received justice. Then the senate would become condescending, and send forth a dictator, or consultation product of received in the senate would be the senate would or consul with words of peace and consoling promises which they never failed to disavow as soon as the crisis was past. This bad faith produced

distrust. The people, weary of being deceived paid no further attention to vain promises, and firmly resolved to remain in subjection no longer, if they did not obtain redress. The senate bowed, it was driven to this; but now the time was past. Union was destroyed;—confidence lost: and the boon which, had it been granted freely to the demand of the people, would have made them reverence the senate, and regard them as benefactors; but when this boon was wrested from the senate by force, the people saw in it a proof of the weakness of their tyrants.

Profiting by their advantage, the people demanded magistrates selected from the plebeian order, and charged with the defence of its rights. The senate, in consequence of having abused its authority, was obliged to admit the counterauthority of tribunes, and henceforth the state was divided into two hostile parties. The senate ought to have seen that a people who had legislative power—who had authority to prevent exceution of its decrees, and who, by the law of Agricola, could bring the senators themselves to trial—that a people who by 260 years of war had learned to maintain the authority of law by arms, could only be restrained by gentleness and equity.

In a time of scarcity the consuls had procured supplies of grain at a low price. Tho wisest of the Patricians wished this to be sold to the people at the same rate; but Coriolanus, irritated because the people had refused to enrol themselves and follow him to battle, pretended that it was necessary to sell the grain at a high price, least the senate should seem to flatter the multitude. This opinion prevailed, and the senate lost Coriolanus by following the counsel which his anger had dictated. The people were excited, the grain was sold at its just value; but Coriolanus was banished, and his exile nearly overthrew Rome. As soon as it was seen that the authority of the senate had become odious, the hope of engaging the people to make a king gave birth to an ambition for regal power.

The consul Cassius, to conciliate, as it is said, the favour of the plebians, demanded on their behalf that the Senate should divide the newly conquered lands and those, which though they belonged to the Republic, had been usurped by the nobility. The intention of the consul might have bad, but his demand was simply that the people should have bread. The senate pretended to accept this law; but he who proposed it was condemned after his consulate to be thrown from Tarpeian rock—and this decree was more faithfully executed than the law from which it had originated. This law so well known under the

name of the Agrarian Law was at first eluded by the rich; soou openly violated; and finally entirely neglected. It is easy to understand why the senate was willing that a law should be trainpled upon which constituted the salvation of the poor—the senate was rich! The people without resources-without support, because they were betrayed by the tribunes themselves, whom the senate corrupted—the people who yet adhered to the Republic, whatever might be made to detach them from it; could not resolve to break their fetters, but they were in the unquiet state of a patient who changes his position in the hope of finding one less painful. They demanded new laws, in the expectation that they would be better observed than the old ones. They demanded that the number of Tribunes should be augmented -They turned their thoughts again to the Agrarian law, and demanded that it should be discussed in the popular assemblies. (To be concluded in No. 28.)

PESTEL AND THE RUSSIAN REPUBLICANS.*

AT the close of 1825, the throne upon which the emperor Nicholas had scarcely sat, was stained with republican blood. That blood was the baptism of the Russian revolutionary movement, begun by the formation of secret societies so far back as 1817. The first of these societies bore the name of the 'Alliance of Faithful Sons of the Fatherland,' under the leadership of the brothers Mooravieff and the prince Trubetskoy. This in 1818 gave way to that of the 'Commonweal' or 'Fraternity of the Green Book,' of which after 1821 Pestel and Reeleyeff were the chicfs. Their object was a thorough political reform of Russia, and the restoration of the conquered provinces to Pcland. In 1823 they extended their aims to contemplating the creation of a Sclavonic Alliauce, under which Russia, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Servia, were to form a Federation of independent Republics. Their plans also included the enfranchiscment of the serfs, and the deposition of the raigning family of the Romanoffs.

These societies originated in the army, among the more educated of the officers, who even in the campaigns of 1813, '14, and '15 had found opportunity for some commencement of free thought, with which to disturb the excellent peace of Europe, established at Vienna. The opinions of these men soon began to leaven the degraded nobility of Russia, and to inspire them with the hope of overturning the despotism under which they grouned. The Russian government has since endeavoured to spread abroad the impression that this disaffection was partial; but in fact it pervaded a whole class of society. The Government, for nine years aware of the existence of a wide-spread conspiracy, was yet musble to suppress it, and eyen when with extreme difficulty one society was dissolved, it did but spring

up again immediately in another form.

The chief and most zealous of the leaders of the movement were Colouel Pestel, Lieutenant Colonel Sergius Mooravieff-Apostol, and Lieutenants Reeleyeff, Bestuzeff-Roomin, and Kakhowski. Of these Postel appears to have been the most skilful and practical; admitted, even by his adversaries, to have been a man of remarkable talent, though no pains have been spared to blacken and vilify his name. All the rules and regulations which he proposed bear the stamp of a widely comprehensive benevolence, joined with that immediate applicability which argues the work of a man who is more than a dreaming theorist. He also compiled a code of Russian jurisprudence, from which the Czar himself was fain to borrow; though under the corrupt system of Russian administration his subjects could be but little benefited.

There are two remarkable features in the history of this conspiracy: the one, that during nine years it was never betrayed by any fully initiated member, till the treason of the two princes Jablonovski and

* From No. 5 of the English Republic. Edited by W. J. Linton. London: J. Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

Oginski, in 1825; and the other, that during its proceedings the existence of three other similar societies-the 'Russian Knights,' the 'Society for the Independence of Poland, and the United Sclavo-nians — was discovered. These societies all merged into the main Union, which, divided into a northern and southern department, spread over the whole country. The members of this extensive association appear to have consisted of three very distinct classes of men. The least numerous, but at the same time the most active, was the republican party, composed principally of young men, acting under the most generous and disinterested convictions, and desirous of raising the whole of the Russian nation to a position of freedom. Some of these were men of the highest aristocracy, possessed of large fortunes, which they were prepared to sacrifice, by emancipa. ting their serfs, the sole source of their wealth. The greatest majority, however, of the conspirators were the oligarchists, who were only anxious to overthrow the tyranny which weighed upon themselves. These were so numerous that the government, after the explosion of the conspiracy, found it impossible to punish all concerned in it; the committee of inquiry finding that there was not one noble family of note in the empire guiltless of participation. There was also a third class who might be said rather to approve of the conspiracy than to join in it, who waited to take advantage of its results. These two last parties, jcalous of the genius and activity of Pestel, opposed his influence by the appointment of creatures of their own as chiefs of the movement, and so prepared for failure.

On the accession of Nicholas, the incarnation of that despotism against which they were banded, the conspirators were called upon to act. The Northern Circle was summoned together, but the majority, the oligarchists, only proposed to abandon their designs and to dissolve the association. Kakhowski and the more determined minority (Pestel was then in the South) indignautly opposed this and apparently succeeded in inspiring even the majo, rity, who thereupon chose one of themselves, Prince-Trubetskoy, as the Dictator of the movement.

On the news of Alexander's death Coustantine had been proclaimed, and many regiments actually took the oath to him. The conspirators determined to contradict the announcement of his resignation, and to persuade the army that Nicholas was usurping; and the 26th of December (the day appointed for administering the oath of fidelity to the new emperor, to the troops, and authorities) was fixed for the outbreak of the revolution in St. Petersburg. The Dictator was to take the command of the insurrection, and to appear for that purpose with all the influential unionists in the Isaac's Plaiu, whither the conspirators were to repair with such regiments as

they could gain over.

On the morning of the 26th, no soouer were the troops ordered under arms to take the oath, than they were addressed by the conspirators in their ranks. At first the marines of the guard, under the command of their general, laid hands on the haranguers, but the eloquence of the brothers Bestuzeff was persuasive, and the whole battalion followed them. The regiment of Finland also declared for Constantine; the grenadiers of the guard were gained over; a part of the regiment of Moscow followed. But here a check was given. Their Generals had gathered round them the greuadier company, with the standard of the regiment, and exhorted the troops to obedience. But the Bestuzeffs and Prince Rostovski, unhesitatingly pushed aside the bayonets directed against them, and dashed sword in haud into the midst of the grenadiers. After a fierce but momentary conflict they possessed themselves of the standard, and then all resistance vanished. The two generals, the colonel, and several soldiers, lay bleeding on the ground; the couspirators were unharmed. The regiment no longer hesitated, but with loud acclamations followed these daring leaders to the place of meeting. Ou their way they were joined by some few of the conspirators in plain clothes; but upon reaching the Isaac's Plain they found none of the leaders awaiting

them. During the whole day they saw nothing of the chiefs, the elect of the oligarchical majority, whose province it was to direct the insurrection which had been so successfully begun. As for Prince Trubetskoy, the Dictator, at the very hour on which he had appointed for the outbreak, he was taking the oath to Nicholas.

The revolted regiments were formed in line with their backs to the Senate House. They stood there passive and irresolute, unknowing how to act, and awaiting their confederates. The Czar sent to summon them to take the oath of allegiance, but they answered with fierce cries of 'Constantine and the Constitution.' Count Miloradovitch, the favourite veteran of the army, in vain attempted to harangue them. He was reproached with a former act of treachery, and his efforts to obtain a hearing cut short by a pistol bullet, fired, it is said, by Kakhowski. Colonel Surler, who followed on the same errand, met a similar fate. The regiments who had not revolted were then ordered to fire upon the insurgents. Some refused, others fired over their heads. Artillery was then brought, and round after round of grape and cauister poured from a murderous distance on the patient mass which still waited for their chiefs. Before evening the revolt had been ended by the massacre of the revolters.

While this was taking place in the North, Pestel, betrayed by his own adjutant, was arrested at Toolchin, in Podolia. Too suddenly surprised to be able to make any resistance, he, when overpowered, evinced no anxiety for any thing but his work on Russian jurisprudence.† His equanimity never deserted him, even to the gallows; and he died with sealed lips, though tortured, to wring out

his secret.

In the South the brothers Mooravieff were arrested at the same time that Pestel was secured in Toolchin; but they were speedily delivered by Bestuzeff and Kouzmin, and raising boldly the standard of revolt, they entered the town of Vasilkof. Some troops were gained over; but it was in vain that they sought to appeal to their reason or religious feeling. In vain Bestuzeff's Republican Catcchism was read to them. They answered only to the promise of double pay, and the ery of 'Constantine.' In the sotuh as in the north, the great mass of the conspirators hung back, and the insurgents, yet too feeble to undertake anything, were overtaken on their march to Telessie by the vanguard of the imperial forces. Conscious of how much depends upon the first onset, the Mooravieffs charged right upon the artillery, but the elder brother was desperately wounded by a grape-shot, and Hyppolyte, the younger, fell dead at his side, by the first discharge. Their soldiers fled: in vain the devoted leaders strove to rally them. Mooravieff and Bestuzeff, both wounded, -Matthew, Mooravieff's second brother,—and Kouzmin, were given up by their own men. Kouzmin, unwilling to survive the wreck of their hopes, snatched a pistol from and of his captors and discharged it at his own head, splashing the Mooravieff's with his blood and brains. So terminated this vast conspiracy. In the north, in the centre and in the south, the same devoted courage was displayed by the few who had conspired from patriotic motives, the same pusillanimity exhibited by the majority, whose narrow and contracted views were bounded by mere interest of caste, or that miserable self-interest which is the very root of caste.

One hundred and twenty-one conspirators, for their share in these events, were sentenced to death, or to bauishment to Siberia for life, or for periods of from 20 to 50 years. Only five, however, were executed, the death-sentences of the remainder being commuted to transportation for life. At 4 o'elock on the morning of the 25th of July, 1826, Pestel, Reeleyeff, Mooravieff, Bestuzeff, and Kak-

† He had written a great deal; but nothing was ever printed. He is said to have buried his manuscripts somewhere near Illintse, in the province of Kiioff. When asked by his friends what he was writing he used always to answer that he was treating of the wretched condition of the Russian Soldiery; but it was understood that he wrote about the organization of the future Russia.

howski were dragged to the place of execution on the glacis of the fortress of St. Petersburg, and compelled to watch the erection of their gibbets. They were all hanged together; but the ropes broke or slipped over the heads of three of them—Reeleyeff, Mooravieff, and Bestuzeff, and they fell, breaking the scaffolding beneath them. Two of them coolly re-ascended the fatal ladder; but the third was nearly dead and obliged to be carried up. Reeleveff merely observed that be bad been exposed to the agony of a second death; and Bestuzeff exclaimed—' Nothing succeeds with mo, even here I meet with disappointment.' Pestel died with the firm conviction that the Constitution he had prepared would, sooner or later, be the only refuge for Russia against a violent dismemberment. So perished the Russian martyrs,—their holy sacrifice ascending like a beacon-fire, to light at no distant time, the whole of that vast plain, which now cowers beneath the brutality of the Czar.

EQUALITY AND FRATERNITY.—It surprises us that the idea which one would think ought to have sprung forth from the Christian dispensation before all others, that of Fraternity and Equality, has been, on the contrary, the last to penetrate into social life. When, for the first time, the dogma of Fraternity shines forth in the gospel, you involuntarily say to yourselves that the nation will utter a cry of joy, that the slaves and freedmen, the immense plebeian crowd of the ancient world, will, with one accord, raise their heads, and demand that servitude should cease, and the divine enfranchisement become a reality; you think they are about to throw down their burdens, and take that rank in the city which the supreme law gives them. Far otherwise-these magie words of Equality and Fraternity do not seem to enter the ears of the people; they repeat them meebanically without understanding or giving credit to them. Nobody, as yet, conceives the idea that the franchise of the gospel can be established on earth as positive law. The slave becomes a serf, and thinks himself but too bappy. In the beginning of the seventh century the inhabitants of the Italian coasts sell their children to pay the taxes. We are astonished and frightened to see how many centuries must pass away before Man arises from the earth, and begins to feel persuaded that what is written in the Book may be written also in life. All the middle ages sleep in the sepulchre, awaiting the trumpet of the archangel. Sometimes, doubtless, in this lapse of time, there are a few lucid moments; the cnfranchisment of municipalities, the revival of letters, the reformation, when Man starts out of his sleep in frenzy; he has suddenly felt that he bears within his soul the world of the gospel, and that under our sun, and upon our earth, he is able to establish the reign of justice, But these rapid glimmerings pass away, and the church banters him about his Utopia. Christianity thus remained pent up in the tomb till the hour of the French Revolution. As coming from the dead, this Christianity, which appears in social life, still bears the mark of the nails and cross of the middle age; pnt your finger in the wound made by the lance in periods of war and bloodshed; by this token you may recognise it. Nations, calling one another brethren, begin, like the disciples of Emmaus, to see this Spirit, which sits in the midst of them, at the table of the living.—Lectures by Professor Quiner, delivered in 1844-45.

Those whose importance and wealth arise from oppressive privileges, or the enjoyment of sinecure offices, wish every abuse to remain sacred and untouched, and fear nothing so much as the diffusion of knowledge. They consider the exercise of reason as a curse to the lower classes of society, and philosophy and philosophers as the disturbers of man-kind.—Dr. John Moore.

They who speak the truth, however discovered, have a right to be heard; they, who, assist others in discovering it, have the yet higher claim to be polauded.—Parr.

Correspondence.

The Editor is not to be held responsible for the opinions of Correspondents.]

AIDS AND HINDERANCES TO DEMOCRACY.

"Religion is a war of Sect,
And Fatherland of faction;
Each deems itself the sole elect,
But not through virtuons action."
G. Merediti.

FEW will deny that there is cause for discontent; yet the weakness of men is no where shown so strongly as in the almost universal disposition to grumble. A strong mind is necessary, to be content and to work steadily onward with a sure hope in the worth and effectiveness of one's work. It is so much easier and pretentious to grumble than to work. The old saw true to our times "the ad workman complaining of his tools." Would he work well if he had better tools? Or is it the tools that are expected to do the work of the mechanics? It sometimes seems as if the workers in politics deemed that a change in institutions would inaugurate the millennium. A change in character and habits of a People are as necessary or more so than a change of institutions. Those who cannot work in some way with the means they have, would. in all probability, be incompetent whatever means were placed at their disposal. It is only by accepting and judiciously using the tools that are within reach that we can earn better tools. It is curious and suggestive that much that is ingenious, wonderful, and useful in mechanics, has been created by what would be termed by the great mass of men incompetent means. social and political changes have been made by the like incompetent means. Most of what is great and good and glorious, has been done while the world laughed mockingly and scornfully, and practical men sneered at the inadequate means.

This pretentious discontent is not confined to any one class. Few whilst grumbling at their position and circumstances exercise the full powers in their hands to alter them. The farmer will complain of the cost of manurc whilst he might confer a public boon by clearing his half choked and fetid ditches. He grumbles at lessening profits, yet adheres to a slovenly system of farming, and feels insulted if improvements are suggested. There is much that the artisan knows to be needful to increase happiness at home which he does not do his best to acquire. He is a reformer! Docs he initiate his wife and family? Is he an exemplar of his principles ? Whilst clamouring for redress does he do anything to earn redress? Whilst calling for justice from government is he just at home? does he practise democracy whilst praising it ? does democracy centre in himself or does it mean justice? -rights, fair play to all men-whether friend or foe !- in public meetings and private company ! does he wait for organization or work for it? Ilow are these questions to be answered? only by the conscience of those whom they concern.

· We are too apt to look away from ourselves. In gazing on the great cvils that afflict us we shrink before them, and because we can do but littledo nothing. Leaving those things, over which we might exercise control, unreformed, because they seem trifles and appear only to affect ourselves. Forgetting that the aggregate of trifles makes the immensity.

The army is a type of effectiveness. Organized force and united efforts-promptitude, energy, are its characteristics. These result from discipline, obedience, leadership. An army is not composed of raw recruits but of earefully trained men. One man is the type of the whole. He knows what to do and how to do it. He acts, not thinks. He obeys without hesitation to the height of his powers. The reformer has both to think and to act, obey and command. When will he, learn to obey, without hesitation, to the height of his powers, his elected officers? Until then he must work singly. Home should be the first as it is the best field for exertion.

"A man's best things are nearest him Lie close about his feet,"

sings a poet worker. Surely our best things-those we are in hourly and intimate intercourse withwhose thoughts and principles must affect as are worth the trouble and worth the time of reforming. The fact is we feel the worth of our principles in the abstract more than we know their practical worth. We intend to practise them in a heavenly state of society that is to be-we fail to give them an actuality which would induce others to practise them. Discipline in thought, action, and expression have to be acquired. These may be profitably gained by attempting the formation of opinion in the family. This will demand patience, temper, earnestness,-perspicasity and familiar illustration. The attempt will conduce to their attainment if their necessity is seen. It is strange to contemplate, but not unnsual to see young men (often times old ones too) starting out as world reformers who have forgotten to reform themselves-who had far better try their "prentice hand" at reforming home than essay the great world which they as yet do not understand. There is strong sense in that old saying of Christ, "first take the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to pluck the mote out of thy brother's."

Perhaps the rarest thing to be met with is harmony of thought and action-theory and practice intimately blended. Time moves on its un-seen path with steady and silent pace. We have not yet approached the perfect type of the reformer, -the thinker and the actor-the worker and the dreamer. Emcrson has some where said that, the penalty of action is loss of ballance." This seems true. When we act we attempt too much. When we speak, we say too much and so strongly as to distort truth. Action is a despotic flend that hurries its victim to where no theories would take him, nor principle allow him to remain. Action is thus despotic with most-even with great thinkers -for want of that high training requisite for the harmonious blending of thought and deed. Effectiveness (a convertable term for success) is not attairable at a less cost than an arduous and patient endeavour to train both the Leaders and the Led.

SERVO.

THE LAND.

St. Simon, the founder of the sect to which his name attaches, recognises the same truth, with other reformers, as the basis of his system, viz., that the land is common property, and he proves that the institution of property has been repeatedly modified. "It is a social fact (he says) variable, or rather progressive, as all other social facts are." He then instances the rights of property which feudalism conferred as having disappeared, and thus shows that the progress of opinion modifies the justitution itself. transmission of property to the cldest son, afterwards altered to an equal division among tho family, he brings forward also, and affirms that a last change is to be effected.

FOURIER's doctrines are thus explained in an article translated from "La Phalange," edited by M. Considerant, one of the leaders of the Fourierites.

"We come now to consider the laws which regulate individual property, and 1st-Let us state the fundamental principle of the Right of Property. Here it is:

Every individual possesses, legitimately, the thing which his labour, his intelligence, (or more generally,) which his activity has created.

"This principle is incontestible, and it is well to remark that it contains expressly an acknowledgment as the right of all to the soil. For as the soil has not been created by man, it follows from the fundamental principle of property, that it cannot belong to any small portion of the human race, who have created it by their activity. Let us then conclude that the true theory of property is founded on the 'creation of the thing possessed."

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

*** Owing to the Editor's illness, the communications of several correspondents must remain unnoticed until

THE LIVERPOOL REFUGERS.-I request. that at least

next week.

THE LIVERPOOL REFUGEES.—I request, that at least during my absence from London, all monies for the Refugees be forwarded to Mr. James Spurr, 10, Williamsonsquare, Liverpool.—G. J. HARNEY.

THE FRATEHNAL DEMOCRATS—All correspondence for the Fraternal Democrats to be addressed to John Pettie, 52, College Place, Camden Town, London.

THE CHARLIST CONCERTS.—To the Editor of the Friend of the People.—Sir, will you allow me' to remove a wrong impression from the mind of your correspondent, Mr. J. W. Sugg? He states in his letter published in No. 25 of "The Friend of the People," that after the anthem "Save our Native Land," was sung on the night of our first Concert, the audience Ioudly ealled for the "Marseillaise Hymn," which I refused to have sung for the reason, that "it would interfero with politics which we desire to avoid." All I can say is, that I never heard the audience call for the "Marseillaise Hymn," as I was busily engaged in the Green Room at the time, and should not have known the audience had called for it had not your correspondent intormed me. I am not the only one ignorant of the shours. known the audience had called for it had not your correspondent intormed me. I am not the only one ignorant of the fact; for on inquiry I find that noue of the slugers themselves even heard the eall. The remark I made in my short address was to this effect, "that the concert committee thought a lengthy address would be somewhat out of place, as the introduction of too much politics might only tend to mar the harmony of the evening." I was referring to the arrangements of the concert, and not making apology for not singing the "Marseillaise llymu," as your correspondent thought. This being the truth, Mr. Sugg will see how unjust and impolitic it is to charge another with hypoerisy, and venality, without first being sure the accusation is well founded. I doubt not the remarks were made by Mr. Sugg from sincere motives, still it should be remembered that to this spirit of fault-finding may be traced much of the ill-feeling and disunion which exists among us to the injury of the cause.

Reasoner Office. II. T. HOLYOKE.

Reasoner Office. II. T. HOLYOKE. [The above was received too late for publication in No. 26.]

NOTICE.

ILLNESS prevents the appearance of the usual letter of L'AMI DU PEUPLE," &c., &c.

JULIAN HARNEY'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.

ALTHOUGH unwell, and ill-fitted to travel, I shall abide by my engagements. I will address Public Meetings in

ABERDEEN.

Monday and Tuesday, June 16th and 17th. From Aberdeen I purpose to proceed through Perthshire, Stirling, &c., to the West of Scotland, and after fulfilling engagements in that part of the country, to proceed by Hamilton. &c., to Edinburgh; from Edinburgh to the North of England.

I have received, and accept, the invitations

to visit Falkirk and Kilmarnock.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

London, June 7, 1851.

P.S.—After the date of this number of the Friend of the People, all letters for the editor to be addressed, until further notice, as follows: "G. JULIAN HARNEY, care of Mr. David Wright, 2, Jopp's-lane, Aberdeen.

What employment in the husy scene in which man engages, from the cradle to the tomh, is more worthy of him than political discussion? It affords a field for intellectual energy, and all the finest feelings of benevolence. It exercises and strengthens every faculty, and calls forth latent virtues, which elsc had slept in the bosom, like the diamoud in the mine.—Knox

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LEADERS .- We complain that the politics of masses of the people are so often controlled by designing men, and led in opposition to manifest justice and the common weal, and to their own interest. But the people do not wish to be represented or ruled by the ignorant and They only vote for these because they were asked with the voice and semblance of kindness. They will not vote for them long. They inevitably prefer wit and probity. To use an Egyptian meta-phor, it is not their will for any long time "to raise the nails of wild beasts, and to depress the heads of the sacred birds." Let our affections flow out to our fellows; it would operate in a day the greatest of all Revolutions .- Emerson.

CHANGE OF PUBLISHER.

In future the Friend of the People will be published by Mr. JAMES BEAL, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street.

Henceforth each number will be ready for delivery to the Trade, at 12 o'clock on

MARAT AND ROBESPIERRE.

No. 28 of the Friend of the People will contain the first portion of a remarkable historical document, hithertounpublished in England, written by a member of the National Convention of 1793-94, throwing light upon the real characters of the much calumniated MARAT and Robespierre.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1851.

THE SHAMS.

OUR prediction is fulfilled. The farce of a "count-out" has been repeated. For the second time within three weeks the question of "Parliamentary Reform" has been disgracefully shelved, and burked by its friends (?) and champions (?). Not the Ministry, not the Whigs in general, not the Tories, but purely and simply "the practical politicians," the "Manchester School," the "little Charter" men are those upon whom must fall the full weight of public condemnation. They only are to be held responsible for this outrageous hoax and reiterated insult.

After this second display of Reform leadership, who will have the hardihood to advise the people to follow such leaders? Who will have the brazen audacity to ask the democracy to confide their interests and their cause to the guidance of these transparent "shoy-hoys" and self-exposed "shams?"

YANKEE NOTIONS.

HORACE GREELEY, writing in the New York Tribune an account of the opening of the Great Exhition, thus observeth on the characters who took the lcad in the pageant on the 1st. of May:-

"The ludicrous, the dissonant, the incongruous, arc not excluded from the Exhibition: they cannot be excluded from any complete picture of its Opening. The Queen, we will say, was here by Right Divine, by right of Womanhood, by Universal Suffrage—any how you please. The ceremonial could not have spared her. But in inaugurating the first grand cosmopolitan Olympiad of Industry, ought not Industry to have had some representation, some vital recognition, in her share of the pageant? If the Queen had come in state to the Horse Guards to review the elite of her military forces, no one would doubt that the 'Duke' should figure in the foreground, with a brilliant staff of Generals and Colonels surrounding him. So, if she were proceeding to open parliament, her fitting attendants would be Ministers and Councillors of State. But what have her 'Gentlemen Usher of Sword and State,' 'Lords in Waiting,' 'Master of the Horse,' 'Earl Marshal,' 'Groom of the Stole,' 'Master of the Buckhounds,' and such uncoutli fossils, to do with a grand Exhibition of the fruits' of Industry?-What in their official capacity, have these and theirs ever had to do with industry unless to burden it, or with its products but to consume or destroy them? The 'Mistress of the Rohes,' would be in place if she ever fashioned any robes, even for the Queen; so would the Ladies of the Bed Chamber' if they did auything with beds except to sleep in them. As the fact is, their presence only served to strengthen the presumption that not

merely their offices but that of Royalty itself is an anachronism, and all should have deceased with the era to which they properly belonged. It was well indeed that Paxton should have a proud place in the procession; but he held it in no representative capacity; he was there not in hehalf of Architecture but of the Crystal Palace. To have rendered the pageant expressive, congruous, and really a tribute to Industry, the posts of honour next the Queen's person should have been confided on this occasion to the children of Watt, of Arkwright, and their compeers (Napoleon's real conquerors;) while, instead of Grandces and Foreign Amhassadors, the heirs of Fitch, of Fulton, of Jacquard, of Whitney, of Daguerre, &c., with the discoverors, inventors architects, and engineers to whom the world is primarily indebted for Canals, Railroads, Steam-Ships, Electric Telegraphs, &c., &c., should have been specially invited to swell the royal cortege. To pass over all these, and summon instead the descendants of some dozen lucky Norman robbers, none of whom ever contemplated the personal doing of any real work, as even a remote possibility, and any of whom would feel insulted by a report that his father or grandfather invented the steam engine, or spinning jenny, is not the fittest way to honour Industry. The Queen's Horticulturists, Gardeners, Carpenters, Upholsterers, Milliners, &c., would have been far more in place in the procession, than her 'gold stick,' 'silver stick,' and kindred absurdities.

" And yet, empty and bluudering as the conception of this pageant may seem, and is, there is nevertheless, marrow and hope in it. The world does move. Oh Galileo! carrying onward even those who forced you to deny the truth you had demonstrated! We may well say that these gentlemen in ribbons and stars cannot truly honour Labour, while they would deem its performance by their own sons, a degradatiou; but the grandfathers of these dukes and barons would have deemed themselves as much dishonoured by uniting in this royal ovation to gingham weavers and boilermakers, as these men would by being compelled to weave the cloth and forge the iron themselves. Patience, impetuous souls! the better day dawns, though the morning air is chilly. We shall be able to elect something else than generals to the presidency, before this century is out, and the right of every man to live by labour-consequently, to a place where he may live, on the sole condition that he is willing to lahour-stands high on the general orders, and must soon be brought np for national and universal discussion. The earls, and dukes of a not distant day will train their sons in schools of agriculture, architecture, chemistry. mineralogy, &c., inspiring each to win fame and rank for himself by signal and brilliant usefulness, instead of resting upon and wearing out the fame won by some ancestor on a battle-field of the old barbarian time. Even to-day's hollow pageant is an augury of this. It is Browning, I think, who

'All men become good ereatures, but so slow!' Let us, taking heart from the reflection that we live in the age of the Locomotive and the Telegraph, cheerfully press onward!"

DUTY OF THE STATE. - The state must consider the poor man, and all voices must speak for him. Every child that is born must have a just chance for his bread. Let us understand that the equitable rule is, that no one should take more than his share. Let me feel that I am to he a lover. I am to see to it that the world is better for me, and to find my reward in the act. Love would put a new face on this weary old world in which we dwell as pagans and enemies too long, and it would warm the heart to see how fast the lame diplomacy of statesmen, the impotence of armies and navies, and lines of defence would be superseded by this unarmed child. Love will creep where it cannot go, will accomplish that by imperceptible methods-being its own lever, fulcrum, and power-which force could never

Reviews.

POEMS AND NOTES TO THE PEOPLE. By ERNEST JONES. London: R. Pavey, 47, Holywell Street.

To say that this serial is "one of the best and cheapest publications of the day" is to say only that which is common-place, and which is often affirmed by not very honest reviewers of not very valuable works. In this instance the merits of the work justify the warmest commendation. These "Poems and Notes" are of such true value that they could not be pronounced "dear" at any price. But even in the ordinarily accepted meaning of the term "cheap," measuring the value of this periodical by mere paper and type, each number is an exceedingly good twopennyworth; and no purchaser will regret exchanging his money for so excellent a return.

In No. 2 we reviewed the first number of this publication; Nos. 2, 3, and 4 are now before us. Under the title of "Notes to the People," Ernest Jones is publishing most valuable contributions to Democratic Literature, in the shape of essay, history, romance, and that kind of writing known to all newspaper readers by the name of "Editorial article." The talent is equal to the variety; and reading these "Notes" we cannot but conclude and we hasten to declare the conclusion-that ERNEST JONES is henceforth to be classed not only amongst the first of orators, but the first We pay of writers now before the public. this tribute not the less readily that we dis-

sent from some of his sentiments.

From these "Notes" we have already extracted into our columns nearly the entire of the valuable article on "the Middle Class Franchise." In the same number (of the publication under notice) there appeared two more important papers—the one examining the errors of the present co-operative movement and pointing out a remedy; the other describing the character, numbers, and resources of the Slavonic nations, recounting their history and commenting on their probable destiny. Nos. 3 and 4 contain "Letters on the Chartist Programme," written to elucidate the several points of that document, and answer the objections and mis-statements of the Press-We hardly need add, that the cavillers and calumniators are replied to with crushing effect. "The History of Florence," com-menced in No. 3 and continued in No. 4, will be very attractive to young men in search of historical knowledge. The romance entitled "The History of a Democratic Movement" is written with great power, and the continuation will be eagerly looked for. For two reasons we abstain from giving extracts from these "Notes:"—1st. Any brief extract would very inadequately illustrate the merits of the article or articles quoted from; 2nd. We would have our readers purchase the work and possess themselves of the entire contents. By so doing they will benefit themselves and do justice to their instructor and advocate.

We turn to the Poems, and notwithstanding the words just written, we must take the liberty to enrich our columns with a few quotations :-

"Beldagon Church," dedicated to the Chartists of Halifax; is a poem of much beauty, as witness the following picture of a Summer Sunday's morning :--

High the fields are waving; Orchard fruit is blest— Summer's merry saving

For Winter's happy rest. O'er the elover lea The blassom-loving bee, Neglectful of her Maker Tho' 'tis Sunday-morn, Little Subbath-breaker! Winds her humming horn, Where lilybell and rose
No door denying close—
Asking neither price nor pay,
Wooing what may pass that way,
To be their sweets' partaker.

Bell and book unheeding, Bell and book unheeding,
The quiet kine are feeding,
The birds are on the wing,
The pebbled runnels ring,
The rivers still are flowing,
The graceful corn is growing,
The frolic wind is blowing—
And yet, the world caressing,
Unwrinkled by a frown,
The blue sky sends a blessing
On all creation down.

Mistily, dreamily, steals a faint glimmer—
Hill-tops grow lighter, the' stars become dimmer:
First a streak of grey;
Then a line of green;
Then a sea of roses
With golden isles between.
All along the dawilit prairies
Stand the flowers, like tip-toe fairies
Waiting for the early dew:
Listening—
Glistening—
As the morning

As the morning Walks their airy muster thro,' All the newborn blossoms christening With a sacrament of dew.
And from them a flower with wings,
Their angel that wateled thro' the night,
The beautiful butterfly springs
To the light.

The picture of Boldagon Church, its congregation, preacher, and sermon, make up a striking contrast; to wit-

Silks have rustled, fans have fluttered; Sneers and compliments been uttered; And many found, as find they ought, In church the object that they sought; Business finds a turn in trade; Praise, its victim; wit, its but; New acquaintance have been made; Old acquaintances been cut.

Shivering on the naked floor, By the cold, denying dorr, And where the drafty windows soar The dust encumbered galleries o'er, Stand the hundreds of the poor. Those, at least, who still can wear A coat that is not worn too bare. For rags are never suffered there.

As the Bishop mounts the pulpit Sink the whispers, coughs, and hums; And here and there a scattered sinner Rising in the House of God, Shews ho "Knows the

Rasy,

Dosy, Prosy, Bishop, with a smile and nod.

The Prelate bows his eushioned knce; Oh! the Prelate 's fat to see; Fat the priests who minister, Fat, each roaring chorister, Prebendary, Deacon. Lector, Chapter, Chanter, Vicar, Rector, Curate, Chaplain. Dean and pastor, Verger, Sexton, Clerk, Schoolmaster, From mitre tall, to gold-laced hat, Fat 's the place—and all are fat.

From the Bishop's sermon we can give only he following extract :--

Brethren! profit by the lesson! see the hand that's stretching down To shield the woolsack, counter, ledger, altar, mitre,

sabre, crown!
Then be patient in Affliction! envy not the rich and great!
"A contrite and a broken heart" alone, shall enter at the gate.

You may think the rich are happy, but you little know the cost:

By the gain of earthly treasures are eternal treasures lost. For this life is short and fleeting, and they choose a

poorer share; them revel—let them triumph; they shall suffer Let doubly, there.

Your addictious are your blessings; by disaster you are tried;
Those are happiest who are saddest, if the searching test they bide.

Tears are gladder far than smiles; disease is healthier far than health;
Rags are warner far than ermine; want is richer far

hags are warner far than ermine; want is riener far than wealth;
llunger feeds you more than plenty; strife is peace and peace is strife;
Loss is gain and gain is loss; life is death and death is life.

"The Painter of Florence." "dedicated to Julian Harney," is a magnificent poem. It opens with a description of a lorldly mansion :-

There's a mansion old 'mid the hills of the west, So old, that men know not by whom it was built; But its pinnaeles grey thro' the forest hoar Have glimmered a thousand years and more; And many a tale of so rrow and guilt Would blanch the cheek, lifter stones con'd greek. The secrets locked in its silent breast.
Its lords have been great in the olden day;
But the pride of their strength has been broken away;
They moulder unknown in their native laud,
And their home has long past to a stranger-hand.

The last of the ancient line has perished, and his domains have passed to a scoundrel lawyer.

Now Devilson reaches his heart's desire,
And takes his p'ace as a country-squire;
But since his origin sll can trace,
Affects a pride in his origin base;
And since all in this land you may buy and sell,
Is determined to buy a good name as well:
He huys much, when he o'fers a five-pound reward
To the slave who'll starve longest and lahour most hard
He buys more, when he bids a whole parish be fed
On an annual banquet at two pence the head;
Ilis character's rising by rapid degrees,
Till he pays a young saint at a chapel of ease,—
When the bargain's completed as soon as began.
And he's stamped a respectable, popular man.
He's soon made Justice, at d Sheriff in time;
And high, and still higher, determined to climb,
Looks around for an auchor to steady his life,
And from a poor peer buys a termagant wife. Now Devilson reaches his heart's desire, And from a poor peer buys a termagant wife.

Here are the portraits of this precious pair.

The Lady Malice is tall and thin; Her skin is of a dusky tan, With black hairs dotting her pointed chin; She's like a long, lean, lanky man, Her virtue's positive y fierce; Her sharp eyes every weakness pierce, Sure some inherent vice to find In every phase of human kind.

Devilson's thickset, short, and red;
Nine-tenths of the man are his paunch and head;
His hair is tufty, dense, and dark;
His small eyes flash with a cold gray spark,
Whose fitful glimmer will oft reveal
When a flinty thought strikes on his heart of steel.
He's sensual lips and a bold hook nose;
And he makes himself felt wherever he goes;
He's stern to the rich, and he's hard to the poor;
But he's many a little, low amour;
And their cost is small—for he culls them all
From the Workhouse-yard and the Servant's Hall.
So Devilson lives with his titled bride;
And the saintliest pity him more than chide;—
For they feel the full force of his married bliss!
Oh! the peerage are more than avenged in this;
Since, if he once rained an absentee race,
She tortures him endlessly, face to face.

The poet happens to visit this delects Devilson's thickset, short, and red;

The poet happens to visit this delectable couple. After dinner, "the worthy host," overcome by his good feeding, falls to sleep, leaving his guest to his own thoughts. The poet turns to the paintings, and after gazing long at "steel-clad knights and boddiced dames," and beautiful maidens, with "cherub lips and angel eyes," he turns-

I angel eyes," he turns—
To where a canvass lured my eye,
From the narrow room and the clouded sky,
Away and away, to Italy!
With its crested ripples sparkling
And its watery furrows darkling;
And its white sail like a swallow,
Darting over the hollow;
And its sun intensely bright;
And its sea intensely blue;
And its erowds of lazy nations,
With nothing on earth to do;
And its old cyclopean ruins,—
Dust of empires dead,—
Footprints of the giants,
In which the pigmies tread;
And its white-domed clies lying,

With the faintest veil of haze, Like a dream of boyhood visioned By the light of other days. And its olive-leaf scarce trembling, And its sky so pure and still; Not a frown from earth to zenith, And its sky so pure and still;
Not a frown from earth to zenith,
Save one small cloud on the hill.
The cloud so small and fair;
Just enough to say—the spirit
Of a storm is watching there!
Thro' the forest's leafy masses,
You might see how the current ran,
As a thought in whispers passes,
Thro' the myriad tribes of man;
And the cloud, like Jupiter's eagle,
Looking down on his old Rome,
Perched, waiting on his mountain,
Till the thunder-day shall come.—
A Laurel in the foreground,
Lone and withering,
For ever stands expectant
Of its unreturning spring;
And a painter lies beneath it,
With his brush and palette near,
Catching Truth's white inspiration,
Like light in a prism clear,
And throwing it back in Fancy's
Rich-tinted atmosphere.
have not space to follow the the

We have not space to follow the thread of the story, and can find room for only two or three more of the beautiful passages with which this poem abounds.

Round Florence the temposts are clouding;
The mountains a deluge have hurled;
For the tyrants of nations are crowding
To blot that fair light from the world.

Like vultures that sweep from the passes
To come to the feast of the dead,
In black, heavy, motionless masses
Their mighty battalions are spread,

'Tis eve : and the soldiers of Florence To meet them are marching amain;
The foe stand like Ocean awaiting
The streamlet that glides o'er the plain.

Then the blood of the best and the bravest
Had poured like the rain on the sod,—
But the spirit of night stood between them,
Proclaiming the truce of their God.

It touches the heart of the tyrant,-It gives him the time to repent;— The morn on the mountain has risen! The hour of salvation is spent!

The multitudes break into motion,
The trumpets are stirring the flood:
Anislet surrounded by ocean,
The ranks of the citizens stood.

But the vanguard is Valour and Glory;
The phalanx is Freedom and Right;
The leaders are Honour and Duty;
Are they soldiers to fail in the fight?

Then, hail to thee! Florence the fearless! And, hail to thee! Florence the fair!

Ere the mist from the mountain has faded,
What a triumph of arms shall be there!

Here is a great truth most charmingly expressed :-

Men counted him a dreamer;—dreams
Are but the light of clearer skies,
Too dazzling for our naked eyes;
And when we catch their flashing beams,
We turn aside, and call them dreams!
Oh, trust me!—every truth that yet
In greatness rose and sorrow set,
That time to ripening glory nurst,
Was called an idle dream at first!

aving told the recurrent and the state of the sta

Having told the mournful yet glorious story of the Florentine painter, the poet concludes with the following reflections on the appropriation of the triumphs of Art by selfish and plundering oligarchs and plutocrats :-

And when Florence had fallen and bowed the knee To the golden pride of the Medici, Then princes and bishops and cardinals tore From her temples and trophies their coveted store; And hung on the wall Of their selfish hall. What was meant for the cardinals to the selfish hall. What was meant for the eyes and the hearts of all. Thus past the picture from hand to hand,

Till it wandered away to a cloudy land,
And I found it lost in the barren-gloom
Of a country gentleman's dinlng room.

Then methought that the form 'neath the withered tree From its blighted laurel appealed to me; And that I could read in its earnest eyes The spirit of thoughts like these arise:

The earth may take the hody, Consuming what it gave: But God said to the spirit— "Thou shalt not see the grave!"

Upon his canvass pages,

The painter throws his heart:
Yet England's barbarous nobles
Have buried living art.

Far scattered in dull mansions, With none to see and taste, Its crystal springs lie hidden In Mammon's golden waste.

If Poets write for nations, Free as shines the sun, The Painter and the Sculptor Have never wrought for one.

As well might Byron's Harold, In one dark folio kept, In one nran's sordid chamber Thro' endless years have slept.

The treasures on your panels,
And down your galleries spread,
Are heartless robberies practised
On the living and the dead.

Is it for this, that on one work. My soul's whole energy I cast?
Thought | ardour! feeling! hope! and joy! And gave my life at last!

Go! stranger! rouse the sons of thought! Go! tell them far and near! And take me! take me to the world! Or make the world come here

Who will deny that at least as regards Private Picture Galleries, "Property is Robbery?" The remedy will easily suggest itself to THE MEN OF THE FUTURE.

The poems in No. 4 we cannot quote from at present: but from the splendid dedication addressed to the political prisoners and exiles of 1848 we must take the following brilliant paragraphs:-

Fellow Sufferers,-Many of you cannot see these pages,—yet they will breathe your thoughts. Many of you are buried living in the grasp of that power that makes continents its prisons, islands its convict cells, and seas its warders. Some of you have fallen by my side—not the hot gallant fall under flashing steel, but the more slow-not less heroic-martyrdom of dungeon vaults.

Still there are many who, surviving their social death, now walk abroad in political resurrection; and as my eye glances down the ranks of the returning, scarce one is found as a defaulterone has withdrawn exhansted from the fieldscarce one has proved a recreant to the cause.

Thanks for persecution! Prosecutions and imprisonments make the weather that ripens revolutions! Thanks for persecution!—it winnows the chaff from the corn. Thanks! thanks! that armed power has thrown aside the mask-mercy is folly, when treachery is spared—the peoples are cured of their mercy; and should revolution take a sterner garb than erst in '48, let tyranny reproach itself, and not blame us. Justice shall supersede her milder sister—nor merciful, nor cruel—neither the shedder of blood, nor the suicidal sentimentalist of olemency.

Peoples! be just!-but forget to be merciful, until you are strong enough to practise mercy with safety to yourselves! Ha! ha! they have taught us a lesson in their prisons!

And do you think that they have triumphed? The privileged abortions of civilisation—pigmics of intellect and dwarfs in heart! clothed in power and pedestaled on gold! do they think to have insulted us with impunity? Do they think the strong spirit and unswerving mind will yield to such as these? Do they think by hiring some of our own body to divide us, that they will break our phalanx? Do they think by stepping forward in the path of reform they will cause us to swerve one hair's breadth from our course? Do they think their middle-class conspiracy to take the movement out of the people's hands, that they may drop it slily from their own, ean blind our

gricf? Do they now think the wrench of poverty will tear truth and resolution from our breasts ?

No! we too can preach barefoot—if needs belike the apostles of old; and our sermon will not be the less welcome to our hearers. No! the almighty and invincible truth is making way with hands and hearts-now with the soft tones of persuasion—now with the red arm of battle—she is mustering her forces on the Rhine, the Tiber, and the Danube; and by the hearts of our murdered brethren! her voice shall not be silent on the Thames!

THE EXPONENT; a Monthly Review for the People. London: Watson, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row.

Got up by a few working-men residing in Cambridge, this periodical claims popular support on the ground of advocating the political and social rights of the millions. Its articles are written after the manner of the Quarterly Reviews, and display considerable ability and much earnestness of purpose on the part of the writers. Each number costing only three halfpence, the Exponent should, and we trust will, enjoy an extensive circulation.

THE HOME. Edited by Richard Oastler. London: A. M. Tatham, 2, York Street, Strand.

Mr. OASTLER'S peculiar views are well known to most of our readers; and those who cannot agree with his opinions nevertheless appreciate his warm-hearted philanthropy and good intentions. This publication is established to championise "Protection," and the cause of "The Altar, the Throne, and the Cottage." Severe castigation is administered to the Free traders; and in Nos. 2 and 4 the reader will find an amusing account of the significant recantation of one of the (heretofore) supporters of Mr. COBDEN—a Mr. John Jackson, a leviathan corn-miller in the West-Riding of Yorkshire. Finding the foreign millers are driving the English out of the home-market, John Jackson "turns his back upon himself," and abandoning free-trade, shouts lustily for the re-imposition of the duties on foreign ground flour, and even hints it may be necessary to take the same course in relation to foreign grown corn! We fancy friend Cobpen will be very likely to go short of friend Jacksons vote at the next election—and the votes of many more like him.

EUROPE VIEWED BY AN AMERICAN.—It is that. to imaginative persons in this country, (America), there is somewhat bare and bald in our shor history and unsettled wilderness. Europe is to our boys and girls, what novels and romances are; and it is not strange that they should burn to see the pieturesque extremes of an antiquated country. But it is one thing to visit the pyramids, and another to wish to live there. Would they like tenths to the elergy, and sevenths to the government, and horseguards, and a licensed press, and grief when a child is born, and threatening, starving weavers, and a pauperism now eonstituting one-thirteenth of the population? One thing, for instance, the beauties of Aristo-eracy, we commend to the study of the travelling American....The Aristocracy incorporated by law and education, degrades life for the unprivileged classes. It is a questionable compensation to the embittered feeling of a proud commoner, the reflection that the worthless lord, who, by the magic of title, paralyzes his arm, and plucks from him half the graces and rights of a man, is eyes? No! they should not have given us two himself also an aspirant excluded with the same ruthlessness from higher circles, since there is no end to the wheels within wheels of this spiral heaven In the East, where the religious | sentiment comes to the support of the Aristocraey, and in the Romish church also, there is a grain of sweetness in the tyranny; but in England, the fact seems to me intolerable, what is commonly affirmed, that such is the transeendent honour accorded to wealth and birth, that no man of letters, be his eminence what it may, is received into the best society, except as a lion and a show. It seems to me, that the lights which are now gleaming in the eyes of all men, residence in that country becomes degradation to any man not employed to revolutionize it.—EMERSON'S ORATIONS.

Peaues from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY OFORGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 26.)

"In spite of the excessive agitation which Consuelo had undergone, she if possible surpassed herself in the third act.

"And then a ray of happiness came to cheer her. Albert doubtless was there. Ho must have been in Vienna at least from the evening before. He observed and watched over all her movements: for to whom else could she ascribe the unforseen succour which she had received, and the almost supernatural strength which it required to overthrow a man like Francis Trenck, the Sclavonic Hercules. And if, from one of those eccentricities, of which his character offered but too many examples, he had refused to speak to her and had avoided her looks, it was evident that he still loved her passionately, since he showed himself so anxious for her safety, so courageous in her de-

"'Well,' thought Consuelo, 'since Heaven permits my strength to remain unimpared, I should wish him to see me look well in my part, and that from the corner of the box whence he now doubtless observes me, he should enjoy a triumph which I owe neither to charlatanism nor cabals.

"While still preserving the spirit of her part, she sought him everywhere with her eyes, but could nowhere discover him; and when she retired behind the scenes she continued to seek him, but with the same want of success. 'Where could he Where had he taken refuge? Had he killed the Pandour on the instant by his fall? Was he forced to evade pursuit? Would he seek. an asylum with Porpera, or should she find him this time on returning to the embassy?' All these perplexities, however, vanished when she again entered on the stage, where she forgot, as if by some magic power all the details of her actual life, only to experience a vague sense of expectation mingled with enthusiasm, terror, gratitude and hope. All this was in her part, and was expressed in accents

admirable for their tenderness and truth. "She was called for at the end of the performance, and the empress was the first to throw her from her box a bouquet to which was attached a handsome present. The court and city followed the example of the sovereign, and showered on her a perfect storm of flowers. Amidst these perfumed gifts, Consuelo saw a green branch fall at her feet, on which her eyes were involuntarily fixed. When the curtain was lowered for the last time, she picked it up-it was a branch of cypress Then all her triumphant laurels vanished from her thoughts, leaving as their sole occupant this funeral emblem, a symbol of grief and despair, and perhaps the token of a last adieu. A death-like chill succeeded to this feverish emotion, an insurmountable terror eaused a cloud to pass before her cycs, her limbs refused to support her, and those around bore her fainting into the earriage of the Venetian ambassador, where Porpora vainly endeavoured to scarification of the ulcerated bone, and although extract a word from her. Her lips were iey cold, hardly recovered, had re-mounted his horse and

and her lifeless hand still grasped beneath her | mantle the cypress branch, which seemed to have been thrown by the hand of death.

"On descending the staircase of the theatre she had not seen the traces of blood, and in the confusion attendant on leaving the theatre, few people had observed them. But while she returned to the embassy, absorbed in her gloomy reverie, a painful scene took place with closed doors in the green-room of the theatre. Shortly before the end of the performance, some supernumeraries had discovered Trenck lying in a fainting state at the foot of the stairs, and bathed in his own blood. He was carried into one of the rooms reserved for the performers, and, in order to avoid noise and confusion, the director, a medical attendant, and the police, had been secretly informed, in order that they might attend and certify the fact. public and the great body of the performers left the room therefore without knowing anything about the matter, while the professional gentle-men, the imperial functionaries, and some compassionate witnesses, exerted themselves to assist the Pandour, and draw from him the cause of the accident. Corilla, who had been waiting for his carriage to arrive, and who had despatched her waiting-maid several times to obtain some tidings of him, was so vexed and annoyed by the delay, that she descended by herself, at the risk of having to go home on foot. She met Holzbauer, who, knowing her intimacy with Trenck, brought her to the green-room, where she saw the Pandour with his head cut and bleeding, and his body so covered with contusions that he could not move. She filled the air with her shricks and lamentations. Holzbauer dismissed the curious spectators, and closed the doors. The eantatrice could throw no light on the affair, but Trenek, having now somewhat recovered, declared that having penetrated into the interior of the theatre without permission in order to see the dancers a little more nearly, he had wished to leave the house before the end of the performance, and that, unaequainted with the intricacies of the building, he had missed his footing, and rolled down the cursed stairs to the bottom. They were satisfied with this explanation, and earried him home, where Corilla hastened to nurse him with such zeal as to lose the favour of Kaunitz and the good will of her majesty; but she boldly made the sacrifice, and Trenck, whose frame had already resisted worse assaults, escaped with eight days' lameness and an additional scar on his head.

"He mentioned to no one his want of success, but secretly resolved to make Consuelo pay dearly for it. He would doubtless have fearfully redeemed this promise if an imperial mandate had not suddenly torn him from Corilla, to east him, still suffering from the fever of his wound and hardly recovered from his fall, into the military prison. That which public rumour had valuely informed the canon of, was already in course of being realized. The Pandour's wealth had excited a burning inextinguishable thirst in the breasts of several inft ntial and adroit followers of the court, and to this lust for riches he fell a victim. Accused of all the crimes he had committed, as well as of all those which could possibly be imagined by persons interested in his rain, he began to experience the delays, the vexations, the impudent prevarications, and refined injustice of a long and scandalous trial. Avarieious in spite of his ostentation, proud notwithstanding his vices, he was not willing to recompense the zeal of his protectors, or to bribe the conscience of his judges. Wo shall leave him confined, until fresh orders, in his prison, where, having been guilty of some violence, he had the mortification and shame to see himself chained by the foot. Shame and infamy! it was precisely the foot which had been shattered by the explosion of a bomb-shell in one of his most brilliant military actions. He had undergone the

resumed his service with heroic firmucss. An iron ring to which was attached a heavy chain. was riveted upon this horrible scar. The wound re-opened, and he endured fresh tortures, no longer in the service of Maria Theresa, but as a reward for having served her too well. The Great Queen-who had not been displeased at seeing him rayage and destroy unfortunate Bohemia, which afforded a rather uncertain rampart against the enemy in consequence of the ancient national hatred—the king Maria Theresa, who, having no longer need of the erimes of Trenck and the excess of his pandours to strengthen her upon the throne, began to look upon them as monstrous and unpardonablewas supposed to be ignorant of this barbarous treatment, in the same way that the great Frederick was supposed ignorant of the ferocious refinements of cruelty, the tortures of inanition, and the sixty-eight pounds of iron, under which sank a little later, that other Baron Trenck, his handsome page, his brilliant artillery officer, the rescuer and the friend of our Consuelo. those flatterers who have flippantly transmitted to us the recital of these abominable deeds, have attributed the odium of them to subaltern officers or to obscure deputies, in order to clear the memory of their sovereigns. But those sovereigns, so ill-formed respecting the abuses of their gaols, knew so well on the contrary what was passing there, that Frederick the Great himself furnished the design for the irons which Trenek the Prussian wore for nine years in his sepulchre at Magdeburg; and if Maria Theresa did not exactly order Trenck the Austrian, her valorous pandour, to be chained by the mutilated foot, she was always deaf to his complaints, always inaccessible to his petitions. Besides, in the shameful havoe which her people made of the riches of the vanquished, she knew very well how to earry off the lion's share and refuse justice

"Let us return to Consuelo, for it is our duty as a romaneist to pass lightly over historical details. Still we know not how to treat of the adventures of our heroine totally apart from the facts which occurred in her time and under her eyes. On learning the Pandour's misfortune she remembered no longer the outrages with which he had threatened her, and deeply revolted at the iniquity of his treatment, she assisted Corilla in sending him money at a time when all means of softening the rigour of his captivity were refused him. Corilla, better skilled in spending money than in acquiring it, found herself penniless exactly on the day when a secret emissary of her lover came to claim the necessary sum. Consuelo was the only person to whom this girl, prompted by the instinct of confidence and esteem, dared to have recourse. Consuelo immediately sold the present which the empress had thrown upon the stage at the conclusion of Zenobia, and handed the proceeds to hereomrade, expressing at the same time her approval of her conduct in not abandoning the unfortunate Trenck in his distress.

"Corill's zeal and courage, which went every length in assisting the sufferer, induced Consuelo to regard with a sort of esteem a creature who although corrupted, still had intervals of disinterested generosity. 'Let us prostrate ourselves before the work of God's hand,' said she to Joseph, who sometimes reproached her with being too intimate with this Corilla. 'The human soul always preserves something great and good in its wanderings to which we owe respect, and in which we acknowledge with joy the impress of the divine hand. Where there is much to complain of, there is also much to par-

4 Historical truth requires us to say also by what bravadoes Trenck provoked this inluman treatment. From the first day of his arrival at Vienna he had been put under arrest in his own house by the imperial order. He had, nevertheless, shown binself at the opera that very evening, and in an interlude had tried to throw Count Gossaw into the pit.

don, and where there is cause for pardon, good Joseph, be assured there is also cause to love ! I confess to you that the part of a sister of charity seems to suit me better than a more secluded and gentler life, more glorious and agreeable resolves, the tranquillity of happy, respected, immaculate beings. My heart is made like the paradise of the gentle Jesus, where there is more joy over one repentant sinner than over ninety-and nine just persons. I feel myself inclined to compassionate, sympathize, succour, and console. It seems to me as if the name my mother gave me at my birth, subjected me to this duty and this destiny. It is my only name Beppo! Society has given me no family name to uphold and if the world were to say that I lowered myself in seeking a few partieles of pure gold from amidst the dross of the misconduct of others, I owe the world no account. I am Consuclo, and nothing more! and this is enough for the daughter of Rosmunda, for Rosmunda was one on whom the world looked with coldness and contempt; yet such as she was, I was bound to love her, and I did love her. She was not respected as Maria Theresa is, yet she would not have chained Trenek by the foot, and left him to die in torture in order to obtain possession of his wealth. Corilla herself would not have done it: in place of seeking her own advantage she supports this Trenck who often treated her most cruelly. Joseph-Joseph! God is a greater emperor than ours, and since Mary Magdalene is seated in his presence, Corilla may perhaps one day take precedence even of the imperial queen. As for myself, I feel that if I had abandoned the culpable or the unhappy to seat myself at the banquet of the just, I should not have been on the highway of my salvation. The noble Albert, I feel assured, would join in this sentiment and would be the last to blame me for showing kindness to Corilla.

Consuelo is invited to accept an engagement at the Theatre Royal, Berlin. After some hesitation, she assents, under the impression (caused by Porpora) that Albert has renounced his love for her. On her way to Prussia, she encounters Frederick the Great, who is travelling in disguise, and saves him from assassination. Here is the not very inviting portrait of the great man-slayer and pretented philosopher:—

"A few seconds after, two officers were introduced dressed in the Prussian uniform. He who walked first, and behind whom his companion seemed determined to conceal himself, was little and had rather a disagreeable countenance. His long, thick, and vulgar nose made his gaping mouth and retreating or rather absent chin, seem more repulsive than they would otherwise have His shoulders were of a round and ungainly shape, and together with the ugly military costume invented by Frederick, gave him a sort of antiquated and even decrepit air. Yet this man was at the farthest about thirty years of age; his step was firm; and when he took off the hideous hat which concealed the upper portion of his face, he displayed the only redeeming features it possessed—a decided, intelligent, refleeting forelicad, expressive eyebrows, and eyes of extraordinary animation and brillianey. His glance produced the same startling change in his appearance as the sun's rays which animate and embellish the most dreary and unpoetical landseape. He seemed a whole head taller when his eyes lighted up his pale, restless, and mean-looking countenance."

(To be continued.)

"On the question of the monopoly of land, I am decided that it is the master evil in our political condition."—Richard Carlile.

PROSPECTUS OF A NEW WEERLY DEMOCRATIC JOURNAL, TO BE ENTITLED THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

ldeas propounded discussed, accepted - behold the only enldeas propounded, discussed, accepted—behold the only enduring foundation on which Revolutions in Government and Society can be securely hased. The most glorious struggles to destroy oppression have resulted either in total failure, bitter disappointment, or fearful reaction, because the long-suffering millions have lacked the knowledge necessary to enable them to distinguish between pretended and real reforms—between their true friends and those political charlatans who, masquerading in the guise of liberalism, traffic in the misplaced confidence of the people.

The advocates of Democratic Reform and Social Regeneration, can hope for real and permanent success

generation, can hope for real and permanent success only thr ugh the general adoption of their principles. only thr ugh the general adoption of their principles. To expound and propagate those principles, democratic journals must be multiplied. The Press—that great engine of Moral Power—must be employed more effectively than hitherto it has been, to spread abroad the all-saving truths; of Democracy. Theories of political and social justice will be transformed into practical realities, the moment the great mass of the people are imbucd with a correct knowledge of their rights, and are made to comprehend the means by which they may made to comprehend the means by which they may work out their own emancipation.

work out their own emancipation.

Impressed with the views indicated, rather than fully set forth, in the foregoing observations, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, have advised Julian Harney and Ernest Jores to respond to the many appeals made to them from all parts of the country to combine their energies for the production of a journal calculated to elevate and advance the people's cause. Having constituted ourselves a Committee to aid them in this entorprise, we have the plea ure of announcing that—

A NEW WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF LARGE SIZE, TO BE

A NEW WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF LARGE SIZE, TO BE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE,

EDITED BY JULIAN HARNEY AND ERNEST JONES, Will be published immediately adequate support is guar anteed by the local committees at present formed, and in course of formation.

The elaborate details usually set forth in a Prospectus

The elaborate details usually set forth in a 1 respective may very well be disponsed with in the present instance. The title of the projected journal has already the significance of a banner; and the names of the Editors afford a sure guarantee that its columns will be devoted to the

a surc guarantee that its columns will be devoted to the exposition and advocacy of uncompromising Democracy, and the Social Rights of the Millions. Without, therefore, entering into minute particulars, it will be sufficient to state that the Friend of the People will include in its leading features the following:—

1. Chartist Organizaton and Progress, under which head will be given a full and impartial account of all Chartist proceedings, together with original papers elucidating and vindicating the principles of the Charter, on the ground both of right and utility. The substitution of the democratic principle of popular election, in place of hereditary and class usurpation in connection with governmental arrangements will be strenuously advocated.

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Il. Social Rights. National proprietorship in the soil will be uneeasingly contended for and familiarly popularised. The natural right to labour, and the consequent means of facilitating the exchanges of products, will find The Friend of the People a ready and fearless advocate.

THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE a ready and learness advocated.

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&c., will find the proposed journal a faithful organ of their principles and proceedings.

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countries.

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Besides developing the above-mentioned features, the FRIND OF THE PROFLE will be a complete news-paper, and will contain reports of the debates in Parliament, Public Mectings, &c., also Legal, Police, Mercantile, and general intelligence.

Puguack Advertisements" and other offensive matter the found in nearly every existing journal will be rigor-

be found in nearly every existing journal will be rigor-by excluded from the columns of the Friend of the

It will be the aim of the Editors—in all departments of the projected journal—to clevate Democracy to a standard commensurate with the dignity of its principles. In fine, to produce a journal which will command the support of friends, and the respect of foes—a journal that every democrat may dare to shew to men of opposing parties and classes, and say:—"This is an organ of our movement, a reflex of our mind, a representative of our principles, the parhinger of our triumphant future." harbinger of our triumphant future."

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EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 28.7

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1851.

[PRICE ONE PENNY.

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Aids and Hinderances to Democracy										

CHANGE OF PUBLISHER.

The Friend of the People is now published by Mr. HENRY BEAL, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street.

Each number is ready for delivery to the Trade, at 12 o'elock on Monday.

MARAT AND ROBESPIERRE. There has lately come into my possession a

valuable historical document relating to the above immortal patriots and philanthropists, written by one of their colleagues, a deputy to the celebrated "Convention," and a member of the famous "Mountain," of '93-'94. NICHOLAS HENTZ represented the Department of the Moselle. He appears to have been a silent but a useful member, and if not possessed of brilliant talents or exhibiting noisy pretensions to statesmanship or patriotism, he seems to have been an honest man, and to have been guided by sound principles. One of the friends and admirers of ROBESPIERRE, it would seem that he owed his escape from the Thermidorean proscription to the fact of being "on mission" at the moment of the explosion of the horrible conspiracy so fatal to liberty, the Republic, and the true friends of humanity. Having survived the storms of the Revolution and witnessed the rise and fall of the tyrant BUONAPARTE, HENTZ found himself, on the return of the Bourbons, compelled to withdraw from France. He took refuge in the United States, became a citizen of that country, lived to an advanced age, and died country, lived to an advanced age, and died only a few years since. It was subsequent to his death that the manuscript of the paper we are about to quote from, written in French, was placed by a friend of the deceased's at the service of the editors of the United States Magazine and Democratic Re-Translated into English, Hentz's contribution to history appeared in the above named publication of March, 1844, under the title of "Danton, Robespierre, and Marat,

by a Contemporary and Colleague." The editor of the United States Magazine observes, "Allusion is made in the article to 'Memoirs' which the author either prepared or planned for the press; why they have not

appeared we are not informed."

Hentz's article appears to have been written in reply to "a notice relative to Danton, Robespierre, and Marat, published in a l'hiladelphia periodical entitled the Casket." In the original reply to, or comment on, the Casket's "notice," Danton occupies a large share of the author's attention. That notorious demagogue, HENTZ execrates, without qualification, as a corrupt traitor to his country and the Revolution. I omit this portion of the article to save space, and because it appears to me unnecessary to print column upon column of accusation and denunciation of a character like DANTON.

"To slay the slain," or, in other words, to expose the corruption of the notoriously venal, and the baseness of the notoriously selfish, cannot be necessary. Danton is already judged, and any additional testimony

against him is perfectly needless.

Hentz observes of Danton, that "he possessed the talent of improvizing a great idea, fit to hurry a multitude away; together, too with the art and the power of hurling it down, as it were, upon his audience with the voice of a Stentor, and a gesture that drove it straight and strongly home." I ean sympathise with HENTZ in the sentiment expressed by him relative to CAMILLE DES-MOULINS and HERAULT DE SECHELLES, who shared the fall of Danton. "I eonfess," says he, "that I regretted the condemnation of these two deputies; the one full of literary talent, and who had rendered the greatest services to the Revolution-the other, though a noble, had always marehed in it with a firm step. I think it would have been better to have pardoned them. But politicians never pardon.'

In the following sketch of MARAT, and that of ROBESPIERRE, which will follow, the author has portrayed those celebrated men "such," to quote his own emphatic words, "as I myself saw and knew them."

G. J. H.

MARAT.

BY NICHOLAS HENTZ, DEPUTY TO THE FRENCH NATIONAL CONVENTION, FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MOSELLE.

JEAN PAUL MARAT was born in 1744, at Beaudry, near Neufehatel, in Switzerland, and resided at Paris before the Revolution, where he practised the profession of a physician. He had made himself known by two works, the one, "Man, or the Principles of the Influence of the Soul upon the Body," and the other, "Discoveries on Fire, Electricity, Light."

Enthusiastic in the Revolution, he edited a journal ealled The Friend of the People (L' Ami du Peuple.) His principle was that of Junius Brutus, to strike off the heads of the tallest poppies. "If you do not make three heads fall topies. "If you do not make three heads fall to-day," was his language, "to-morrow I will call for teu." Here is the foundation of the charge against him, of wishing to cut the throats of all the human race—saving the rabble (hormis la

He laid bare in his columns, without reserve, the eounter-revolutionary machinations of Marle Antoinette, whom he designated "the Austrian woman" (l'Autrichienne), and of the Comte d'Artois, afterwards Charles X. He attacked Neekar, at the very time when the people were earrying him in triumph—eharacterising him as a charlatan, and predicting that he would betray the people. He was almost always right; but, like Cassandra, he possessed the gift of fortelling the truth, under the condition of never being be-

lieved.

The Constituent Assembly voted an order for his arrest on the oceasion of a paragraph in one of his numbers, headed with the title, "It is all up with us." He there announced what was realized two years afterward, in 1792, in these terms: "Rush to your arms, if there is yet time, or soon will the legions of your enemies pour down upon you. Five or six hundred heads laid low would have consured us repose, liberty, and happiness; a false humanity restrained your arms; it is destined to cost the lives of millions of your brethren." When they came to arrest Marat, he was not to be found; he had a secure and impenetrable retreat. He used to say that in revolutions there is no absolute justico; that all that is virtue in one party is crime in the other; that so it is a folly to allow yourself to be judged by your enemy;—and, moreover, that such is the effect of the revolutionary oscillations, that the action which to-day is regarded as meritorious, may to-morrow be adjudged as criminal, and vice versa. Such was indeed the caso. The Constituent Assembly soon admitted that Marat's paragraph was not without foundation; and not only did it abstain from any further measures to give effect to its order of arrest, but it called upon the king, Louis XVI., to put a stop to the criminal prosecutions carried on in his name in the departments of Ile-et-Vilaine, of the Loire Inferieure, and of the Morbihan, against the authors of writings of the same stamp with those of Marat.

The electoral body of the department of the Seine appointed bim deputy to the National Convention. He had never vet filled any public office, except that of member of the General Council of the commune of Paris. From the earliest sittings of the body he denounced Dumouriez as a traitor. As for us, feeling ourselves only too fortunato in the retreat of the Prussians, and ignorant at that time of the fact that the latter might have made them all prisoners, and have sent the King of Prussia back alone to Berlin, we did not believe him.

When the victory of Jemappes was announced, he said that it was a great misfortune; that that knave would now make an army of his own, with which he would march against the Convention. We treated him as crazy; neverthcless the event verified the truth of this design of Dumouriez.
What gained Marat the greatest number of enemies, was his uncompromising attacks upon Roland, his partizans, and especially Barbaroux, -and all his revelations, all his predictions, however improbable they seemed at the time, proved to be successively verified by the events. The Roland party resolved to rid themselves of this thorn which so unrelaxingly goaded their sides.

Roland, all-powerful in the Convention, ereated for his purpose the Rovolutionary Tribunal, and appointed the members of whom it should be composed. I should remark that we opposed it, and that the invention and the construction of this sanguinary engine belonged to the Giroudins alone.

This tribunal was installed on the 29th of March, 1793. By a decree of the same day, it was authorised to condemn to death, first, those who should labour to promote the re-establishment of royalty, and the dissolution of the national representation; secondly, the instigators to murdor—(this was the offence they ascribed to Marxt). This decree did not seem to them sufficient to bring him within the reach of this tribunal, because the representatives of the people had hitherto been regarded as inviolable in all that regarded their public function. They proposed, and cansed to be adopted, on the 8th of April following, that those deputios who should be convicted of national offences, should be immediately delivered over to the Revolutionary Tribunal. Such was the origin of this tribunal, which, as was proved by the sequel, devoured its own creators.

A few days after this decree, the Girondins accused Marat of the offences prescribed in the decree of the 29th of March. The debate on this accusation lasted several days. The patriots, grieved at this scandalous procedure in the midst of the calamities under which France was groaning, abstained from any participation in it. Girondins, enlarged with emphasis on what they called the crimes of Marat, and made the salvation of the country dependent on his condemnation. They seemed to threaten with public displeasure whoever should dare to raise a voice in his favour.

On the 13th of April, the decree of arrest was adopted by a majority of 220 to 92; from which it is seen that only 310 dopnties—that is to say, 45 less than half of the Convention-took part in this affair. The number of the dupties was **75**0.

Marat conecaled himself. The Revolutionary Tribunal in vain waited for its victim. In any rid of him. They were mistaken. Marat remained a few days in his subterranean retreat, and then went to present himself before the Revolutionary Tribunal, by whom he was unanimously acquitted, and returned in triumph to the Convention, to the great vexation of the Gi-

The bystanders erowned him with flowers, and escorted him back to the Convention. This event ought to have warned the Girondins that their fall was at hand, for Marat was welcomed back with favour by the majority of the Convention.

From the 31st of May to his death, he continued the publication of his numbers, which were chiefly filled with felicitations on the doings of the Convention. He was assassinated on the 13th of July following, by Charlotte Corday, under circumstances I will now explain-for this event has been utterly distorted from its true character by the royalists and the supporters of the English government.

After the 31st of May, several of the Girondin deputies, under order of arrest from the Convention, by reason of the consequences of that day, fled. Some of them (Barbaroux was one of that number) repaired to Caen, the capital of the department of the Calvados, where the general Wimpfen was collecting an army of deluded citizens, to whom was to be united a strong column of Vendeans, and with whom he designed to march upon Paris. This he indeed attempted; but the Committee of Public Safety despatched against them a body of regular troops, by which they were dispersed, less by force than because as those citizens approached nearer Paris, their eyes became opened to the deceptions that had been practised upon them; so that they were induced to disband themselves near Evreux, about 22 leagues from Paris. While this army was assembling at Caen, the fugitive deputies, of whom Barbaroux appeared the most bitter, were preaching revolt there to the popular society, which was under the influence of the royalists, and the member of the central administration of the department; and Barbaroux was heaping the most horrible imprecations upon Robespierre, and still more upon Marat.

Charlotte Corday, then in the 24th year of her age, was born of a noble family, in the village of St. Saturnin, in Normandy, and was living at Caen. She cherished a mortal resentment against Marat, who had designated in his journal as a royalist, one M. de Belrunce, a major of a regiment stationed at Caen at the commencement of the Revolution, and one of her most favoured adorers. She was constant in her attendance at the popular society, and devoured eagerly all the cvil that Barbaroux spoke of Marat. Barbaroux, a handsome and vigorous young man, succeeded in the heart of Charlotte Corday to the place of the lover who had been denounced. But Barbaroux became inconstant, and neglected his conquest. In her gricf and despair she fixed on the dotermination to go and assassinate Marat, hoping, at the risk of her life, which had now become insupportable, to win back her fiekle lover by her heroic action, -- if an assassination can be called a heroic action.

On her arrival at Paris, she presented herself at the residence of Marat, requesting to speak to him on subjects interesting to the country. She was answered, that Marat, being indisposed and in the bath, could not at that moment received her. "Tell him," she replied, "that I am an unhappy person who implores his aid." "An unhappy person," said Marat, "let her come in. I should deeply regret to have delayed for a moment to render aid to a woman in distress." She was introduced. With one hand sho presented a petition, and as he was unfolding it, with the other she plunged a poniard to his heart. Marat uttered a loud cry, exclaiming, "I am assassinated!" People rushed in; the assassin event the Girondins believed themselves entirely | was arrested; she was delivered to the Revolu-

tionary Tribunal, which sent her to the scaffold; -and so Marat, that ferocious savage, according to the representations of the royalists, perished a vietim to his compassion for distress.

His death completed the ruin of the Girondins in the public opinion. It produced no useful effect on his enemies.

Marat died poor, after having lived sebenly and simply. He was small in stature, and with rather a Gothic face.

.The Girondins detested him to such a degree. that some months after the 9th Thermidor, they vented their rage on his corpse, dragging it through the mud, and throwing it into the sewer of Montmartre. The wretches !—a few days before they had decreed him worthy of the Pantheon. This canonization was only a faree to lull asleep the simpletons of the Convention. I was present at the ceremony of the transfer of his body, at which all the Convention took part in grand procession, on the 5th Complementaire, in the year 2, about two months after the 9th Thermidor. While the President was reading the deeree of his canonization in front of the Tuileries, a Girondin, who happened to be pretty near to me, said; loud enough to be heard: "Go to the Pantheon—go! We will soon drag you in the mire."

His influence amounted to little or nothing in the Convention, where his premature denunciations were pardoned in consideration of his ardent and disinterested zeal for the cause of the Revolution. As for us who used to blame him for his indiscretions, he would call "vision-naires." Marat has been, and he is still loaded with maledictions; and yet, what is most strange, no one has ever cited, no one can ever eite against him any single faet which could justify the evil that is said of him—at least in the eyes of every one but an enemy of our Revolution. He shed no blood-he exercised no public function which conferred upon him any other power than that of voting with his eolleagues-was a member of no Committee in the Convention; he constantly refused to be sent on any mission. He edited an anti-ministerial journal; all the crimes that have been imputed to him, are merely articles of this paper. Is it a crime, under a government which proclaims the liberty of the press, to edit an anti-ministerial journal? He said that if a traitor is not punished, there will start up from that seed a hundred thousand more who must be punished. This is only an opinion; if false, we should despise it, or demonstrate its fallacy,-if true, where is the crime? The Constituent Assembly, which had issued a warant for his arrest, on the occasion of a certain paragraph in his paper, acknowledged their error by recalling their warrant, and by forcing Louis XVI., by their observations, to put a stop to the criminal procedures which he was directing, in many of the departments, against the editors of anti-ministerial papers. He denounced, before all France, the anti-revolutionary machinations of the Court, and the event invariably justified tho truth of his denunciations. He denounced Dumouriez, Roland, and the Girondists, as enemies of the state, and such they were. He predicted all our misfortunes, and they all came to pass.

Why, we hear it said, should there be this outery against Marat, if he had done no wrong? But who is it that complain of him? It is the enemics of the revolution; in their point of view they are right; but they cannot be so in the eyes of any sensible person not of their own party.

If the revolution be a crime, who is more criminal than the Court-than Louis XVI.-who made it inevitable, by the prodigality and feebleness which tended to the dissolution of the Government? If it is a crime to have wished to turn the revolution to the advantage of the people, is Marat more guilty than the whole nation, which suffered every hardship for its defence-than the French armies, who poured out their blood for it?

He has, it is said, excited revolt-but what were these revolts? It was the 14th of July, 1789, which overthrew the celebrated Bastille: They were the days of the 4th and 5th of the following October, which compelled Louis XVI., to put a stop to the famine which was desolating Paris. It was the 10th of August, 1792, but for which the Prussians and emigrants would have put France, and Paris especially, to fire aud sword. It was the 31st of May, the consequences of which delivered France from the deplorable condition in which the Girondins had plunged it.

The mamory of Marat is covered with opprobrium-but; who was whore to defend him against the exasporation of his enemies? The people have no papers in their pay, nor servants, nor courtiers at their beck, nor all the arts and resources of the

power which oppresses them.

If the revolution is a crime, he certainly is one

of the most criminal for having defended it.'

THE CURSE OF A LANDED ARISTOCRACY,

ILLUSTRATED BY THE TYPANNY OF THE PATRICIANS

AND THE SOFFBRINGS OF THE PLEBEIANS OF ANCIENT ROME.

(From Marsiontel's Breface to Lucan's Pharsalia.) (Concluded from No. 27.)

A plebenn named L. Siccius Dentatus addressed the people. He showed that he had been in military service forty, years .- During this time he had been present in one hundred and twenty-one battles. He enumerated the wounds which he had received, and the honourable distinction with which che had been charged. "If it were not known at Rome," said he, "what my fortune is, would it not be believed that it is propertionable to my protracted toils? My companions and myself, have defended the Republic at the hazard of our lives, extended its limits, conquered rast and fertile plains where we do not own the smallest portion, and which are unlawfully possessed by men without merit, whose pernicious designs only tend to our degrada-tion." Notwithstanding the eloquence of Sieeius the law was again postponed and shortly afterwards he was assassinated! This plan of getting rid of partisans of the people, was not well adapted to conciliate them. They were more patient than could have been expected, but in the end did themselves justice.

The case of the Decenvirs ought to have startled the senate. This body saw its despotism destroying itself day by day. It saw that each new injustice impaired its authority. It was on the point of losing the right of decreeing the triumph which it had refused to two consuls who were friends of the people-but its arrogance was incorrigible. Fubdue this arrogance the people demanded that the Patricians should be allowed to intermarry with the plebeian order, and that the plebeians, who were worthy, should be admitted to the consulship. The serate was shocked at these demands-declared, at first, that they would proceed to the last extremities somer than consent to them. Yet they finally consented, and allowed every thing to be shared botween them and the people ercept wealth. This proves that they were more influenced by avarice than pride. But to flatter the people for a moment, was not to remove their sufferings, the two causes of which, I'swy and Poverty did not cease to afflict them. They again demanded a division of the Lands of the Republic. Camillus opposed himself to this and was bauished as Coriolanus had been. . His exile allowed the Gauls an opportunity to lay Rome in ashes. These troubles deprived the state of its best support of those valiant and, bold men, who being too independent to serve one party (the senate) often became the scapogoats and victims of the other (the people). It was thus that Manlius was destroyed, and, in the sequel, the Graechii.

The excessive opulance of Rome after the fall of Carthage, and Numantia—the boundless luxury,

which the grandees displayed in their palaces, their gardens, and at their tables, rendered tho oppression under which the people groaned, more intolerable. To remove some of the most odious features of this monstrous inequality, the tribune Tiberius Gracehus attempted to renew the law for the division of the Public Lands. Motives of revenge have been attributed to this tribune, who is, at the same time, acknowledged to be one of tho most virtuous of men, but it will soon be seen whether he was moved by that passion. By the law of consul Cassius, no citizen could possess more than 500 arpents of the Public lands. Gracehus demanded that this law should be put in execution. The cause of the people was that of justice, of humanity and of the country. It was even that of the riel, considered as citizens, but Gracehus, to give more authority to his proposed law, had the precaution to procure the approval of the most enfightened and apright men in the Republic. Such as Agrippius Clodius, his father-in-law, Mutius Scaevola the lawyer, the sovereign Pontiff Crossus -persons who were revered at Rome. He observed in his edict a spirit of gentleness and moderation which ought to have appeased the rich, if avarice ever could be appeared. He announced that those who had contravened the laws should not only be unpunished, but that they should not be obliged to restore the revenue, which they had drawn from the land, during their possession of it. He added, that whatever the law might retreneh from their possession should be reimbursed to them out of the public treasury; in fact, he confined himself merely to a demand, in the name of the people; that justice should be done thom in the future; leaving to those who held the Public Lands the peaceable possession during their lifetimes, of all which they could not hold consistent with the terms of the law. But nothing could satisfy the avidity of the rich. They unchained (dechianerent) themselves against Gracehus-treated him as a seditious person, and a disturber of their peace, which they stermed the "public peace." It was then that he delivered that celebrated address of which I shall quote some extracts. "The most ferocious beasts," said he, "have their couches and their dens, whilst men, who are soldiers and Roman citizens, are compelled to wander to and fro with their wives and children, without finding a resting place. Is it right that such a number of valiant men shall combat with unnumbered perils, and fatigues, for the luxury, the wealth, the gewgaws of their fellow citizens? How can the generals who command them-how can they say, that they'll lead them on, to fight for their domestic altars, and the tombs of their fathers, since not a single one of them has a house, a domestic altar, nor even owns the soil where his father had the right of sepulture? They term you' said he, addressing the people, "the owners of the seil: what, owners? You do not possess the smallest portion which you can use, or on which you would, even be allowed to creet a hut; all this, while others, without fatigue, and without danger possess immense do-mains?" To these motives he added others more interesting, even for avariee itself. The security of possessions. The hope of enlarging them, if those who, alone, could guard them were not allowed to perish. Every means was brought into operation by this conrageous citizen. What was the result of his zeal? A few lays after this address he was knocked on the head in the capitol, under the eyes of the senate, and by its order—when Seipio Nasica the sovereign Pontiff marched to the attack at the head of the senators. Scipio died a short time afterward overwhelmed with infamy and remorse. The murder of Gracehus did not appease the

rage of the great and wealthy-they outraged his corpse, and those of his friends whom they murdered along with him. They caused their remains to be dragged into the Tiber. One of his friends was enclosed alive in a cask with vipers. This punishment was invented and inflicted on men who wished to retrench some superfluities from the

unbounded luxury of the rich, in order to minister to the wants of the poor.

Caius Gracohus, the brother of Tiberius, as virtuous, and still more eloquent, was, like him. the victim of his zeal for the people and of the hatred of the great. Before his death, he had erected the Tribanal of the Equestrian order to judge and punish the crimes of the senators-a terrible blow to the power and dignity of the senate.

The people, who by an inconceivable act of cowardice had abandoned their generous defenders, recovered from their terror and more violently hated their tyrants, who had made them tremble. The rostrum, and the Campus Martius, which until the murder of the Graechii, had never witnessed bloodshed, were themselves inundated with gore, and Rome became a slaughter house. It must be seen with what readiness the people reduced to despair would deliver themselves to the first one of their rank, who dared to lift the standard of revolt, or to the first patrician who would take them under his protrection. Hence so many civil wars, which were kindled, as if from the ashes of these men, until the senate and the people wore the same yoke. It has been said that the Roman people were not worthy of freedom, but it should rather be said that the senate was unworthy to rule them. Its pride which east it down, followed it in its degradation, and, after having shaken the foundations of the Republic, finished the work of its ruin. In proportion as the senate became more odious to the people, it became more eager to persecute these of its own order, whom the people favoured. According to its maxim the friend of the people was the enemy of the state. It compelled the people to desire another yoke than its own, but its restless and eruel pride accelerated its own fall instead of retarding it. [The foregoing invaluable translation from MARMONTEL, is the work of an American writer, the Rev. N. A. Whiting.]

Correspondence.

The Editor is not to be held responsible for the opinions of Correspondents.]

AIDS AND HINDERANCES TO DEMO-CRACY.

"Brave is the Lion victor, Brave the conqueror of a world, Braver he who controls himself."

However true a man's principles, if he is a debauchee, the majority of men will class his principles in the same category as his actions. formers are sure to be judged by the ordinary standards of right and wrong. If found below this standard, they deserve and inevitably receive condemnation by society. Some reformers seem to have imagined, on the strength of their reformmg tendencies, they could disregard ordinary rules of conduct, and ignore the general received relations of debtor and creditor. This is never done without loss of influence and damage to the good cause. "Measures not men," has been made a conciliatory watchword. It is philosophieally true, though not practically useful. Tho conduct of men does not invalidate or prove their principles (conduct is an affair of training), but if disreputable, it will east a slur upon the purest principles. Men are the measure of their prineiples to their fellows, and perhaps always will be. This should teach a people to be careful to whom it trusts its destinies - a party to be judicious in the choice of its leaders. All men can appreciate integrity, though not principles. An example is plain and tangible to all. It speaks plainly and trithfully, -it shows you are in earnest, and no hunbug. Home reform is the best reform-the most enduring, the most practical and important. It is an immediate and permanent benefit—a profit to the individual-a success to the cause. You who ask, why, priests, do not practise what they teach, if they believe what they teach to be true inquire if the question is not applicable at home.

I believe that the success of a great party depends as much, if not more, upon its conductupon the integrity of its leaders and of its members than upon the truth of its principles. This I think could be domenstrated.

"Each deems itself the sole elect."
But the people will have none of them. Neither party, however great in intellectual attainments, will be capable of moving a whole people till they have first won the people's affection, and com-manded respect by virtuous action.

Moral and intellectual wealth are the only property qualifications that should be required in a leader; these should be indispensable. He who is deficient in either may be a worthy man or a elever man; he should never be a leader. The one practicable and utilitarian aim of each should be the governance of himself—the control of passion—the subordination of impulse to reason. Often quoted is the fable of the old man, "who seeing his sons divided, desired them to bring him a bundle of sticks. Taking a single twig, he showed his sons how easily it could be broken. Then binding the twigs together, he showed that it was impossible to break them." Thus illustrating the weakness of the isolated man—the strength of the united. The just application of this fable implies conditions. If the twigs are sound and tough, unity, gives lasting strength. Should they be unsound, a little rotten, the binding them toge-then will but accelerate decay. The healthy twigs are trained, self-relying men. The unsound twigs are the untrained and intemperate men. To unite these last, is to rid us of the devil of division to orown the fiend of discord and impotence. We should remember that unity is not an end but a means, -that unity implies conditions which unfulfilled render it abortive. Our success, as yet, lies not so much in unity as in individual effort and individual improvement. Unity must come when we are prepared. I do not decry unity, far, from it; but I do decry that weakness which makes men wait for unity before they will work—that makes the want of unity the excuse to do

The duty of leaders appears to be, to generate a virtuous conduct-an energetic, hopeful, and persistent action by example as well as precept. talk much of Saxon institutions. Let us work like true Saxons in the localities. Reform the individual, and then the home, and then the world. Discipline is the economy of power; it: tends to minimise promises, to maximise works.

To sum up briefly, I should say that the great hindcranee to democracy (apart from the conserva-tive habit of mankind) is the want of self-reliance among reformers. The want of that true dignity which should render a man too proud of his principles ever to shirk or deny them-too careful to damage them by reckless language or impotent action. Another great hinderance is that the democratic question has been kept purely a political question. Numbers of men, and especially women, care nothing for political power, unless it also brings profit—social amelioration. The most effective aid that can be given to democracy is by its advocates gaining respect for their principles through themselves, by imbuing the public with its ideas and the worth of its principles. (That it is no mere political question I shall attempt to shew in my next letter.) The formation of opinion among all classes is the paramount duty of every reformer, and to begin at home-home the centre from which all principles should radiate-meeting others till they embrace a whole people., One man in carnest with his powers under control might form the nucleus of a party that might move the world. If we keep in mind what enthy siasts and imposters have done, what is there that a true man may not hope to do?

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

KETTERING .- The 1s. 6d. for the Executive has been

KETTERING.—The 1s. 6d. for the Executive has been handed to Mr. John Arnott.

J. Fenwier, North Shields—Many thanks. We have taken a note of your kind letter.

THE LIVERPOOL REFUGES.—I request, that at least during my absence from London, all monies for the Refugees be forwarded to Mr. James Spurr, 10, Williamson-square, Liverpool.—G. J. HARNEY.

THE FRATERINAL DEMOCRATS.—All correspondence for the Fraternal Democrats to be addressed to John Pettie, 52, College Place, Camden Town, London.

CHELTENIAM CHARTISTS. We are requested to publish the following:—

the Fraternal Democrats to be addressed to John Pettie, 52, College Place, Camden Town, London.

Chelfreniam Chartists. We are requested to publish the following:—

"To G. Julian Harrey.—Fraternal Brother,—With feelings of pleasure I forward you a vote of thanks passed at our Weekly Meeting. (Enthusiastic and unanimous.)

"That the thanks of the Cheltenham Chartist Locality be sent to G. J. Harney for his services as our delegate and correspondent during the late Convention."

7, Bath Street.

Edward Sharland.

Newcastle-Upon-Tyne,—Dear Sir,—Harting been a careful reader of your Red Republican, from its first appearance, until it merged into the Friend of the Popple, and believing that nothing bad—nothing in the shape of "wretched literature" can be found therein, I take the liberty of furnishing you with an extract from the Newcastle Chronicle having reference to it." The writer who shelters hindself unfor the title of "Sydney," is, I ram told, a Unitarian Minister. Having found his "calling" (read pay) "and election" (or rather cellection) are not so "sure" as in days gone bye—he has turned his wasted energies in another direction, and commenced the delectable task of combine milk and water treatises for the press—entitling them "Letters on the Aspects of the Working Classes," In one of those letters, after giving a rather glowing description of the advantages possessed by "Friend Carr" been crossing his palm) in the shape of a readingroom, which is well supplied with periodicals, such as Chambers's Journal, &c., &c. He (Sydney) goes on to observe—'Better this than Reynolds's Mysteries, or Harney's Red Republican; wretched hierature, devoured by thousands of the people.' The "worthy Sydney" in a former letter, speaking of the late Chartist Convention, says, that in one part of their programme, 'they mutter thus,' that since by each and all of the franchise measures,' &c., &c. This, of course, appearing very ridiculous to his 'reverence' he draws a comparison between it and the address of the 'Manchester Chart

JAMES CHARETON.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1851.

PRIVILEGED POISONERS.

ONE of the blackest pages in modern English history will be that which will tell to future generations the horrible poisonings which, of late years, have consigned so many victims to a premature grave, and so many guilty wretches to the scaffold. The destruction of children by their parents, husbands by their wives, and the nearest relations by those who should have been their dearest friends, -- sacrificed to gratify the promptings of avarice, lust, and hatred; by meaus the most foul, treacherons, and unnatural, is the most frightful of all crimes, and affixes the worst possible stigma upon our country's name. We confess to have looked with something like loathing upon the attempts which have been repeatedly made to save the murderers from the penalty they had incurred. The sentimental philanthropy, which exhibits so much maudlin sympathy for the murderer; and so little for the victim, has none of our admiration; and especially in the case of murder by poison. Downright brigandage is bad enough; open and jundisguised murder is horrible; but guilty homicide becomes ten thousand times more atrocious when associated with circumstances of treachery. In the case of that villain DRORY; who first seduced his victim, then, while whispering words of love in her ear, and pretending to would be meted to them in return.

embrace her, threw the rope round her neck. and strangled her; and, still worse, tried to save his own wretched carcase by blackening the character of his victim, when she could not defend herself-in his case, had we possessed supreme power, not all the entreaties of all the sentimentalists on earth, should have induced us to revoke the doom most righteously adjudged him. The guilt of the poisoner, if possible, exceeds that of such a wretch as Drory. How fiendish must be the heart of the monster, who can coolly administer the ingredients of death in the daily food of the destined victim, not an ode strongadose, sufijcient to do the works of murder at once, but in oft-repeated drops or grains, sufficient to accomplish the desired end by slow, and as the marderer hopes, safe means, the aim being to cause death in a manner calculated to create the impression that ordinary disease has been the sole destroyer. How appalling the idea that the murderer should, in the guise of inedicine and means of relief, add fuel to the fire consuming the anhappy being; perhaps, too, darkening, the atrocity of the treachery by the accompanient of seeming kindness and terms of endearment. Is not mercy outraged by exhibiting ought of clemency or pity to such monsters?

It is not, however, with such wretched miscreants that we proposed to deal in sitting down to pen this article. There are other poisoners, PRIVILGED POISONERS, who claim our notice, and they shall have it; scoundrels, who not content with buying cheap and selfing dear, robbing both producer and con-sumer, must needs seek to increase their unholy gains by fraud and adulteration. It is notorious, that scarcely an article of food, whether solid or liquid,—can be purchased by the poor, that is not adulterated. In most instances, the adulteration amounts to posttive poisoning. It is true, the eaters and drinkers of the poisoned articles,-

"Die so slowly, none dare call it murder!" but the villany of the poisoners is none the less in the estimation of all honest men.

Wo have declared, in pretty plainiterms, our idea of the punishment due to those whom the law regards as poisoners. What should be dono to the respectable criminals, who are respectable because they pay their rates and taxes, keep a horse and gig, and perhaps have a family pew in church or chapel, is a question which gentlemen great in debating clubs, and eloqueut over braudy-and-water at Coger's Hall, and elsewhere, and who are ever ready with a bran new criminal code, would do well to ponder ou. For ourselves, without going the full length of Oriental justice, and adopting the somowhat ultra punishmeut of baking the false baker in his own oven, we should be inclined to ordain that every detected adulterator should be condemned to feed for the rest of his days on the poison of his own manufacture. Thus the milk and cream manufacturer should have an ample supply of "milk" from "the cow with the iron tail," duly thickened with! chalk, horses brains, &c.; the coffee-mixer is hould have his belly-full daily of chicory, tan, ma-hogany saw dust, and dried horses liver; and so on, throughout the catalogue of "highly respectable trudesmen." This kind of punishment would be absolutely just, and could net be fairly objected to by the condenined; seeing that the measure they had meted to others

Laws are generally not understood by three sorts of persons, viz., by those who make them, by those who execute them, and by those who suffer if they break them, -Halifax,

In 16ture numbers of the Briend of the People, we will describe in detail the adulte rations and other abominable mactices of the dealers in food. Our inmediate burpose is to call attention to the debate in the House of Commons (June 5th) on . The Chicory

Question."

The reader, no doubt, is aware that neavy penaltics are occasionally enforced against manufacturors of apurious tea, pepper, tobaces, &c. The Excise, however, prosequtes not and vindication of public morality, and in defence of the general health, but 'purely and simply to prevent the revenue from being del franced. Originally Coffee was placed on the same footing as other articles paying duty to the government. By acts of parliament severally known as the 41st and 43rd of George III . dealers in coffee were forbidden, by very stringent provisions, from either selling or baving in their possession any substitute for the veritable berry. By an act, however, of the 3rd of George IV., the sale of substitutes, such as reasted corn, peas, beans, or paisnips, when marked with their real names; was permitted with a licence to those who did not deal in coffee, but the possession or sale of such substitutes was forbidden to dealers in coffee; and, if such articles were sold by other than their real names, the dealers rendered themselves liable to penalties. In 1832 the Commissioners of Excise instituted legal proceedings against coffee dealers for mixing chicory with coffee. Subsequently, a treat-sury minute apprised the Commissioners of Excise that "the Lords of the Treasury" had no objection to the sale of unmixed chicory, as chicory, but that the coffee-dealers must be prosecuted, if they continued to sell coffee mixed with any other ingredient, contrary to law. In 1840, another Treasury minute authorised the admixture of chicory with coffee ; the minute setting forth that "my Lords do not consider such admixture will be a fraud on the revenue, so long as the chicory pays the proper duty; and, as between the seller and the consumer, my lords desire that Government should interfere as little as possible." This was confirmed by a subsequent minute, identical in spirit with tho abovo, and issued on the 31st of the same month.

Mr. THOMAS BARING moved, June 5th, 1851 :- "That it is the opinion of this House that the directions of the Lords Commissiouers of her Majesty's Treasury to the officers' of the Excise, signified by orders of the 6th and 25th of August, 1840, namely-" That no objection be made on the part of the revenue to dealers in and sellers of coffee mixing chicory with coffee, are opposed to the excise rogulations in force regarding other articles of consumption, have encouraged very much

to be revoked."

In support of the above resolution it was shown that, notwithstanding the advance of temperance habits, and the alleged improved means of the people to purchase excisable articles, the consumption of coffee had very materially diminished; that this diminished consumption, of pure coffee aroses from the enormous! admixture of chicory - real land genuine that chicory, even when pure, was a powerful medicine, having a tendency to produce disease; that "thiebry Reelf" was took them, and the party of circumstantial evidence he was told that one of circumstantial evidence he was told that one of circumstantial evidence he was told that one was told the was told the was to was told the wa

disease flandatiat for this poisons soldian coff fee; other denisament was charged; three dimes

the filing arise of chicory, even in the priver times the filing arise of chicory, even in the priver resolution which that the supported by the resolution desired was that the high with collect should be withdrawn, the left of the collect which collect had a be withdrawn, the left of the collect which is the left of the collect which is the left of the collect which is the both collect private and the collect which is the both collect private and would have thoself each upder its war and many would have thoself each upder its war and many those the collect private and many those the collect private and many those the collect private and many that the collect private and the collect private private and the collect private priv y. This wary imaderate proposition deas 1295 posed by the Government, backed by the sude port of the whole that inxumbine traders, and cortain protectionist threshels intercestated in the consumption of whicher I dive Chancelo in the consumption of chicony. To the Chancel lor of the Exchequer exchange this additionators of coffee, on the ground that to a sugar, mast taid, arrow-root, and oslice articles, were also adulterated; and that the public preferred the adulterated to the application article. In support jof this assertion, he mead, as number of letters from districted and the ber of letters from disinterested grovers, who all averred that their customers would mot havo coffee without chicory; done i of these worthies declaring "the people would prefer pure chicory in itself to Ceylen doilde. It illns whale was disposed of by the state of the chicory growers, who aid mitted that if chicory was sold as chicory, and coffee as coffee, "nobody would buy chicory then!" Mr. WAKLEY added the important testimony, that in London, "when it became known that certain coffee dealers behaved hor nestly to the public; their business had in creased tentold in a single week! As soon as the public land owlier they could obtain genuine coffee, they went there to obtain it."! I The CHANCELLOR OF The Exchiequen made much of the fact that nearly four thousand grocers had memorialised the government grocers had memorransed the government against the withdrawal of the Treasury ininute of 1840. He added that he was lightly overwhelmed with letters from grocers, in nearly every town in Great Britten, protesting against the injustice which was done, them by having their characters in jugged, "make this the honourable members very maturally burst into a roar of laughter. Even the gravity of a Tartufe would fail to withstand the audacity of these respectable cheats and poisoners. *

The resolution was lost; there being in its

favour 39, against 94; majority 5. The Free-traders supported the Government, and opposed the resolution, on the ground of "non-interference with trade." Mr. Hume "wished to abolish the excise altogether, so far as was possible, and leave the public to take care of themselves."

So far as relates to the taxing of articles of consumption, we can very cordially unite with the member for Montrose in voting the with the member for Montrose in various abolition of the Excise. But we protest against the eyil doctrine of "Leaving the against the leaving of themselves." For public to, take care of themselves." what does that mean but to leave the powerful, the wealthy, the gunning, and the un-principled to "take care of themselves", at

* A letter from a correspondent published in the Times of Juffe lith supplies the following illustration of the morality of these sensitive shoperals:—

"Advertexation of Texation and old gentleman be

my acquaintance having afficovered the leaves of ad less than him distinct directed of English shrubs in dis

these (Hertrible coch phonics educated with the expense of the weak, the poor? the ign novantranad the remembered not in Doubless Josef Hallwark ionnyalle date of himself ; and is lift too fat North in to be done by any lenger. prising priordilative ast more than ones. priding groots at least more than ones both tess, to , and honourable includes, generally know how to take tare of themselves, as any man, may do, if , bassessed of , ordinary souse and the means to , command a good article, How different with the poor! I have poverty, their jesovance circumstances are or or the poor of disadvantageous circumstances are the poor to have there are the more to have the poor of the conspire to place thom, at the mercy of the villanting grow who i live, aby cheating and poisoning and then have thequizen askur nace-the protest against any input atibins on their characters 111 " To protect thed make of ther compactors it is a protect the mass of the people hydrinst such all diprincipled gaing it is decessify that a much stricter supervision of Trade tigh anything contemplated by Mr. T. Brains should be maintained by the Government. Else of what utility is a Why have a Government at Government

> Carry, out the theory of Joseph Humente its legitivate conclusion and you have And arghy and If the public are to take oure of themselves, why mot every individual stake care of drimself to Holse, downy your Charlett care of damself? It is so, downy goes Charlety, Queen, "Parliamenty Army, "aid" Police. "It every many is ato be this of the confectivity in the aid adulteration detector, wife not also be his own law maker hid police and to be consistent the medium for Montrose should shout "Down with Everything, and No Nothing for ever!
>
> If we are to have a to ever the government let us be well governed in otherwise the people may reasonably inquire whether it is worth while

> reasonably inquire whether it is worth while to pay fifty-millions al year for the glory (!) of "keeping faith with the public creditor;" and the pleasure of paying princely salaries to men who will do nothing to protect the public health from the tricks and frauds of

CHEATS AND POISONERS.

"THE CONTINENTAL CRISTS."

THE FRATERNAL DEMOCRATS, TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

WHILST the people of Britain, and Ireland are vegetating in a state of (according to the "Times") "extreme prosperity," although there seems to us to be some few drawbacks on the universal bliss, which might well engage the attention of men of active minds, at home: yet, as in times now happily gone by, "the state of the continent," has been of fearful consequence to the inhabitants of this Arcadia, and although the cries of Waterlosmade widows have been stilled in the pauper's grave, that debt of blood incurred by our worthy rulers strangely termed "the national debt," still remains to recall in a thousand shapes the horrors of the post, to warn us for the future, and to fix our attention on the present phase of the Contingatal Revolution, "Revolution," still? Yea! grane shot in Paris, the payonet and the bomb in Vising, the Austrian spear and the Cosack langain Hungare, the knont in Polynd, the hall carridge of republican Frenchmon in Ronal it he wheel, the hall carridge of republican Frenchmon in Roma: the wheel, the hirel dagger of the Apazaroni in Raples. all these, and their attendant mortural, their authorizing,

Naples, all these, and their attendant northers, chairs and reteriors.

Of the Revolution.

Of the Revolution.

Of the Revolution.

Of the Revolution.

Sia in concluse, have resolved, if vide is Morning Chronicle, by the tread out the first spark of another rection, with their united horder. Much the many must trained their insurations of the many must trained their contraction.

peoples. Traitors in the French Republic would fain lure on the northern powers to "SETTLE perturbed France"-to " heal her social wounds" with monarchial nostrums; pretenders to the purple, would fain revive old fratricidal instincts. But far, and wide the words of PIERRE DUPONT, have resounded, and the conviction that "ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE EARTH ARE BRETHREN," has sunk deep in the hearts of the millions. France the martyr nation, the battle field of freedom, will speedily redeem her honour, and wipe out the stain which the enslavement of Italy has cast upon her

Dark and lowering as the aspect of the political firmanent may appear, the idea of unity is already displaying its power before the banded despots. This idea, against which armies are powerless, is attacked by every means which gold can purchase; by every wile which Jesuitry can practise. Foremost in the crusade against the Freedom and Fraternity of nations the Press of Britain is distinguished. To falsify or manufacture intelligence is their daily labour—it shall be ours to counteract and expose their lying prophecies of what they wish rather than what they believe will come to pass. It will be our duty to transmit to every corner of Britain intelligence of the events which will in a short time change the political aspect of Europe. for this purpose we have resolved to direct our attention and the means of our society more immediately to the obtaining and disseminating correct information on continental affairs. Six secretaries have been appointed to assist the former officers and the first secretary, our friend and brother JULIAN HARNEY, has been empowered in the terms of the annexed Resolution, to enrol members in each town, to correspond with the committee in London. Our present and former members will direct their attention to carrying out our purpose, and those residing in the towns through which our first secretary will pass in his tour will place themselves in communication with him.

Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Fraternal Democrats Association:

JOHN PETTIE, Secretary

RESOLUTION.

"At a meeting of the Fraternal Democrats Committee, on Friday, June 13th, William Shute in the chair, it was resolved: 'That our brother member Julian Harney being about to visit the principal towns in the north of England, and Scotland, is hereby empowered to enroll members, and to make such arrangements with our present members as will increase the utility of the society.'

"WILLIAM SHUTE, Chairman.

"John Pettie, Secretary."

MANIFESTO OF THE EUROPEAN CENTRAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

THE Voix du Proscrif of 7th June contains a manifesto of the committee now directing the democratic cause in Europe. The following are the principal features of this important document:-

"Ideas are progressing, the energies of the re-volution are spreading and organising themselves. The European mind which formed the Central Democratic Committee cnlarges itself every day amongst the most distant people. From the Danube to the Iberian Peninsula, everywhere there are movements-powerful by the might of the masses and holy in their objects-they succumbed, through the feehleness of isolation, before the concentrated forces of their enemies, but a great work is accomplishing hy uniting national sympathies, establishing identical convictions, and breathing one hope that the United States of Europe may become incorporated by one interest. From these aspirations will arise, from these labours will spring when the hour for action shall arrive the hely alliance of nations, the watchwords of which present themselves in a different man ner in each country would be guilty of an act of usurpation; in the same way as an in-

everywhere, where they took them single-handed, the former conquered. But since 1815 your enemies have been united, the people have not! The former marched onwards in unity, and have sacrificed all their differences to one object, the maintenance of their own interests. arouse yourselves in the unity of confidence and of action! Everywhere shall the universal interests of mankind be considered: let us throw down the gauntlet to fictitious royalty for the sake of those who are now suffering, and let those who are suffering rise up and join our union. - We do not desire anarchy, we will combat it under every shape. We desire order and peace, but we know, that order without liberty, or peach without equality and justice, are impossible. We will not create a reign of terror; we repudiate the idea as create a reign of terror; we reputiate the star of cowardly and cruel. Wherever, we tramphed the scaffold was abolished. That which the ecople attempts must be accomplished nobly, and without excess. We will be powerful and calm, neither executioners or victims.

"The mission of the Central Committee is European, and its work is one of an international character. To rally the efforts of the various populations to a common source and inspiration : ito represent in act the conjoint responsibility which exists between the emancipation of loach of them, and that of all ; to strengthen the ranks of those combating for the holy cause; of right, wherever they are to be found; to prepare the ground for an alliance of those nations which shall gain the victory over that now in force amongst kings, for a congress of nations which shall replace that of Vienna, still existing and in action; to remodel, according to wishes of the populations, the map of Europe; to smooth down the obstacles which the prejudices of race, the reminiscences of monarchical wars, and the artifices of governments opposed to that prospect—such is the object of our collective laboun

"That object evidently cannot be attained unless it takes for its starting point a common ground, viz, that of the national sovereignty for each people, and of the alliance, on the basis of equality, of all emancipated nations.

"No sovereignty is national which does not emhrace in its object and its expression all the elements forming a nation—the universality of the citizens composing the state. The democratical conception is then, in our opinion, a condition inseparable from a nation.

"Democracy has only one logical form, that of the republic; and the republican principle eannot be said to be applied to a nation, if it does not embrace by binding them together, all the branches of human activity, all the aspects of life in the individual and for association Our work is consequently republican, democratical, and social; and it is for all nations that we invite the alliance of all kinds of devotedness. The rest lies within the duties of the national committees.

"Each of them has the right and the duty to study and to draw out, as a preparatory work for his country, the special solution which is called for by the moral, the economical, and the social conditions of the country; in the same way as in every state it is the right and the duty of every citizen to draw out and propose the solution which he considers the best of the problems which are there agitated. The people—the judges in the last appeal-will decide.

"The Europeon Central committee may watch that these solutions by quitting the common ground, beyond which there can be neither justice nor right, do not throw the leaven of inequality, of discord, and of struggle, into the bosom of the alliance of peoples; it has no power beyond that. Neither man-king new people-king. The people which should pretend to substitute its solution for the social problems

dividual, or a school, which should pretend by making of it lal sint enternan of co-operation. to impose its own inspiration, on, its brethren, would be guilty of an act of tyranny, and would violate the vital idea of Democraey, the dogma of collective sovereignty. Neither the one nor the other would comprehend anything of the one and multiple life of humanity. In order to discover, judge, and to apply any particular formula, it is necessary to exist to the the life which formula in all the bull than 2000. which ferments in all free full and leving. Do the people now live? 'Are they'at liberty to exi press their lwishes, their tendencies, and their joint dspirations? Canthey love and increase a hundred fold, in fraternal activity, their faculties, and thelp strength, oin the midst of that atmoand their strength, on the most of that atmosphere of corruption, of mistrust, of oppression, and of espirate which surrounds them? It is necessary before all to recall them to life and to action. It is necessary to open to them the great roads of liberty. It is necessary, in order that noble and great ideas should arise in their hearts, to effice from their forchead the disgraceful mark of slavery. Their intelligence must be inbued with the enthusiasm of a collective dife, of joint responsibility and of sovereign liberty. That is the first step to take, that is the first round to be ascended on the ladder of progressive, national, and European education. The central Committee occupies itself the more with this, as it is forgotten by others. The men who compose it, and those who labour with them, do not think of contemplating the solitary production of their own intelligence; they think of stirring up the intelligence of all, and calling it into the arena. They do not content themselves with thinking they think of acting. To act ought to be now the 'mot d'ordre of every patriot.

" LEDBU-ROLLIN, (Signed) A., DARASZ,

"London, 1st June."

J. MAZZINI. A. RUGE.

Teanes from our Dibrary.

CONSUELO.

BY GEODGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 20.)

" The cold was intense when Porpora and Consuelo arrived at Prague, as night was closing in: A brilliant moon Illumined the ancient city, which preserved in its aspect the religious and warlike character of its history. Our travellers entered it by the gate called Bosthor, and passing through that portion of it which is on the right bank of the Moldaw, they reached the middle of the bridge without accident. But there the carriage received a heavy shock, and stopped suddenly. 'Holy Virgin!' cried the postilion, 'my horse has fallen before the statue! it is a bad omen. May Saint John Népomuck help us!'

"Consuelo, seeing that the shaft-horse was en? tangled in the traces, and that the postilion would require some time to raiso him and re-adjust the harness, of which soveral buckles had been broken by the fall, proposed to her master to alight in order to warm themselves by a little exercise. The maestro having consented, Consuelo approached the parapet in order to examine the localities around. From the spot on which she stood, the two distinct cities of which Prague is composedone called the new, which was built by the Emperor Charles IV. in 1348, and the other which as cends to the remotest antiquity, both constructed in the form of amphitheatres-looked like two black mountains of buildings, from which escended here and there the lefty spires of the antique churches, and the sombre battlements of the forti-fications. The Mollaw flowed dark and rapid be-neath the bridge, which was of the simplest con-struction, and which had been the theatre of so

many tragical events in the history of Bohemia: and the rays of the moon, which silvered the projecting battlements, sireamed full on the head of the revered statue. Consuelo examined long the features of the holy Doctor, who seemed to fix a melancholy gaze on the dark and flowing waves.

"The legend of Saint Nepomuck is a holy and touching story, and his name is venterated by every one who esternis independence and loyalty. Confessor to the Empress Jane he refused to berray the secrets of her confession, and the drunkard Wenceslas, enger to discover his wife's secret thoughts. but unable to draw anything from the illustrious doctor, had him drowned under the bridge of Prague. The tradition relates that at the moment when he disappeared beneath the waves, five brilliant stars glittered upon the scarcely closed gulf, as if the martyr had allowed his crown to fleat for an instant upon the waters. In record of this miracle, five stars of metal have been inlaid in the stone of the balustfade, at the very spot from which Nepomuck was hurled.

"Rosmunda, who was very dovout, had preserved a tender recollection of the legend of John Nepomnck; and in the enumeration of the saints whom every evening she taught her child to call upon with lisping accents, she had never forgotten that one, tho special patron of travellers, and of people in danger; and above all, the Guardian of a good reputation. Consnelo therefore recalled at this instant the prayer which she formerly addressed to the apostle of purity, and struck by the sight of the place which had witnessed his tragical end, slie knelt instinctively among the devotees who at that epoch still paid, each hour of the day and night, an assidueus court to the image of the saint. They were composed principally of poor women, pilgrims, and aged beggars, with perhaps a few Zingari; children of the mandoline and proprietors of the highway. Their piety did not absorb them so much as to make them forget to hold out their hands as she passed. She gave them liberal alms, happy to recall the time when she was neither better clad nor prouder than they. Her generosity affected them so much that they consulted together in a low voice and then charged one of their number to tell her that they were going to sing one of the ancient hymns in honor of the blessed Nepomuck, that the saint might avert the bad omen which had stopped their progress. According to them, the music and the words dated so far back as the time of Wenceslas the drunkard.

" Porpora who took pleasure in listening to them, was of opinion that the hymn could not be more than a century old: but a second which he heard, seemed a malediction addressed to Wenceslas by his

contemporaries.

"Although the crimes of Wenceslas were of no great importance, the poor Bohemians seemed to take a pleasure in eternally cursing in the person of this tyrant the abhorred title of imperator which had become synonomous in their eyes with that of Foreigner. An Austrian sentinel guarded each of the gates placed at the entrances of the bridge. It was their duty to march unceasingly from either end and meet before the statue, when they turned their backs and resumed their monotonous walk. They heard the Canticles, but as they were not as well versed in church latin as the devout inhabitants of Prague, they doubtless funcied they were listening to a hymn in praise of Francis of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa.

"Listening to these delightful airs by the light of the moon in one of the most romantic situations in the world, Consuelo felt herself overwhelmed with melancholy. Her journey so far had been gay and happy, and by a natural reaction she fell all at once into the opposito extreme. The postillion who set about repairing his harness with true German phlegm, kept on repeating so constantly 'Ha this isa badbusiness,' that poor Consuclo at last became affected by his evil presages. Every painful emotion, every prolonged reverie, re-called Albert's image. At that moment she recollected that Albert, hearing the Canoness one evening invoke Saint Nepomuck, the guardian of good reputation, aloud in l'excellent supper awaited them.

her prayer, had said to her: ' That is all very well in you, aunt, who have taken the precaution to insure yours by an exemplary life; but I have often seen souls stained by vice call to their aid the miraeles of this saint, in order the better to conceal from men their secret iniquities. Thus it is that devout practices serve quite as often to cloak the grossest hypocrisy as to sustain and fortify lnnow cence.' At that instant, as Consuelo thought, sho heard Albert's voice sounding at her ear in the evening breeze and in the dusk of the Moldaw's gloomy waves, 'She usked herself what he would think of her, he who perhaps believed her already perverted; if he could see her prostrate before that image : and, almost terrified, she was rising to retire, when Porpora said to her; 'Come, let us get into the carriage again; overything is repaired.

"She followed him and was just entering the carriago, when a cavalier, heavily mounted on a horse still heavier than his rider, stopped abruptly, alighted, and approaching, gazed at her with a tranquil curiosity which appeared to her excessively importinent. 'What are you doing there, sir?' sald Porpora; pushing him back; 'ladies are not to be stared at so closely. It muy be the custom of Prague, but I warn you I am not inclined to submit to it.

"The stout man drew his chin out of the furs which enveloped it, and still holding his horse by the bridle, replied to Porpora in Bohemian, without perceiving that the latter did not understand a word of what he said: but Consuelo, struck by his voice, and leaning forward to look at his features by the moonlight, cried, interposing between him and Porpora: 'Do I indeed see the Baron of Rus dolstadt?'

"' Yes, it is I, signora!' replied Baron' Frederick; 'it is I; the brother of Christian, the uncle of Albert oh! it is indeed I. And it is in truth you also?' added he, uttering a deep sigh.

"Consuelo was struck by his dejected air and his cold greeting. He who had always been the mirror of chivalry, did not so much as kiss her hand, or touch his furred cap, but contented himself with repeating with a half stupid half terrified

" 'Yes, it is even so it is indeed you!,

" What news from Ricsenburg?" said Consueld with emotion:

"'Yes, signera, I long to tell it to you."

"' Well, then, Baron, speak; tell me about Count Christian, about the Canoness, and

"'Yes,- I shall tell you all,' replied the Baron, more and more dejected. "' And Count Albert?' resumed Consuelo, terri-

fied at the expression of his countenance.

"'Yes, oh! yes, Albert-yes-I would speak of

"But he said not a word, and to all the questions of Consuelo he remained as dumb and motionless as the statue of St. Nepomuck.

"Porpora began to grow impatient. He was-cold, and longed to reach some shelter. Moreover this meeting, which was so well calculated to make a deep impression on Consuelo, annoved him

"'My Lord Baron,' said he, 'we shall have tho honour of paying our respects to you to-morrow, but permit us at present to sup and warm ourselves. That is more important than compliments,' he added, pressing into the earriage, and pushing Consuelo unwillingly in before him.

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"Consuelo saw the Baron mount his horse with the jutention apparently of following the carriage. When she alighted she found the old neble at the entranec, holding out his hand to assist her and dolng the honours of his house; fer it was there and not 'at the inn that he had directed the postilllon to stop. Porpora in vain refused his hospitality; he was not to be put off, and Consuelo, who burned to clear up her melancholy presentiment, hastened to accept his attentions, and proceeded with him into the saloen, where a huge fire and an

"'You perceivo, signora, said the baron, that I calculated on your arrival.'

"That greatly surprises hie,' replied Consnelo, for we mentioned it to no one, and we did not even expect to get here before to-morrow.

" You are not more astonlyhed than I am, said

the baron, with a disconsolate air.

"In the name of Heaven; sir, is their any one

"'No person is dead,' replied the baron, in a tono as molancholy as if he were announcing the extinction of his whole race; and he began to carve the meats with the same slow and solenin precision; that he was in the hablt of observing at Rlesenburg. Consuelo had not the courage to ques tion him further. The supper appeared to her dreadfully tedious. Porpora who was loss anxious than hungry, endeavoured to converse with his host. The latter attempted, on his side, to reply politely, and even to put some questions to the maestro respecting his affairs and projects; but this mental 'effort was evidently beyond his strength. He never replied coherently, or else he repeated his questions, though he had just received a reply. He carved huge portions of the meat, and filled his plate and glass most copiously; but it was merely the effect of habit; he nother atenor drank, and letting his fork fall, he fixed his eyes on the table, and gave way to the deepest dejection. Consuelo looked steadily at him, and saw that he was not intoxicated. She asked hersolf if this sudden sinking of the system was the result of misfortime, of disease, or of old age. At last after torturing them in this manner for two hours, the repast being ended, the baron signed to his do-mestics to retire, and after a long search pulled an open letter out of his pocket; and presented it to Consuelo. It was from the Canoness and was as follows-

" We are lost, my dearest brother—there is no hopel Dr. Suppervile has at last arrived here from Bareith, and after putting us off for some days he informed me that it would be necessary to arrange the affairs of the family, since in eight days perhaps Albert would be no more. Christian to whom I dare not make this disclosure, still entertains some hope; but he is dreadfully downcast, and I do not know whether my nephew's loss be the only stroke which threatens me. I cannot tell—the will of God be done! That is all I can utter; I do not think I shall have force to bear up against this heavy trial. Come to us, my dear brother, and endeavour to sustain our courage, h you have sufficient strength remaining after your own heavy misfortune-that crowning blow to the misery of a family which may well be called accursed 1 What crimes have we committed to deserve such inflictions? May our Heavenly Parent enable me to regard his dealings towards us with humble faith and submission! and yet at times I feel as if this

were more than I could accomplish.

"' Come to us, dear brother; we wait anxionsly for you, and we require your council and assistance. Nevertheless do not quit Pragne before the eleventh I havo cosingular commission to give you. I am mad I think to lend myself to it; but I am completely bewilderd, and can only blindly conform to Albert's will. On the eleventh, then, at seven o'clock in the evening, be on the bridge of Prague at the foot of the statue. The first carriage that passes you will stop; the first person yon see in it you will conduct to your house; and if she can leave for Reisenburg that very evening, Albert will perhaps be saved. At least, he says, it will give him a hold on eternal life. What he means by that I do not know; however the revelations he has made during the past week, of events the most unforseen by us, have been realised in so extraordinary a manner that it is no longer permitted me to doubt. He has the gift of prophecy and the perception of hidden things. He called me to his bed-side this evening, and in that faint and inaudible voice, which is all that is now left him, and which must be guessed rather than heard, told me to transmit to you the words which I have now faithfully reported. At seven o'clock, then, on the

eleventh be at the foot of the statue, and whoever may be the occupant of the carriage, bring her

kither with all speed.'

"Consuelo had hardly finished this letter ere she grew as pale as the baron, rose suddenly, then fell back in her seat, where she remained motionless, with rigid arms and elenehed teeth. But immediately rallying, she rose a second time and gaid to the baron, who had rolapsed into his

stupor—
"'Well, then, sir, is the carriago ready? If.

so, I am ready also, and we can set out instantly."
"The baron rose mochanically and left the room. Everything had been prepared beforehand. Carriage and horses were already in the courtyard; but, like an automaton moved by springs, without Consuclo the baron would have thought

no more of their departure.

"Hardly had he left the saloon, when Porpora scized the letter, and hastily glanced over its contents. He too turned pale in his turn, could not utter a word, and paced up and down before the stovo greatly agitated. The maestro justly reproached himself for what had happened. He had not foreseen it, it is true, but he now thought that he ought to have foreseen it; and seized with terror and remorse, and bewildered moreover at the invalid's strange prediction respecting Consuelo, he almost believed himself a prey to some horrible dream.

"Nevertheless, as he was both calculating and tenacious of purpose to the highest degroe, he reflected on the possible consequences of Consuclo's sudden resolution. Ho moved nervously through through the room, struck his forehead, stamped, made various other manifestations of uneasiness, and at last arming himself with courage, and braving the explosion which he feared, he said to Consuelo, shaking her as he spoke to rouse her

from her reverie-

"' You wish to go with the baron, then? I consent; but at the same time I shall follow you. You wish to see Albert, and perhaps deal a deathblow to his enfeebled constitution, but as we cannot now turn back, let us set out at once. We have still two days at our disposal. True, we are to spend them at Dresden, but we shall not now pause there. If we are not in Prussia by the 18th, we fail in our engagement. The theatro opens on tho 25th, and if you are not ready to appear, I shall be subject to a heavy fine. I have not half the sum at my disposal, and in prison he who does not pay goes to prison. Once there, you are forgotten, it may be for ten or perhaps twenty years, and you may die of hungor or old age, whichever you prefer. This is the fate which awaits me, if you forget to leave Riesenburg on the fourteenth

by daybreak.'
"'Do not be uneasy, my dear moster,' replied Consuelo, firmly, 'I have already thought of all that. Do not make me suffer at Riesenburg—that is all I ask of you. We shall set out on the four-teenth by daybreak.'

" 'You must swear it!'

"'I swear it,' she replied, with a gesture of impatience. 'When your life and liberty are at stake, no oath, I should think, is needed from me.'

"At this moment the baron returned, followed by a faithful and intelligent servant, who, wrapping Consuelo up in a fur pelisse, as he would have done an infant, bore her off to the earringe. They were soon at Beraun, and arrived at Pilsen by daybreak.

(To be continued.)

We pity the barbarism of our Saxon forefathers, who established a scale of payments by which every crime might be explated: we forget that their pectniary atonements for guilt may almost find a parallel in the taxes with which we burden Every legal process. For where is the great differonce between allowing the guilty to purchase Impunity, and compelling the injured to purchase a right to demand redress?—British Review, No. 24.

Anhertisements.

VOICES OF FREEDOM AND LYRICS OF LOVE. By GERALD MASSEY, Working Man.

Published by James Watson, 3, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, London.

*** See opinions of Press, &c.

From the "I'riend of the People."

"Good wine needs no bush," and poetry like this needs no recommendation from us. As to praise, let the poet imagine our heart-felt admiration, and he will excuse the omission of phrases, which, easy to be coined, are not always of the value thoy pass current for. Eloquent outpourings of the people's complaints, passionate appeals for justice, lofty dreamings of the great future, tributes to beauty and songs of love—such are the poems of Gerald Massey, and may they circulate far and wide." From the " Leader.'

"Gerald Massey possesses enough of the true poetic fire to warrant criticism apart from his posipoetic fire to warrant criticism apart from his posi-tion. There is a vein of genuine poetry in his lyrics. Let him devote a few more years of earnest labour to his art, and he will produce remarkable poems. We say this deliberately, and our readers know how high the standard of excellence by which we distinguish poems from verses. We believe that Gerald Massey has the true organization of a poet, but poets are

made as well as born."

From the "Weekly Times." Gerald Massey is an eloquent and earnest as well as a manly and thoughtful poet. The language of his political and amatory strains is always refined, and often very beautiful, and there are such thoughts scattered through his volume as will procure for him many admirars." many admirers

From " Eliza Cook's Journal."

"The reader of the cheap miscellaneous literature of the day has doubtless met with the name of Gerald Massey attached to poems strikingly beautiful in language, and intensely passionato in feeling. You see at once that the writer is a man of vivid genius, see at once that the writer is a man of vivid genius, and is full of the true pootic fire. Ho is yet, but a youth. At twenty three a man can scarcely be said to have fairly entered his manhood; and yet, if we except Robert Nicholl, who died at twenty-four, we know of no English poet of his class who has done anything to compare with him. Some of his prose know of no English poet of his class who has done anything to compare with him. Some of his most beautiful pieces—'the Lyrics of Love,' give you the idea of a practised hand, one who has reached the full prime of his poetic manhood. Nor are his Songs of Progress less full of poetic power and beauty. Gerald Massey is not so much a descriptive as a didactive poet. He is a teacher through the heart. He is familiar with the passions, and leans toward the too and leaving aspect of our nature. toward the tender and loving aspect of our nature. He takes after Burns more than Wordsworth; Elliot rather than Thompson. He has won his experience in the school of the poor, and nobly earned his title to speak to them as a man and a brother, dowered with the "Hate of hate, the scorn of scorn, the love

From " Frazer's Magazine." "' Lyrics,' hy Gcrald Massey, are a remarkable effort by a very young working man, who began life as a factory child; full of wholesome fire and pardonable faults, the herald, wo doubt not, of better things hereafter."

From the " Northern Star."

"Had such poetry as this appeared from the pen of a 'Working Man' even twenty years ago, it would have produced a general sensation in the country; as it is now, it must be taken as another and striking sign of the sure and continuous mental elevation of the masses-another added to the long list of glorious names which already shed lustre over the labouring

classes, from the ploughman,

'Who walked in glory and in joy
Along the mountain side,'
To Robert Nicholl, the grocer's lad, and Critchley
Prince, the cotton spiuner. If Gerald Massey cannot be ranked with the first, he may aspire, by dueultivition of his unguestionable gainst take his cultivation of his unquestionable genius, to take his place with the latter. We prefer Mr. Massey's Lyrics of Love to his Voices of Freedom. In them, tho true spirit of poetry finds utterance in language not inferior in force and felicity to that of many of the mightiest names on the roll of fame. We con-gratulate the author on so worthy an entrance into the lists. We recognize in his poetry the ring of the true metal, and are anxlous that in future he should so train and direct the noblo gifts he possesses, as that they may exercise influence commensurate with their precious nature, and his own carnest sympathics with the right. Meanwhile we recommend all our readers who can appreciate honest thoughts expressed in glowing verse, to possess themselves forthwith of Voices of Freedom and Lyrics of Love.'

From the " Pioneer."

". Voices of Freedom and Lyrics of Love' are the outpourings of a passionate spirit, longing to reach an elysium of beauty; and although we can neither admire the language or spirit of many of the political admire the language or spirit of many of the political songs, yet we can most truly appreciate the rich falmess of the Lyrics of Love, tender, carnest, and brimful of poetry as they truly are. Written from the heart, they are fresh as first love or May fragrance. The man who can write thus feels poetry, and is eapable of something much better."

From the Coventry Herald."

"To our fancy there is something genuine and individual both in the matter and the manner of these poems,—something which gives promise, under favouring circumstances, of a future true poetic development. They bear evidence of a loving and earnest spirit, and possess vigour of expression and play of fancy. But Mr. Massey must beware of narrowing his mind by his hatred of the wrong which is going on in the world. As a poet, he must not give up to a class what was meant for mankind. Nevertheless if there be sides in poetry, we believe Mr. Massey is on the right side."

From the " People." "The people have reason to be proud of this bold and spirit-stirring poet. From his preface we extract a few noble words, and from the poems one or two of the best, and having done so, we commend the work

the best, and having done so, we commend the work heartily to our readers, for it is a work of talent, and written by one of our own class.'

From the author of the "History of the Aristocracy."

"Your little volume of People's Lyries is full of the true fire and promise of something much greater that the true true will appear the "Lyrichy and heaven the "Lyrichy the true fire and promise of something much greater yet. I trust you will go on, and become the 'Tyrtœus of the people. Such lyries as 'The Kingliest Kings,' 'Labour's Social Chivahry,' and a score of others, ought to be set to music and sung in all shops, mills, and public-meetings. It is to be hoped the people will recognize their poet, and buy up the little Red Republican by tens of thousands.'

From the author of " Alton Locke." "In spite of all faults, your poems do you honour. The love-lyrics are to me exceedingly pleasant; they are really good and healthy. You seem to pour yourself out in them far more naturally, and therefore far more poetically, than in the political ones, though there are several of them which I like expectations. ceedingly. If you will go on writing such poetry as you have done, you will do real good in raising the feelings of working men, and may Heaven prosper you in it."

From the author of the "Purgatory of Suicides."
"This is a remarkable volume, containing some wondrously beautiful poetry."

NOTES TO THE PEOPLE:

A New Periodical, published every Saturday, containing forty columns of close print for Tworener, by

ERNEST JONES.

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What monopoly jufficts evils of such magnitude

What monopoly infliets evils of such magnitude as that of land. It is the sole barrier to nutional prosperity. The people—the only creators of wealth, possess knowledge; they possess industry; and if they possessed land, they could set all other monopolies at defiance; they would then be enabled to employ machinery for their own benefit; and the world would behold with delight and astonishment the beneficial effects of this mighty engine, when properly directed.—Anthor of the "Reproof of Brutus."

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OF THE PROPERTY. RRIN

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 29.]

SATURDAY, JUNE 28, 1851.

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CHANGE OF PUBLISHER.

The Friend of the People is now published by Mr. HENRY BEAL, Shoe-lune, Fleet-street.

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ROBESPIERRE.

ORSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF MAXIMILIAN ROBESTIERRE. BY NICHOLAS HENTZ, Deputy to the French National Convention of 1793-94.

Maximilian Robespierre was born at Arras in Artors, department of the Pas de Calais, in 1759. His parents, of the class called the respectable middle orders, though not noble, lived nobly, and gave him a corresponding education. He so distinguished himself in his studies, that the bishop of Arras, struck with his success in bearing off all the first prizes, himself paid his expenses at college, to enable him to complete the course of his studies-(his parents were in restricted circum-

Robespierre embraced the profession of an advocate, and came to Paris to practise it. He there mingled chiefly in the literary circles of society. In 1784 he bore off the prize offered by the Academic of France to the author of the best discourse on the question of the infamy then extended to the relatives of condemned criminals. His discourse met with general applause, and exercised a strong influence in preparing the public opinion no longer to regard men as criminal for the misfortune of being relatives of a criminal. This fact, it seems to me, hardly corresponds with either the ignorance or the ferocity ascribed to him by his detractors.

In 1789, Louis XVI. convened the States General. Robespierre, though residing at Paris, was representatives of the baillage. It is well known that intrigue had nothing to do with the selections the writings and his speeches at the Jacobin club. appointed by his fellow-citizens of Arras one of the

made at that time, and that in general regard was only paid to talents and zeal for the reformation of

ancient abuses. Robespiorro voted always with the côté gauche

of the Constituent Assembly; that was the side opposed to the court. He always rose in vigorous opposition against every proposition hostile to liberty, and especially sgainst the establishment of martial law, which passed in spite of his counsels. The application of this law became so fatal, and cspecially on the day of the Champ de Mars, that it fell into disuse. Whether the court did not regard his influence as sufficiently important in the Assembly, or that it feared his integrity, it made no attempt to corrupt him, or at least did not succeed in any. At the time of the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly Robespierre, Pethion, and Rederer were called the three "incorruptibles." It was not long before the two latter gave satisfac. tory proof how little this designation was applicable to them. In fact, as it had been established that no member of the constituents should be eligible to the succeeding Legislative Assembly, they both sought to obtain places, which was called covering one's point as at backgammon (se easer). Tho court, which had its full information about men. and knew that Roderer, a creature and pupil of Calonne, would be of great use to it iu its counter revolutionary designs, appointed him procureur general to the central administration of Paris; this was, next to the ministry, the first place under the government, at least in the circumstances of the moment. The same court, deriving its information from the royalist Madame de Genlis, with whom Pethion lived in London immediately previous to the Revolution, knew very well that he was nothing but a hypocrite, who played any part to make a reputation and money with it; and managed so well that the Jacobin in the pay of Pitt was appointed Mayor of Paris, a post of the first importance in the midst of the revolutionary movements. As for Robespierre, he solicited nothing, or refused every lucrative office which would have placed him in a position of dependence. He accepted that of member of the Goneral Council of the Communo of Paris, an elective and unsalaried office; he resumed the practice of the legal profession; he led a sober and frugal life; he devoted his leisure hours to the editing of a periodical paper, known by the title of 'Letters to my Constituents,' in which he laid bare the machinations of the court and ministers—machinations which had for their object the overthrow of the constitution,

obtained for him, in Paris and throughout all France, the reputation of a wise, honest, and zea-

lous patriot.

In 1792, when Louis XVI. submitted a declaration of war against Austria to the Legislative Assembly, the Jacobins, deceived by the false reports of Narbonne, the king's minister, which represented our military force as being in a formidable condition, applauded the measure, and Robespierre was almost the only member of the club who ventured to raiso his voice rgainst it. He pictured the horrors of war, and, while advocating its lawfulness for the purposes of self-defence, he implored his countrymen never to provoke it. He prodicted that war would lead to the establishment of a military government, and to the prostration of the nation at the feet of some successful and usurping warrior. The event but too well verified his prediction.

He did not belong to the secret committee which conducted the insurrection of the 10th of August, of which Danton was the main-spring. Robes-pierre had no greater share in the proceedings of that day than his colleagues the members of the Conseil General, than the majority of the citizens of Paris, whom the proclamations of Branswick, of the 25th and 27th of July, threatening the capital with ruthless destruction, had driven to despair and to the last degree of exasperation. Neither did he belong to that Committee entitling itself that of Public Safety, by which the riots of the 2nd and 3rd of September were planned. He even blamed the useless effusion of blood which followed, maintaining that it was the head, and not the members of the body politic, which required

'o be removed. The Legislative Assembly having suspended Louis from his functions, confined him to the Temple, and convoked the Convention, which was to decide upon his fato; the electoral body of Paris placed Robespierre's name at the head of its list of deputies; and I can declare that the electoral body was not the vile rabble its enemies represent it to have been, and over which they say that Robespierre held despotie sway.

I was present at the sitting in which the deputies met for the purpose of organizing the Convention, and I witnessed the movements of intrique against the election of Robespierre as President. We-I mean myself and other deputies from the Departments—gave him our votes; but, in consequence of the absence of the greater part of the new members, that is to say, of members who had not belonged to the Legislativo Assembly, we were

idol, Pethien, the intimate friend of Madame de Genlis, the agent of Pitt, a man who hastened his departure from London, in 1789, for the express purpose of obtaining a seat in the Constituent Assembly, who was afterwards mayor of Paris, then member of the Convention, and, lastly, its presiding officer.

The Convention was convoked for the several purposes of re-establishing the social compact, invaded and violated by the acts of Louis XVI., of deciding definitively upon his fate, and of extricating Franco from the perilous position in which she was placed by the presence of foreign armies on

her soil.

In less than a month, numerous battalions, which seemed to start into existence by enchantment during the days which followed the 10th of August, brought such strength to the army of Dumouriez, that he was enabled to arrest the advance of the Prussians and emigrants on the plain of Grandpre, in Champagne. Having failed to reach Chalons, where Louis had collected immense stores of provisions, our enemies, who had relied upon them, soon saw themselves reduced to the most frightful distress. The starving soldiers devoured the unripe grapes of the surrounding vineyards, and thousands fell victims to dysentery. Had not Dumouriez proved a traitor, they would have been all destroyed or captured. The King of Prussia was too glad to be permitted, at the price of gold, to return peaceably to his dominions, and an army diminished by a numerical loss of 20,000 men, and otherwise so weakened by disease and famine as to be scarcely able to drag themselves along.

The question of the trial of Louis XVI. came on. Faction was active, civil war was at hand, the

disturbances in La Vendéo seemed to be verging towards open rebellion. In this state of things, adverse opinions led to violent disputes in the Convention, then an arena in which the florcest passions contended for the mastery. The Girondists commanded a majority, but the democrats and revolutionists, supported by the mass of the citizens of Paris, did not flinch. The Rolands despaired of victory unless they could accomplish the destruction of the popular leaders, and espe-cially of Robespierre. The latter, who foresaw cially of Robespierre. the dissensions and disastrous consequences which were likely to ensue upon the conviction of Louis XVI., inevitable according to law and evidence, was opposed to his being brought to trial. "He has been taken," said he, "in the commission of crime against the nation; he is covered with the blood of thousands of our fellow-citizens, massacred under the windows of his castle hy the Swiss and by the knights of the dagger whom he had assem-bled about his person. Let him be treated as an enemy taken with the weapons of destruction in his hands." The Girondists, who affected and his hands." professed philanthropy, attempted to ory down Robespierre as a monster; they associated him with the immoral Danton and with Marat, whom they had succeeded in rendering odious; and they represented that the triumvirate was seeking to establish a tyrannical government, or a monarchy with the Duke of Orleans at its head. The deputy Louvet assumed the task of denouncing Robespierre in the Convention, and promised to make him undergo the penalty of ostracism at the very least. This Louvet, author of romances, and the favourite and guest of Madame Roland, relied overmuch upon his inventive genius. His speech against Robespierro was so ridiculous that the Girondists themselves were ashamed of it. Robespierre retorted with great

"I am accused," said he, " of aiming at a dictatorship; but where are my armies, where are my treasures, where my partisans? I live in solitude; I have no followers; I belong to no clique. My influence is restricted to my vote and the right of speech, here and at the Jacobins; I am member of no committee; I accept no mission; my opinion relative to the late King does not make the law; and to your decrees no

one is more ready to submit than myself. What connection can be supposed to exist between Orleans and a man like me, all of whose efforts are directed to remove, far from the throne, him and every other member of the family of Bourbons? Is it not known to you that I am, in consequence, the object of the denunciations of the English ministry and of its paid agents? I only know Marat and Danton here, in this hall, and not more intimately than any one of you."

The Convention passed to the order of the day, on Louvet's charges. The vote was unanimous, excepting the plotters, who from that day forth ceased to vociferate against Robespierro, at

least in the national forum.

Robespierre, like the rest of us, expressed and justified his opinions on the three questions which arose during the trial of Louis, and did not contribute, otherwise than by his individual vote, to the sentence of death which was pronounced. A much wider influence was exercised by Barrere, who enjoyed the confidence of the Deputies who did not belong to either of the contending parties, and whose votes were determined on the speech which he delivered.

Robespierre never desisted from his opposition, unfortunately fruitless, to Roland, whose perverse and hypocritical intrigues had lighted up the torch of civil war in the West and South of France. Then came the 31st of May, the ovents of which day may be said with truth to have been prepared by Robespierre and St. Just, and by their care and prudonce it was that not a drop of blood was shed. The different sections of Paris being assembled, elected delogates, who met without delay at the Commune; thence they proceeded in a body to the bar of Convention, and demanded of that body to cease its idlo quarrels, to dissolve the Committee of Twelve, composed of Girondists, who were the enemies of all good patriots, and were aiming at a counterrevolution. The National Guard of Paris was under arms, as well for the purpose of protecting the petitioners, as with the view of awing the Committee, a true star-chamber, and the Girondists, who were in possession of power, and were masters of the Convontion. This demonstration, made, not by a faction, but by the city of Paris, terrified the weak, and corrected the errors of many, who now joined the ranks of the patriots. The result was the passing of the decrees which dissolved the obnoxious Committec, and ordered the arrest of the Girondist leaders. Most of them succeeded in making their escape to Lyons, Marseilles, Bordcaux, and and the Department of the Calvados, where they organized a revolt against the Convention, while, at another extremity of the Republic, the English obtained possession of the port of Toulon.

After the 31st May, Robespierre gave his attention to the subject of a national constitution, and drew up one, the principal features of which vero incorporated in the instrument subsequently adopted by the Convention. The new constitution was submitted to the vote of the people, and received; order and harmony were restored to the Convention and thence to all France.

Robespierre became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, renewed, as I have already said in speaking of Danton. The members distributed among themselves the different departments of government; Carnot, and Prieur de la Côte d'Or, assumed the management of the Department of War; Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, the Home Department; by them were selected the deputies sent on mission into the country. To Barrere were assigned the duties of making the reports of the Committee to the Convention, and of drafting proclamations to the nation. St. Just visited our armies and organized our victories. Robespierro and Couthon were appointed to the general superintendence of all that interested the commonwealth. Immediately after the death of Danton, Billaud-

Varennes propared and introduced the so-called law of the revolutionary government. By it the most extensive powers were conferred on the Committee of Public Safety. Its execution was directed by Billaud-Varennes; it was he also who regulated the relations between the Committees of General Security and of Public Safety. He it was, and not Robespierre, who ordered all arrests, and all trials by the Revolutionary Tribunal.

At times, revolts broke out in the provinces, and plots of the aristocracy, against the lives of the members of the Committees, were discovered. This state of things caused the passing of the law against suspected persons, a law by which the Revolutionary Committees were authorized to arrest all persons suspected by them of being hostile to the revolution. This law was introduced by Merlin de Douai, and not by Robespierre. A decree was also passed, ordering the expulsion from the capital of all persons of noble birth. Lastly, as it was found that the Revolutionary Tribunal, in consequence of its being restricted to legal proof in the trial of accused porsons, acquitted many great criminals, who availed thomselves of the forms of justice to escape punishment, while their miserable tools were left to perish, Robespierre complained of it. "The scaffold," said he, "receives too many use-less victims." The Convention, on a report from St. Just, passed a decree directing the members of the Tribuual to take their conscionees as their guide in forming their verdiets. A great outery has been raised against this law, as if, though dangerous in a time of peace, it might not be necessary in a state of revolution. It reached the source of the evil to which it was applied; it was identical with the law of the Vehme of Westphalia, established by Charlemagne, and which, among other countries, has prevailed in Corsica. By the law of the Vehme, the judge pronounced sentence in the following words: "Being informed by my conscience that such a one is guilty, I condemn him to death."

It is true that terror then reigned over France. but who felt it? the enemies of the people and of the revolution. It weighed heavily on the friends of emigrants who had earried fire and flame into the heart of their native country, on the traitors who periled the safety of our armies, and on forestallers who would have brought famine on the land had it not been for the law of maximum prices. Without terror we would have been erushed. Such was the opinion of the Duke of Brunswick when he resigned the command of the Prussian armies, after having been defeated by Piehegru in Alsace, at the close of 1793. "When a great nation like France, wrote he to the king, "is led by the terror of penalties, and by enthusiasm, the allied powers should be guided in their measures by one common sentiment and principle." I refer to his letter dated Oppenheim, 6th January, 1794. The answer of Cobourg to the Emperor of Germany, who taunted him with having suffered defeat from the Carmagnoles, meaning the republicans, conveys the same opinion. "If the French were not betrayed daily twenty times," said Cobourg, "You would long since have ceased to reign. When Robespierre made virtue the order of the day, and denounced in the Jacobin club and in the Committees the agents of Pitt; terror at the same time scattered the foul birds which preyed on the public body. Be it here remarked, that a denunciation was not equivalent to a death-warrant, as has been stated.

Doubtless, abuses and exercises were committed by the revolutionary government, or rather by the revolutionary committees, invested with extraordinary powers, but such abuses and excesses were partial and inevitable; because a great number of plotters and emigrants, who had returned to the Republic by stealth, had procured their election to the committees by hoisting the red cap, and were ever active in urging matters to extremes, in hopes of exasperating the people. But the greatest subject of complaint against the government, originated in the errors, and sometimes in the misconduct of the deputies sent or missious into the departments. In this was Robespierro to blame? certainly not; he did what in him lay to correct the evil, and moved the re-call of such deputies. Billaud-Varennes who detested him, as well in consequence of his reiterated complaints against the abuses of the government, which he considered insulting to himself as from jealousy, soized upon this circumstance to offeet his ruin, as I shall now relate.

(To be continued.)

CATALINE TO HIS FOLLOWERS.

ALL honour, favour, power, weakh, is centred in them, * or those whom they favour : to us are left dangers, repulses, lawsuits, poverty. How long: will you endure them, O. ye bravest of men? -Is it. not better to die bravely; than drag out a miserable and dishonoured life, the sport of pride, the victims of disgrace? But by the faith of gods and men, victory is in our own hands: our strength is unimpared; our minds energetic: theirs is enfeebled by ago, extinguished by riches. All that is required is to begin boldly; the rest fellows of course. Where is the man of a manly spirit who can tolerate that they should overflow with riches, which they squauder in ransacking the sea, in levelling mountains, while to us the common necessaries of life are awanting? They have two or more superb palaces; we, not wherein to lay our heads. When they buy pictures, statucs, bassorelievos, they destroy the old to make way for the new: in every possible way they squander away their money; but all their desires are unable to exhaust their riches. At home we have only poverty; abroad debts: present adversity; werse prospects. What, in fine, is left no but our weestriken souls? What then shall we do? That that which you have ever most desired-Liberty- is before your eyes; and it will soon bring riches, renown, glory. Fortune holds out these rewards to the victors. Wo fight for our country, our liberty, our lives; they for the domination of a few. On that account, mindful of your pristino valour, advance to the attack * Should Fortune fail to second your valour, beware lest you perish unavonged. Rather fall, fighting liko men, and leave a mournful and bloody triumph to your enemies, than be butchered like sheep; when captured by their arms."—Sallust.

 The Roman Patricians. Cataline's description of those brigands applies in most respects to our modern aristocrats.

SHORT HOURS.

Mr. Editor,—I counsel the working men of England to consider the question of work and wages. It is one most closely related to them; and with it is mixed up, to a great extent, their misery or comfort, from the cradle to the grave.

For many years have the people of this country been assured that "supply and demand" regulated the selling price of all marketable commodites. All working men feel that the supply and demand vassalage is cruel and unrelenting; yet they must bear with it. I am aware that what I am now to say, will meet with the opposition of an important section of half educated political economists; but I say to such men, be patient, I will talk with yon by and bye; meantime I write for labourers, who though unskilled in the theories to be found in books, are nevertheless painfully familiar with facts.

Whatever class of labourers work the longest hours, will always be found to be relatively the poorest. Look around you, and you will invariably see that long hours and low wages go hand in hand. He who works most gets least. Ho who works least gets most. Is it or is it not so? Let the working men answer. They do answer. They do answer. One can fancy the farmer saying "That cannot be, sir, for when my house is built and cultivated, I and my dependants shall only need to keep the house and land in its improved state." "There will not be work enough for you all." "We will all work less, and each will do his fair share," would be the farmer's reply; and a wise, proper, and just reply

Every unwilling idler, every tramping vagrant, every hungry living skeleton, whether man, woman, 'or child, is a molancholy response to what I have just written. It is very unjust that it should be so; yet so it is.

Why is it so ? For Adam Smith, the father of the English political economists, throws much light on this subject. We are assured that in "the progressive state, while society is advancing to the further acquisition, rather than when it has acquired its full compliment of riches, that the condition of the labouring poor of the great body of the people seem to be the happiest and the most comfortable. It is hard in the stationary and miserable in the declining state. I could strengthen the opinion of Smith by much that may be read in the columns of other anthors who have written on the same subject. How is it that the wages of labour are lower in a rich, than in a poor but thriving and progressive country? In a thriving poor country there is an inevitable demand for skilled and unskilled labour; in a rich and stationary state the increase of population and mechanical skill lessen the proportionate demand for labour. Increased scientific, mechanical, and chemical power, become competitive against manual labour. The labourer, in his blind ignorance, strives to overcome the difficulty by excessive toil; he cannot succeed—he calls to his aid his wlfo and child—his evils increase—he struggles and starves until death, klnd death relieves him of his wretchedness.

I say the remedy rested, not in working more, but, in working less. Yes, in working less; and one of the first and most important things which the working men in all civilised countries—but in England more than in any other, have to learn, is, to work less; and could they be made to understand that one point, they would have acquired the means of taking the first step in the way of their own improvement, and could not fail in the end, in achieving all they desire—the full enjoyment of their mental, moral, and physical nature.

I am aware that I shall be told that an increase of capital, can only be caused by an increase of production; and that every increase of the fund from which labour is paid must be beneficial, and to lessen that fund must be injurious to the labourers themselves. Such is the assertion of all the believers in the doctrine of unlimited, free action, or as it is called, "free trade." My answer is :- First prove that every increase of the fund from which labour is paid, must, of necessity increase the wages of labour. If the English, free-trade political economist can do so, thoir case is established, with this unpleasant reflection; their founder and head, Adam Smith, was in error when he avowed, that the labourers were happier "while society, was advancing to the further acquisition, rather than when it has acquired its full complement of riches." The rund from which labour is paid must be greater when the full complement of riches is aoquired and possessed, than when the same is only in the process of acquisition, and not possessed. England is certainly a richer country than any of the divisions of the United States, yet wagos are higher in the United States than in England. Whyis it so? The political economists answer, because America is advancing more rapidly to wealth, therefore there is a greater demand for labour. What would be thought of an Economist who was anxious to induce an English farmer to emigrate, and addressed him thus:—"So long as you are engaged in the building of your house and the reclaiming of the desert, you shall be happy, fully employed and well rewarded.-When your house is finished and the wilderness changed to a garden, you and all your dependants shall be in misery and distress." One can fancy the farmer saying "That cannot be, sir, for when my house is built and cultivated, I and my dependants shall only need to keep the house and land in its improved state," "There will not be work enough for you all." "We will all work less, and each will do his fair share," would be the

too. Surely there is some step to be taken beyond the present. Full as it is of all conflict and evil. Working men, are you contented with the thought that when states get rich, those whose industry made the riches, must be thereby impoverished? I say try working less; and as labour is a marketable commodity, to reduce it in quantity is the sure way to raise it in price. The working men of England have long tried what excessive and everincreasing toil would do for them. With its effects they are familiar; try the other side, and you will never repent of the experiment. If you limit the number of labourers to the actual demand. you will improve their circumstances as much as if you extended the demand proportionato to the increase of their numbers; and if you limit the hours of labour proportionate to the number of the labourers, and the actual demand for their labour, you will, so far as the labourers are conccrncd, have effected a very desirable improve-ment in their condition. I grant that such a step would lessen the rapid accumulation of wealth, which is the boast of modern times; but it would tond to onsure a botter distribution of wealth; and I have yet to learn that it is the aim and object of woll-directed life to heap up treasures to be misapplied by the few who own them, and to be used as a rod of correction to the many whose labour fashioned them. The Free Trader says, find new markets; and he sets to work to shoot the Chineso or murder the Indians, in order that he may trade with all the world. The Malthusian says the country is over populated, and he prates about prudence, emigration, and hard treatment to paupers. Were he honest and bold, he would at ouco propose the establishment of shambles for the murder of human beings, organize auti-marriage associa-tions, and adopt every necessary means to rid society of its present incumbrance, and in future to prevent a "surplus" of population. It is sur-prising that so much should have been said and written about limiting population, and so little comparatively about limiting the hours of labour. True, the disciple of Malthus avers, that there is not "room enough" at Nature's table for all. Let me ontreat him to bestow a passing thought on how much room each guest occupies; and how much each should occupy? It may, however, be set down as a rule, that the pretended followers of Malthus are opposed to short hours, audall kinds of legislative interference and regulatiou of labour. Malthus himself thought deaply on the subject which now engages my attention. I may, on another occasion, refor to his works in proof of what I have just said. I deem it necessary to inform your readers,

that my conviction ou the advantages which would follow a universal reduction of the hours of labour, has not been hastily formed, and the more I reflect on the general question of how to secure to the labourer labour's worth, the more important does the sectional view become. At present all is oppression, doubt, and difficulty. A reduction of the hours of labour to be universally adopted, might, in my opinion, be used as a plank to enable the new shipwrecked mariner to reach the beach in safety.

GRACCHUS.

A QUAKER LETTER.—" Friend John, I desire thee to be so kind as to go to one of those sinful men in the flesh, called attorneys, and let him take out an instrument with a scal thercunto, by means whereof we may seize the outward tabernacle of George Green, and bring him before the lamb-skinmen at Westminster, and teach him to do as he would be done by.—Thy Friend, B.C."

THE SITE OF THE "TIMES" OFFICE.—Our office stands upon the foundation of Blackfriars, where for centuries Plantagenets, Yorkists, Laucasterians, and Tudors held court. We have reason to believe that just about where we sit, was heard that famous case for annulling the marriage of Catheriue, which led to the English Reformation.—Times.

JULIAN HARNEY'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.

Aberdeen, June 20th, 1851. NOTWITHSTANDING the announcement in No. 27 of the Friend of the People, I was compelled by severe illness to break my engagement with the democrats of Dundee-a misfortune which, though unavoidable, I much lamented. Somewhat recovered, but still unwell, I kept my engagement with the democrats of Aberdeen. Next Monday and Tuesday, June 23rd, 24th, I am to address meetings in Dundee. Following those meetings I visit Arbroath, and possibly Montrose. I expect to be at Crieffon Saturday the 28th, or Monday the 30th; and at Falkirk either on Menday the 30th, or Tuesday the 1st of July. Possibly I may visit Barrhead and Kilbarchan, or Dumbarton, the same weekpossibly not 'till the week following. I expect to address a meeting at Glasgow on Monday, the 7th of July.

In nearly all the letters of invitation I receive from my Scottish friends, I am asked what are my "terms," &c .- meaning, I suppose, how much money I expect for my visit, &c. To save unnecessary trouble for the future, I will here repeat that which I have had to state in numerous privatoletters-namoly, that I leave all pecuniary arrangements to the honour and the ability of my friends. : If I had the means to travel and visit the places to which I am invited without charging any one a penny, I would do so with pleasure. But, when I resigned my convexion with tho Northern Star, and the income counceted therewith, I gave up all. Perhaps my friends should know, and I am sure my enemies will be gratified to learn, that I derive no advantage from the publication of this periodical; unless it can be considered profitable to "gain a loss." Under these circumstances my friends will see that—to say nothing of family considerations—it is not possible for me to go North, South, East, and West, at my own cost. As to "terms," it may be very well for professional lecturers to make a fixed chargo for their services, I think they are quito right in doing so ; but I am not a professional lecturer.

If I took into account my own self-interest only, I would not make this statement, for I have found that those who have been most reckless in taxing the people have always been best paid; while those who had other aims than money-making were always the worst treated—proving the knavory of "leaders," and the folly of the led. It remains to be seen whether both the people and their "advocates" are more conscientious than they were ten years ago.

I reject the idea of anything like an arrangement as to "terms," before visiting any locality; and, I repeat, I leave all money-considerations to the honour and the ability

of my friends.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

A correspondent of the Builder has communicated a very simple method of preventing damp walls, by the mere outside application of a lather of soap and hot water, and then, as soon as dry, sprinkling the wall with a saturated solution of alum. He states that he prepared several places in this way, and water poured on the wall ran off as from a duck's back, without producing the least effect.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JUNE 21, 1851.

THE MORALITY (?) OF THE TRADERS.

ADAM SMITH, who is mere admired and quoted from than all the prophets, evangelists, and Christian Fathers put together, by those who regard his Wealth of Nations as the most hely of all volumes—the pure and genuine Gospol of Trade, has himself denounced "the mean rapacity and monopolising spirit of merchants and manufacturers:" of whom, he adds, that they "ought NOT TO BE THE HULERS OF MANKIND." The devilish cruelties practised by several generations of the millocracy, and only now in course of mitigation; the destruction of infaut life by Factory-kings and Coal kings—the frands committed by the manufacturers of almost every variety of article, whether intended for export or home consumption; the lying and cheating notoriously practised by the vast majority of the mercantile and trafficking classes; the villanous "truck system," by which working mon are barefacedly robbed of their miserable wages to add to the unholy gains of their "Masters;" and lastly, the universal and abominable adulterations carried on by the dealers in food of every description, combine to justify ADAM SMITH's severe denunciation of his admirers; and to enforce the wisdom of the rule he has laid downbut which his disciples take good care to repudiate-that TRAFFICKERS AND PROFIT-MONGERS : "OUGHT NOT TO BE THE RULERS OF MANKIND."

Unhappily these are the classes who now chiefly rule over this empire. Admitting the still considerable power of the landed aristocracy, that once all-dominant class is now entirely at the mercy of the Bourgeoisie. If the latter willed the annihilation of the old aristocracy, the "lords of the soil" would forthwith perish. They exist but by sufferance of the monoy-mongering and trading classes; and owe their conservation principally to the well-grounded fear of the middleclasses that the avalancho of revolution, once set in motion, might, perchance, bury in destruction something in addition to the throne, the peerage, and the church. In the future, the middle-classes are likely to be as conservative as in the past they were revolutionary, -because of the danger of calling the might of the labouring millions into political action. It is no longer safe to count upon the working-classes as mere. "explosive masses to blow up bastilles with," to he used and abused, employed to advance bourgeois ascondancy; and, that effected, then trampled in the mire. That was the order of "progress" in the past, but the growing intelligence of the working men renders that kind of "progress" daily more difficult. Henceforth revolutionary struggles mean attempts at establishing Proletarian ascendancy, and, therefore, the horror of "violence," and love of "order," which have taken possession of the middle-classes.

For the present, however, those classes we proclaim "Warule, and hence the shameful exhibition of a all that in our power Minister of the Crown standing up in defence public executation.

of the "vested interests" of adulterators, cheats, and poisoners; and an immoral majerity backing that unblushing functionary, and voting down all attempts at obtaining protection for the health and pockets of the public against the tricks and frauds of the respectable shopocracy.

At the beginning of the present year, the Lancet—tho ablest, most houest, and lengest established of all the medical journals-commenced the publication of a series of papers under the title of "the Analytical Sanitary Commission." The authors of these papers proposed to record the results of microscepical and chemical analyses of the solids and fluids consumed by all classes of the public. This praiseworthy undertaking has, thus far, been ably carried out, and is still in course of execution. It is impossible to over-estimate the value of the important service thus rendered to society by the Lancet; and we advise all our readers who can afford to purchase that publication to do so. As, however, the price of the Lancet is somewhat high (7d. or 8d. per stamped copy), and as it is desirable that its revelations should be diffused as widoly as possible, we have resolved to publish in our columns a condensed but well-digested reproduction of the Lancet's analyses.

In pursuance of this resolution, we give the annexed paper on Coffee and its adulterations. We purpose to republish in future numbers the lists of dealers in adulterated coffee, as originally exposed in the *Lancet*. The adulterations of Chicory, and the dealers

therein, will follow. That the fraud and wickedness laid bare in the annexed article should be not merely tolerated but connived at, and even defended, by the rulers of the land, is a iuonstrous outrage on the community, and exhibits in glaring colours the evil of that let-alone system which is the beau-ideal of "the Manchester School." HUME, COBDEN, and Co. hold that the best possible system of government is attained when the public are left to "take care of themselves." But see the regult to "The fortune of The fortune of one man the result! founded on the death of another. In proportion as disease abounds and death advances amongst the mass of the people the dispensers of the necessaries of life flourish and become rich; but their prosperity is based upon the destruction of their fellow-ereatures. The unprincipled gang of adulterators and dealers in adulterated articles spare no one. From the babe at the breast to the aged being stretched on the bed of death, all are subjected to the destructive power of these heartless impostors. It is universally acknowledged that of all fluids pure milk is the best for children, but in towns, and especially in the metropolis, that is an article not to be obtained at any price; and, nearly all other articles being also adulterated, the child imbibes poison from his earliest years. This continues through life; and when, perhaps, death might have been averted, the foot of the fell destroyer is hastened and his arm strengthened by the very drugs and food prescribed by the physician, because in every thing designed to pass into the stomach the hand of the adulterator has been busily employed in transforming the elements of life into the seeds of death. To these miscreants we proclaim "War to the knife," and will do all that in our power lies to hold them up to

COFFEE AND ITS ADULTERATIONS.

(From the LANCEY.)

Chicony, succory, or wild endive, belongs to the same natural family of plants as the dandellen, and may be seen growing in various parts of the country, by the read or hedge side; it may be recognised by the compound character of its flowers, and the bright and beautiful blue colour of its petals. It blessems in the menths of August and September. In its natural state the stem rises from one to three feet high; but when cultivated it shoots to the height of five or six feet. The root runs deep into the ground, and is white, fleshy, and yields a milky juice. When prepared as a sub stitute for coffee on a large scale, the roots are partially dried, and sold to the manufacturers of the article, who wash them, cut them in pieces, killn-dry them, and grind them between fluted rollers into a powder.

Chicory is used oxclusively to adulterate ooffee, and has of late years been raised in great quantity in this country, ewing to the very improper encouragement given by Government. Large crops of chicory are grown in Yorkshire; and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Charles Wood, has stated, whether on his own authority or that of some other person does not very clearly appear, that chicory is both "wholesome" and "nutritive," we propose to ascertain how far these statements

are well-founded.

Chicory is possessed of active medicinal properties, in consequence of which it has long been included in the materia medica. These proporties resemble closely those of the allied plant, the dandelion, in reference to which we find, in the work of Dr. Pereira, the following observations:—"Its obvious effects are those of a stomachic and tonic. In large doses, it acts as a mild aperient. Its diurctic operation is less obvious and constant. In various chronic diseases, its continued use is attended with alterative and resolvent offects; but where the digestive organs are weak, and readily disordered, taraxacum is very apt to occasion dyspepsia, flatulency, pain, and diarrhosa."

These remarks, of course, apply to the recent

These remarks, of course, apply to the recent root, and it therefore now becomes necessary that we ascertain what are the effects produced on the human frame by chieory, when reasted. In order to determine this point, we have instituted certain experiments or trials, the details of which we will

now make known.

Three persons partook of a chicory breakfast. The infusion was dark colcured, thick, destitute of the agreeable and refreshing aroma so characteristic of coffee, and was of a bitter taste. Each individual complained, for some hours after drinking the infusion, of heaviness, drowsiness, a feeling of weight at the stemach, and great indisposition to exertion; in two, headache set in, and in the third the bowels were relaxed. In second and third trials of the chicory breakfast, the same feelings of drowsiness, weight at the stomach, and want of energy, were experienced, but no headache or diarrhoa. Several other trials were subsequently made, with nearly similar results.

But chicory, it will be said, is seldom taken alone in this country, and when mixed with eoffee these effects are not produced. Two persons parteck, for a considerable period, twice a day, of an article denominated coffee, costing one shilling and sixpence a pound, and largely adulterated with chicory; duving nearly the whole of this time they

both suffered much from diarrhoa.

From the results of these trials, therefore, we are warranted in deducing the conclusion, that some doubts at least are attached to the assertion of the "wbolesome" properties of chicory-root as an article of diet.

Of the 'nutritive' properties of chicory we shall say but little, feeling assured that the reader will scarcely be disposed to question the accuracy of the assertion, that a mouthful of good wheaten bread contains more nourishment than a cup of infusion of chicory.

Lastly, chicory-root is entirely destitute of the essential oil of coffec, as well as of "caffeino," the active principle upon which most of the virtues of that invaluable berry depend; and this fact in a great measure explains the feeling of lassitude and want of energy experienced after drinking infusion of chicory.

It must be clearly borno in mind, however, that the mixing or adulteration of chicory with coffce is not objected to en account of the medicinal properties of chicory merely, but that we held this practice to be prohibited by considerations of

money, justice, and public merality.

When the adulterating merchant or grocer, in the secreey of his ewn warehouse, first reduced chicory-root, parsnips, corn. beans, to, to charred and shapeless masses, the idea probably never entered his mind that enough of the distinctive structural characters of each of these substances still remained undestroyed, to enable the man of science to drag to light his guilty deeds. But crime is never secure from detection. In the reasted and charred chicory-root the same structures may be detected as are distinguishable in the raw or unreasted root.

But chicory itself is adulterated ! What, ehieory. adulterated? A substance u ed to adulterate another article, itself adulterated? "Impossible!" we faucy wo hear the inquirer exclaim. Improbable as the thing appears, it is nevertheless true. When it is remembered that all the vegetable substances employed in the adulteration of coffee require to be charred or roasted, and to effect this a suitable apparatus is required, such as but few retail grocers possess, it at once becomes at loast probable that these substances are prepared for them by other parties. This impression acquires increased force when it becomes known that the majority of grocers buy their chicory, not in nibs, but in powder, and that this is supplied to them by certain wholesale chicory houses, which charge for it in general, a less price than for the nibs, or unground reet itself, or than gonnine chicory powder can be fairly sold at,

The substances which are either substituted for chicory, or mixed with it, are very numerons; soveral of these we have curselves detected, while others have been discovered from time to time by different parties. They are carrots, parsnips, beans, mangold-wurzel, biscuit powder, sugar, roasted

corn, red earth, sand, acorns, &c.

We have now shown that chicory, an article used to adulterate another article, is itself largely adulterated; and we may add that the dealers in chicory are in many cases the parties who practise this adulteration. We are serry, however, to say, that in these instances in which the retail greeers do not themselves adulterate the chicory they vend, we are unable to acquit them of guilty knewledge of, and participation in the frand; this knewledge is displayed in the fact that the fraudulent greeer fre uently purchases chicory in powder, at a price at which it is not possible to precure genuino chicary.

Various reasons have been urged both in favour of and against the "adulteration," or, as the Chancellor more gently phrases it, the "mixing" of chlcory with coffee; these we will next proceed to consider. In favour of the adulteration it is alleged that the admixture of chicory with coffee improves coffee, and that such addition is approved of by the public. In order to ascertain whether the addition of chicory to coffee be really an Improvement, we propared three infusions, one of coffee, another of chicory, and the third of these mixed in the proportion of three-fourths coffee and one-fourth chicory.

The infusion of coffee was perfectly transparent, and of a dark and rich brown colour; it emitted an odour in a high degree penetrating and refreshing, and to the taste it was agreeable, and rather bittor. Having been taken for a few minutes, it produced a feeling of general warmth, and a state of bodily and mental activity and invigoration.

The infusion of chicory was opaque and muddy, staining the sides of the vessel containing it; it emitted a heavy, though perhaps some persons might be of epinion not a disagrecable smell, wholly unlike, however, the velatile and diffusive edeur of eofice; in taste, it was more bitter than the coffee, with a certain degree of sweetness. Having been swallowed for a few minutes, it occasioned a feeling of weight at the stomach, and a general heaviness and indisposition to bodily and mental exertion.

The combined infusion of chicory and coffee pertook, to a very great extent, of the characters of the infusion of genuine ceffee, as might be anticipated from the large quantity of coffee it contained. After two or three cups of it had been taken, a slight feeling of weight at the stomach was perceptible. Altogether, we were unable to bring ourselves to believe that the addition of chicory to coffee in the proportion of twenty-five per cent. of the former was any improvement. Persons who are foolish enough to regard a slight sensation of weight and fulness in the region of the stomach—symptoms really of incipiont indigestion, as evidences of the boverage being possessed of increased "strength" and '! body," might possibly be brought to consider the addition an improvement.

But the admixture of chicory with coffce in the proportion of twenty-five per cent., the utmost that can be allowed by any person to constitute an improvement, does not in general satisfy the desire for profit on the part of the green; he uses, in most cases, a very much larger proportion of chicory than this, and the shilling coffee, "the poor man's beverage," contains one-balf or three-fourths chicory, and in some instances consists entirely of it. Now no truthful person will assert that chicory in these, the more common propertions, is an improvement to coffee.

"It is next alleged as an argument for the adulrelation, that the poor man, by the employment of chicory, has an article placed within his reach which otherwise he could not obtain. This argument, although specious, is utterly fallacious. Genuine coffeo, ground or in the berry, may now be obtained at numerous respectable establishment at 12 2d and 15 4d the nound this artiments at 1s. 2d. and 1s. 4d. the pound, this artiele eesting the grocer more than three-fourths of the sum he demands for it. The mixture of ehicery and coffce is never sold under Is. per lb, and the cost of this to the greecr very frequently decs not exceed 3d a pound. Which of these two articles, therefore, we ask is the best poor man's bargain? Shilling eoffce, as vended at tho present, is vile and often deletorious rubbish, and we recommand the poor man never to purchase it. We say, therefore, that so far from the poor man being benefited by the use of chieery, out of every shilling he spends in what is fasely denominated eoffee, he is frequently rebbed of 9d. We can well understand how the poor man, or the poor man's wife, having, on a Saturday night, only a fow shillings to spond, and desiring to make this go as far as possible, is induced to purchase the obcapest articles he or she can procure, everlooking the fact, that what professes to be the cheapest is really the dearest in the end. We wish the poor man, therefore, clearly to understand that obicory is not to be compared to coffee, in any respect, and we would have him avoid the "cheap and cutting shops," distinguished by large placards and huge piles of damaged goods, and buy his coffee at some house of known and acknowledged reputation and respectability. Apprehensive that Government will be forced to take notice of the scandalous practices now so rife in the article of eoffec, the adulterating grocers have already begun to raise the cry of "dear coffee," and they tell us that if the admixture of chievry with coffee be prohibited, the price of the latter article will be 2s. the pound. The answer to this statement is, that excellent genuine coffee may now be obtained at establishments which do not use chicory in their

business at all, at prices varying from 1s. 2d. to

1s. 6d. per pound.

Wo have now to consider the chief arguments which have been or may be advanced against the adulteration of coffee with chicory. Against this practice we allege that such adulteration necessitates the commission of a moral fraud. and further, that it is frequently made the cloak for pecuniary fraud and extortion. When a purchaser enters a shop, asks for an article, pays the price demanded for it, he has a right to expect that he obtains that for which he asks, and not a mixture of two different things, one of which ho probably positively objects to, and the relative proportions of which are regulated by the will and conscience of the vendor. The grocer who, under such circumstances, places in the hands of the purchaser an adulterated commodity, commits a moral and frequently a pecuniary fraud. We will suppose the following case of poisoning, not an improbable or unfrequent one :- An infant has been given an overdose of Godfrey's cordial; the proper remedy is a strong infusion of coffee—the coffee already in the house, inasmuch as it is the most readily obtained; is used, and consists principally of chicory. The child dies. Who is the party morally responsible in this case.

That the public, and especially that large section of it, the poor, is extensively defrauded by the adulteration of coffee with chicory, to say nothing of roasted corn, beans, dog biscuits, &c., has already been clearly proved. We have now clearly shown that the disadvantages and evils resulting from the mixture of chicory with coffee, in the manner and to the extent now practised, are great and manifold, and that they demand the application of a suitable remedy. The remedy which we propose is simple, moderate, and just: it is, that the "Treasury minute," authorising the mixture of chicory with coffee, be reseinded. The effect of this would be, to place coffee upon the same footing with all other excisable articles, as tea, pepper, &c., and that penalties would attach to its adulteration. Chicory would, of course, still be sold; but in place of being so clandestinely, it would be vended openly, and under its proper name, and at its fair value. Public morality, the interests of the revenue, of the grower, the consumer of coffee, and the honest tradesman, alike require the adoption of the remedy here pointed out.

Teanes from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GRORGE SANDU

(Continued from No. 26.)

"Much time was lost in the journey from Pilson to Tauss (though they proceeded as quickly as possible) from the execuable roads, the unfrequented and almost impassable forests, and the various dangers to which they were subjected in traversing them. At last, after having proceeded at the rate of about a league an hour, they arrived at the Castle of the Giants about midnight. : Consuelo had never experienced a more dreary or fatiguing journey. The Baron Rudolstadt scemed in a measure paralysed from the effect of age and gout. But one short year before he had been ro-bust as a giant; but his iron frame was not actuated by a resolute and determined will. He had never vielded obedience but to his instincts, and whon the first stroke of misfortune assailed him, his feeble frame sank beneath the blow. The pity which Consuclo felt for him only added to her uncasiness. 'Is it thus,' thought she, 'that I shall find the rest of the family at Riesenburg?'

"The bridge was lowered, the gates opened wide, and servants stood waiting their arrival with lighted torches in the court-yard. None of the three travellers thought of making a remark on this strange scene, and no one seemed able to question the domestics." Porpora, seeing that the

baron could hardly walk, took his arm and assisted him along, while Consuelo darted to the entrance and flew up the steps.

"She inct the eanoness in the deorway, whe, without losing time in salutations, seized her by

the arm, saying-

"Follow me: we have not a moment to lose. Albert begins to grow impatient. He has counted the hours and minutes till your arrival, and announced your approach a moment before we heard the sound of your carriage-wheels. He had no doubt on his mind of your coming; but he said, if any accident should happen to dotain. you, it would be too late. Come, signora, and in the name of Heaven do not oppose any of his wishes; promise all he asks; pretend to love him; and if it must be, practise a friendly de ecit! Albert's hours are numbered; his life draws to a close. Endcavour to soothe his sufferings; it is all that we ask of you.'

"Thus saying, Wenceslawa led Consuelo in the

direction of the great saloon.

"'He is up theu—he is not confined to his

'chamber?' oxelaimed Consuelo, hastily.

"'He no longer rises, for he nover retires to bed,' replied the canoness. 'For thirty days he has sat in his arm-chair in the saloon, and will not be removed elsewhere. The doctor says he must not be opposed on this point, and that ho would die if he were moved. Take courage, signora; you are about to behold a terrible spec-

"The canoness opened the door of the saloon,

and added-

"'Fly to him: you need not fear to surprise him, for he expects you, and has seen you coming

hours ago.'

"Consuolo darted towards her betrothed, who, as the eanoness had said, was seated in a large arm-chair beside the fire-place. It was no longer a man, it was a spectre which she beheld. His face, still beautiful, notwithstanding the ravages of disease, was as a face of marble. There was no smile on his lips-no ray of joy in his eyes. The doctor, who held his arm and felt his pulse. let it fall gently, and looked at the eanoness, as much as to say—' It is too late.' Consuclo knelt before him; he looked fixedly at her, but said nothing. At last he signed with his finger to the eanouess, who had learned to interpret all his wishes. Sho took his arms, which he was no longer able to raise, and placed them on Consuelo's shoulders. Then she made the young girl lay her head on Albert's bosom, and as tho voice of the dying man was gone, he was merely able to whisper in her ear-'I am happy.' Ho remained in this position for about two minutes. the head of his beloved resting on his bosom, and his lips pressed to her raven hair. Then he looked at his aunt, and by some hardly perceptible movement he made her understand that his father and his aunt were both to kiss his betrothed.

"' From my very heart I' exclaimed the canoness, embracing Consuelo with deep emotion. Then she raised her, to conduct her to Count Christian, whom Consuolo had not hitherto perceived.

"Seated in a second arm-chair, placed opposite his son's at the other side of the fire-place, the old count seemed almost as much weakened and reduced. Ho was still able to rise, however, and take a few steps through the saloon; but he was obliged to be carried every evening to his bed, which had been placed in an adjoining room. At that moment he held his brother's hand in ouc of his, and Porpora's in the other. He left them to embrace Consuelo fervently several times. The almoner of the chatcau came also in his turn to salute her, in order to gratify Albert. He also seemed like a spectre, not withstanding his embonpoint which had only increased; but his paleness was frightful. Tho habits of an indolent and esseminate life had so enorvated him that he could not endure the sorrow of others. The canoness alone retained energy for all. A bright red spot shone on each cheek, and her eyes

burned with a feverish brightness. Albert alone appeared calm. His brow was as ealm as a sleeping infant's and his physical prestration did not seem te have affected his mental powers. He was grave, and not, like his fathor and uncle, dejected."

"In the midst of these different victims to disease or sorrow, the physician's calm and healthful countenence offered a striking contrast to all that surrounded him. Supperville was a Frenchman who had formerly been attached to the household of Frederick when the latter was only crown prince. Early aware of the despotic fault-finding turn which lurked in the prince, he fixed himself at Bareith, in the service of Sophia Wilhelmina, sister of the King of Prussia. At once jealous and ambitious, Supperville was tho very model of a courtier. An indifferent physician, in spite of the local reputation he enjoyed, he was a complete man of the world, a keen observer, and tolerably conversant with the moral springs of disease. He had urged the canoness to satisfy all the desires of her nephew, and bad hoped something from the return of her for whom Albert was dying. But however he might reckon his pulse and examine his countenance after Consuelo's arrival, he did not the less continue to relterate that the time was past, and he determined to take his departure, in order not to witness scenes of despair which it was no longer in his power to avert.

"He resolved, however, whether in conformity with some interested scheme, or merely to gratify his natural tasto for intrigue, to make himself busy in family affairs; and seeing that no person in this bewildered family thought of turning the passing moments to account, he led Consuclo into the embrasure and addressed her as follows:-

"'Mademoiselle, a doctor is in some sort a confessor, and I therefore soon became aware of the secret passion which hurries this young man to the grave. As a medical man, accustomed to investigate the laws of the physical world, which do not readily vary, I must say that I do not believe in the strange visions and ecstatic revelations of the young count. As regards yourself, it is easy to ascribe them to secret communication with you, relative to your journey to Prague, and your subsequent arrival here,'

"And as Consuelo made a sign in the negative, he continued:

"I do not question you, mademoiselle, and Me conjectures need not offond you. Rather, confide in me, and look upon me as intirely devoted to your

" 'I do not understand you sir,' replied Consuelo, with a candour which was far from convincing the court doctor.

"'Perhaps you will understand presently, mademoiselle,' he coolly rejoined. 'The young count's relatious have vehemently opposed the marriage up to this day. But now their opposi-tion is at au eud. Albert is about to die, and as ho wishes to leave you his fortune, they cannot object to a religious ceremony that will secure it to you for ever.

"' Alas! what matters Albert's fortune to me," said the bereaved Cousuclo; 'what has that to do with his present situation? It is not business that brings mo here, sir; I came to endcavour to save him. Is there no hope then?

" None! This disease, entirely proceeding from the mind, is amongst those which baffle all our skill. It is not a mouth since the young count, after an absence of fifteen days, the cause of which no oue could explain, returned to his home attacked by a disease at once sudden and ineurable. All the functions of life were as if suspended. For thirty days he has swallowed no sorb of food; and it is a rare exception, only witnessed in the case of the insane, to see life supported by a few drops of liquid daily, and a few minutes sleep each night. His vital powers, as you perceivo, are now quite exhausted, and in a couple of days at the farthest ho will have ceased to suffer. Arm yourself with courage then; do not lose your presence of mind.

here to aid you, and you have only to act boldly."
Consult was still gazing at the decter with astonishment, when the canoness, on a sign from the patient, interrupted their colloquy by summoning him to Albert's side.

"On his approach, Albert whispered in his ear for a longor period than his feebleness would have secmed to permit. Suppervillo turned red and pale alternately. The canoness looked at them anxiously, burning to know what wish Albert expressed.;
"'Doctor,' said Albert, 'I heard all you said

just new to that young lady,

"The doctor, who had speken in a low whisper and at the farthest extremity of the saloon, became exceedingly confused at this remark, and his convictions respecting the impossibility of any superhuman faculty were so shaken that he stared wildly

at Albert, unable to utter a word.

"'Doctor,' continued the 'dying man, 'you do not understand that heavenly orcature's soul, and you only interfere with my design by alarming her delicacy, She shares none of your ideas respecting money. She never coveted my fortune or my title. She never loved me, and it is to her pity alono you must appeal. Speak to her heart. I am nearer my end than you suppose; loso no time. I cannot expire happy if I do not carry with mo into the night of my repose the title of her husband,'
"But what do you mean by these last words,'

said Supperville, who at that moment was solely busied in analysing the mental disease of his

" You could not understand them," replied Albert, with an effort, but sho will understand them. You have only to repeat them faithfully to her.'

"Count, said Supperville, raising his voice a little, 'I find I cannot succeed in interpreting your ideas clearly; you have just speken with more force and distinctness than you have done for the last eight days, and I cannot but draw a fayourable augury from it. Speak to mademoiselle yourself; a word from you will convince her more than all I could say. There she is; let her take my place and listen to you.

"Supperville in fact found himself completely at fault in an affair which he thought he had understood perfectly; and thinking he had said enough to Consuelo to insure her gratitude in the event of her realising the fortune, he retired, after Albert

had further said to him ;-

Romember what you promised. The time has arrived; speak to my relatives. Let consent, and delay not. The hour is at hand. Let them

THE ICARIAN COMMUNITY AT NAUVOO.

WE have had the pleasure of a visit from M. Cabet, the founder and head of the Icarian Community at Nauvoo, Ill., and were glad to see him looking quite as young and vigorous as when we met himsomothree years since at Paris. He is now on his way to London, whence, if the political atmosphere be sufficiently tranquil, he will go to France to seek justice in respect of the legal condemnations passed upon him sinco his absence in this country, on accusations and evidence which could only be entertained in a time of public commotion and bitter party feeling. If all is quiet, M. Cabet is confident that the sentences will be reversed on his appeal.

We learn from him that the community at Nauvoo is in a state of prosperity, and that he regards it as suscessful; indeed, were it otherwise, he would hardly leave it for so long a time. The benefits of Association, he cousiders are fully demonstrated by his experiment. Greater cheapness of living, social happiness and intellectual improvement, are among these benefits, and although the Community suffers from the want of adequate capital and means of organizing the various branches of industry, it has still made satisfactory progress and is regarded by its founder and members as firmly established.

The Icarians, new about three hundred in number, occupy fifteen acres of land in the town of Nauvoo, where are most of their workshops and residences. There too they have a kitchen gardon of 10 acres. At five miles distance is their farm of 700 acres, leased lands. Of this they new have 100 acres in wheat, 150 in Indian corn, 50 in oats and 50 in barloy. They have also in growth, nurseries, vineyards, &c., the whole requiring the constant labour of six farmers and gardeners with reinforcements from the other trades in case of necessity. They keep 14 horses, 8 yoke of exen, 30 cows and hoifers, and a small flock of sheep. For fuel they use wood, procured on the islands in the river, belonging to the government, and brought down to Nauveo, a distance of five miles, on flat boats, and coal which they die almost at their doers. They have which they dig almost at their doors. a steam mill with two run of stone, which enables them not only to grind their own flour, but to accommodate the people in the vicinity, and two circular saws. This, with a whisky distillory adjoining, occupies some 15 men. The community also numbers 15 tailors, 12 shoemakers, 12 cabinet-makers, 6 carpenters, 5 coopers, 6 masons, 6 machinists, 6 printers, 2 rope makers, 2 weavers, 1 watchmaker, and 1 tanner, so that it is well provided in respect to mechanics. The tailors and shoemakors not only make clothes and shoes for the community and its neighbours. but send their products to be sold at St. Louis, where the community keeps a store, and where the whisky of the distillery and other surplus articles are also sent. The machinists also work as blacksmiths, and the men of the other trades find more or less employment in repairs, &c., for the people of the vicinity.

The domestic arrangements are far from complote, though as is the case with every other dcpartment, they are constantly improving. The community occupy one large house with 40 apartments, in which 120 persons, married and single, have their lodgings. There are also some twenty smaller houses, four of which are occupied by the schools. A large edifice, 150 feet by 60, is now nearly completed, the ground floor of which will serve as the kitchen and dining room, with apartments above. This dining-room will accommodate above eight hundred persons at

table.

The whole bedy new cat together, except the children at school, who are served in a separate building, where they are also ledged, at some distance from the common dining room, whither their meals are carried from the kitchen. The carrying of these meals being a comparatively difficult and unattractive duty, ewing to the distance and to the fact that in bad weather the way is muddy, it is done by the leading men of the community. The same persons also serve the tables in the dining room. There are three meals daily, at 8 A.M. and 1 and $6\frac{1}{4}$ P.M. Meat is served at all, the severe labour of the men being thought to render that necessary. The boverages used are water, tea. and coffee. There is excellent fishing in the river, which often supplies the table of the society. For a single meal 250 pounds of fish are required.

The labour of the kitchen and dining room is performed rogularly by four men and three women. After tea four other women come in to help, and in this latter function all the women of the community take turns a week at a time. On Sunday the cooks also have two other men to aid There is no cooking at private kitchens, them. except for nurses and the sick, all the meals be-

ing prepared and taken in common.

The washing is done at half-a-mile distance, on a little creek which flows into the Missouri. The clothes are received by two wemen charged with that duty; they are carried in a wagen to the wash-house, where the labour of washing is done by fourteen women with the assistance of one man. After being dried they are handed over to the menders, and finally to the ironers,

from whom they are again taken by the two overseers and distributed to their owners.

The schools are far from complete, and in consequence the community has been obliged to doclino many applications which it has received for the admission of pupils from abroad. From this source, as soon as the proper arrangements are completed, the institution may derive a large incomo.

The affairs of the community are discussed and decided in weekly meetings, held on Saturday evenings, when all the members, men and women; are expected to be present. The mawomen; are expected to be present. jority docides. Women take part in the deliber-

ations, but not in the votes.

The community publishes a weekly paper, called The Popular Tribune, of whose merits we have before spoken. It has some three or four hundred subscribers. Most of the original articles are written in French by M. Cabet and the other Editors, and translated into English before

going to the compositors.

Sunday is devoted to recreation, as is the habit of the French at home. The community has among its members fifteen instrumental musicians, and the young people, and indeed the greater part of the other members, are trained to sing in chorus. There are dances in the open air, and the theatre within doors. A temporary stage is crected and arranged in the large dining hall, and there comedies and vaudovilles are performed for the amusement of both actors and audience. The children take part in the performances, and exclusion from the stage or the chorus on Sunday is the soverest punishment that can be inflicted on the disorderly at school.

No religious ceremonies are observed in the community. M. Cabet regards his doctrine as being purely that of the Founder of Christianity. In his view, work and happiness are the best and truest worship, and a society based on and living in equality and fraternity needs no other ritual. This, with the mode of spending Sunday, has scandalized some of the neighbours, but none who have visited the Icarians on that day have been able to deny that they seemed happier than people in the common world without.—New York Tribune.

THE YANKEE DIALECT.

WE have often wondered where the Yankees livewhere they come from-where they are (except on the stage, and in the newspapers) to be found-who talk all the varieties of dialect imputed to them by their professed imitators. Wo have wintered and summered for a good many years, in various parts of New England, but we must say that we have never heard what passes for Yankee in the the "re.

There is no doubt but that in some very retired parts of New England, and of Northern New York there is a good deal of queer English spoken, and in a queer style of speaking it, too. Far down on Long Island, it is said, the broadest kind of what is customary to call "Yankee" is spoken.

But all these together do not make up tho language, or the style of speaking, of any very considerable portion of the people of the country. It is the exception to the rule. In England, it is netorious that a pedestrian traveller, who starts at Land's End, and, diverging occasionally to the east and the west, reaches Johnny Grot's, hears almost, if not quite, as many dialects (all supposed to be English), as there are counties on the line of his journey; and the beauty of it is, that the people of contiguous counties, in some cases, cannot understand a word of each other's patois. - There is certainly nothing of that kind in this country,

The best personal experience we ever had of "the genuine Yankee," occurred to us, some years ago, on a trip to the White Mountain region of New Hampshire. It was getting to be late in the season, when we took the stage-coach, at Ethan Crawford's on its way down to Conway. On taking our seat, we found that the only other passenger was a tall, well-knit, bronzed visaged, yet good-looking man, who appeared a woll-to-do sort of person, who had been all his life fulfilling the primal command to man, to get his living by the sweat of his brow. We set him down at a glance, as a far-back Green-Mountainer, and a good specimen at that. On reaching Tom Crawford's, in "the Notch," we stopped to take in any passengers he might have for us. Only one availed himself of the opportunity, and he proved to be of the same honourable and useful profession as our companion. Both were farmers and producors, though the now comer evidently had had his bringing up much nearer the seaboard than the other. From the moment of their meeting, we could see that they had a dubious, yet half confident idea that they had seen and known each other before, and we watched to see how they would come to an understanding. At length, after much eyeing of each other, and some hems and haws, the Vermonter introduced the conversation with a suggestion that he and the new comer had met before; to which the latter (intimating that he was a New Hampshire man,) replied that he thought so as soon as he got into the stage. [A New Englander of this class always calls a stage-coach a stage.] In the course of a few moments they had told each other their names, and were on terms of as casy footing as if they had worked adjoining farms, ever since they had come to "years of discretion." It transpired that they were both on their way to Portland, to make anticipatory arrangements for the sale of their fall stock of produce, such as pork, butter, and other things. The reader may be sure that the rich Yankee dialect was, in all this, in its perfection, and we for once had an opportunity of testing its imitations we had heard by comparing them with the true thing. We could not impart to the reader any idea of it, with pen or voice. It would tax the pen of our friend the Major, and the voice and manner of Hill.

After a good deal of small talk, and a pause of some minutes' duration, says New-Hampshire to Vermont, "Wal, neighbor, 'want 't know heow Squar' Babcock's Bob turned aent? He was 'beault as crooked a stick as I ever see, or haern tell on,

when was up yoder!"
"Oh!" said the other, "that ar' sarp'nt's taken up his sir's trado, and follers it np smart, I tell

"What! Doo tell! Y'don say so! Bob Bab-

cock sottled down t'peddlin?"

"Yes! ho goes tracking about, pooty much arter the old sort! jest like his sir! He was ollers tea pottin' reound, you know, that old oritter!".

We had been a silent listener up to this point, but there was no keeping in longer, and we invo-luntarily paid a warmer tribute to the real Yankee than we had ever done to the imitation.

One of the best hits of Yankee dialoct, as well as a sort of Yankee character, we find in the last number of the Knickerbecker Magazine. It is a description of a scene in Power's studio, at Florence, and "a live Yankee," who calls in to see his countryman at work on the "Greek Slave.". He enters, spitting and wiping his lips with his hand,

and the following colloquy cnsues.

"Be you Mr. Powers, the skulpture?" "I am a sculptor, and my name is Powers." "Y-e-a-s, well I s'pected so; they tell'd me yeon was -y-e-a-s. Look here—drivin' a pretty stiff business, eh?"
"Sir!" "I say, plenty to du, eh? What d's one of them fetch?" "Sir!" "I ask't ye what's the price o' them sech as yoou're peckin' at neow?' "I am to have three thousand dollars for this when it is completed." "W-h-a-t/—heow much?"
"Three thousand dollars." "T-h-r-e-c t-h-o-us-a-n-d d-o.l-l-a-r-s! Hant't statewary ris lately? I was callating to purchase some; but it is tew high. How's paintin's? Guess I must get somo paintin's.— I'-h-r-c-e t-h-o-u-s-a-n-d d-o-l-l-a-r-s/ Well, it is a trade, skulpin' is; that's sartain. What do they make you pay for your tools and stuff? S'peet my oldest boy, Cephas, could skulp; fact I know he could. Ho is always whittlin reound and cuttin' away at things. I wish you'd

groe to take him as a 'prentice, and let him got at it, full ohisel. D' you know where I'd be liable to 'put him cout? He'd cut stun a'ter a while with the best of ye-and ho'd make money, tow, at them prices. T-h-r-e-e t-h-o-u-s-a-n-d d-o-l-l-a-r-s! And the 'anxious inquirer' left the presence." New York Paper.

DEMOCRACY.

THE Tribunes of antient Rome-officers elected by the whole people-had the power of voting any law or measure brought forward by the senate; and on every occasion took precedence of all other magistrates. In their presence every person was obliged to rise. They had the power of imposing silence on any speaker; and it was held impious to interrupt them when advocating the cause of the people. Rome struggled for existence under monarchy, grew prosperous under democracy, and fell under aristoornoy.

The Ephori of Sparta were magistrates of somewhat the same nature as the Roman Tribunes; their power extended to even imprisoning the persons of their kings. For the space of six hundred years Sparta flourished under the government of

the people.

Athens performed her greatest achievements, and produced her most celebrated characters during her existence as a democracy. The Archou, or president of the republic, was chosen annually by the people.

Carthage subsisted and flourished for eight hundred years as a republic. Their chief magistrates, termed Suffetes, were elected triennially.

Ancient Corinth, Thebes, Ætolia, Achaia, Rhodes, and Syracuse, and modern Venice, and Genoa, all grew prosperoue and powerful under democracy, and declined and fell with the abrogation of their freedom.

EVERY MAN A KING .- Every spirit builds itself a house; and beyond its house, a world; and beyond its world, a heaven. Know then, that the world exists for you. For you is the phonomonon perfect. What we are, that only can we see. All that Adam had, all that Cosar could. you have and can do Adam ealled his house heaven and earth; Cæsar called his house, Rome; you perhaps call yours a cobler's trade; a hundred acres of ploughed land; or a scholar's garret. Yet line for line, and point for point, your dominion is as great as thoirs, though without fine names. Build therefore your own world. As fast as you conform your life to the pure idea in your mind, that will unfold its great proportions. A correspondent resolution in things will attend the influx of the spirit..... As whon the summer comes from the south, the snow-banks melt, and the face of the earth becomes green before it, so shall the advancing spirit create its ornaments along its path, and carry with it the boauty it visits, and the song which enchants it; it shall draw beautiful faces, and warm hearts, and wise discourse, and heroic acts, around its way, until evil is no more scen.-Emerson.

THE WORLD AND THE AGE .- We talk of the world, but wo mean a few men and women. If you speak of the age, you mean your own platoon of people, as Milton and Dante painted in eolossal their platoons, and called their Heaven and Hell. In our idea of progress, we do not go out of this personal picture. We do not think the sky will be bluer, or grass greener, or our climate more temperate, but only that our relation to our fellows will be simpler and happier. What is the reason to be given for this extreme attraction which persons have for us, but that they are the age? They are the results of the past; they are the heralds of the future. They indiente—these witty, suffering, blushing, intimi-dating figures of the only race in which there are individuals or changes—how far on the Fate has gone, and what it drives at. As trees make sconery, and constitute the whole hospitality of the landscape, so persons are the world to persons.—Emerson.

Poetry for the People.

THE MASSACRE OF NAPLES.
(From Lays the Revolutions. By the Roy. John Jeffrey.) The King of Naples is a true Bourbon. promised full constitutional liberty to his subicets; he then retracted his promise; and finally massacred them in hundreds by the Swiss Guards and Lazzaroni. The latter wore crueifixes. This, we presume, sanetified the shambles and canonized the butchers. Nothing can be more disgraceful than the mode in which not a few of the leading London journals,-the organs of the great aristocratic factions,—attempted, at the time, to apologise for the Neapolitan despot. Despite of all apologies, but one opinion can be entertained by every impartial person-that the massacro thus perpetrated stands among the most atrocious events recorded in the later history of Europe.

I.
Bright on her bay the sunshine falls,
A glancing rain of gold;
Tri-coloured banners from her walls Flup forth in many a fold; But all at once a blackness like night Has enveloped the shlulng sea,
And the banner of Bourbon—the lying white—
Displaces the flag of the Free.
II.
What means the change?—may kings then break

What means the change?—may kings then bre
Divinely plighted words,
And brandish o'er a people's wreck
Legions of venal swords?
However it be, the tyrant commands,
And the rivers of blood must run;
Ilo! haste to the shambles, ye bought brigands,
Till the butcher's task is done!
III.
They speed—the Alpine vultures speed—
Themselves the eldest horn.

They speed—the Alpine vintures speed—
Themselves the eldest born
Of Freedom, yet, where freemen bleed,
First, this accursed morn!
They have sold their steel for a despot's gold, They have bartered for pay with crime, Branding thus shame on their mountains old, On their race through endless time.

IV.

The Swiss advance-the barricades The Swiss advance—the barricades
Stand firm as stands in rock;
Five times through gore each soldier wades,
Five times rebounds the shock.
Till the roar of artiflery crashes at last,
And they fall like a funeral pile,
Hudding in common ruin and vast,
Assailed and assailants the white!

And darker still the golden sky Grew, as the thunders boomed, And louder rang the daring cry Of those to nurder doomed;

Of those to indirect doction;

For the heroes knew that their struggles were vain,

That the flower of Freedom had died,

All draggled and soaked in the heart's blood rain

Gf the slaughtered on Liberty's side,

V1. They perished as the brave man sinks

They perished as the brave man sinks

Fighting for hearth and home,
One after one the death cup drinks,
Beneath heaven's helt-black dome;
Then a yell of laughter broke from the Swiss—
"See! the Lazzaroni come;
Lot us hound them to murder and fillinge, their bilss,
At the call of trummet and dram!" At the call of trumpet and drian!

On tramps the wild and fattered horde.— Their voices pierce the air.— With kulves to finish what the sword Has left unfinished that the sword
Has left unfinished there;
In their bosons bearing the image of Christ,
But their hands raised ready to slay,
While they neared the place of the massacre's tryst,
And shouted "Viva to Re!"

The tidings flashed with fightning haste.
Through all the new-born hands,
And Europe cursed the realm disgraced. By these red butcher bands:

And the pillage and slaughter relocuded back
On him who had caused the shame,
Who had gooded the bloodhounds on their track To slay in his kingly name XIII.

Yet there were some, who, o'er the dead, Held revel, as it second; The oligarchists, pale with dread, Now of re-action dreamed— Now of re-action dreamed—
And, gathering courage, they bowled apace,
Till it waxed to a thundering cheer;
"Long live the assassin of his race,
The Bourbon Bombardier!"

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RRIEND PROPIR.

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

No. 30.]

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PRICE ONE PENNY.

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CHANGE OF PUBLISHER .- The Friend of the People is now published by Mr. HENRY BEAL, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street. Each number is ready for delivery to the Trade, at 12 o'clock on Monday.

GEORGE SAND!—An early forthcoming number of the Friend of the People will contain the commencement of the matchless Romance,

entitled "THE COUNTESS OF RUDOLSTADT" [Sequel to "Consuelo."] By George Sand.—A full and perfect translation from the original work.

ROBESPIERRE.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE. BY NICHOLAS HENTZ, Deputy to the French National Convention of 1793-94.

(Continued from No. 29.)

WHEN the recalled deputies made their appearance before the Committee of Public Safety, Billaud-Varennes would take them aside, and inform them that they were indebted for their recall to Rohespierre, who, he would add, was aspiring to dictatorship. He would suggest that all would be lost if so dangerous a man were not speedily removed. He caused it to be reported that Robespierre had partisans on the côté droit of the Convention, hy whose assistance he intended to act the part of a Cromwell. He would refer to some facts. "Look at the seventy-three Girondists," he would say, "who were arrested and imprisoned for having protested against the affairs of the 31st of May we wanted to send them before the Revolutionary Tribunal, but he lopposed us, and has saved them." Billaud-Varennes likewise charged Robespierre with having opposed the trial of Madame Elizabeth, the sister of Louis the XVI., and with having expressed dissatisfaction at the indecency of the proceedings against Maric Antoinette; lastly, he charged him with being concerned in the pretended conspiracy of Catherine Teos (a visionary fanatic who foretold that Robespierre would attain supreme power). She was tried as an enemy to the state, and despite the opposition of Robespierre, who regarded her as a lunatic, she perished on the scaffold. Inuendoes such as these were circulated among the members of the Mountain party; the credulous were told that Robespierre would immolate them at the shrine of his ambition; all the severities of the revolutionary government were laid at his door, because he complained of their inefficiency. It was not told that he disapproved of severities which were unfelt by the guilty great, and to which their instruments alone fell victims.

At this period Robespierre seldom made his appearance in the committee of Public Safety; he was busily employed in preparing a law for the restoration of religious worship in France, and was ignorant of the plans laid for his destruction. When the convention adopted the law, the emissaries of Billaud-Varennes represented its author as aiming at sovereign power. Kings, said they, cling to a religion which the French people have learned to despise. At the festival of the Supreme Being, celedrated by the Convention, Lecointre of Versailles, in the excitement of his passion, spat in his face. Nine Thermidorian deputies made it a boast

after the 9th Thermidor, that they had intended to the 9th Thermidor, when he expressed himassaninate Robespierre at this festival; these were nine cowards, whose servile adulation was conspicuous throughout the entire ceremony. Robespierre was painfully affected by the insult he received, but he despised its author. In his speech, delivered in the Convention on the eve of his death, he uttered the following words: "My love for the Republic, and the part I have taken in putting down atheism, have made every traitor and every reprobate my

While Billaud-Vorennes was gaining over to his views the recalled deputies, he neglected no device to weaken the ranks of the more chlightened pa triots. Many he sent away to take places left vacant by others; I can name, for iostarce, Goujoun and Bonrbotte. Scarcely had the first taken his seat in the Convention as the substitute of Gorsas, about two months before the 9th Thermidor, than Billaud-Varennes, who knew his integrity and patriotism, resolved to get rid of him, and appointed him my colleague at the bead quarters of the armics of the Moselle and of the Rhine. As for the second, Billaud-Varennes removed him by appointing him to accompany 10,000 men drafted from the army of La Vendee for the army of the Moselle; he also thus became my colleague, although I . had expressed no wish for additional asistance. I may here observe that Goujoun and Bourbotte were two of the victims of the first days of Praireal, year 3, and that almost all the deputies, who, like myself were on mission, on the 9th Thermider, were recalled immediately after it, and subsequently persecuted and proscribed. By such arts there only remained on the côté gauche of the Convention, the Dantonists, who were won over by Billand, and the feeble, who will always follow any given direc-

Billaud-Varennes gained over the côte droit by representations of a different character. He was intimate with Tallien, and commissioned him to propose to the Girondists the restoration of the 73 incarcerated deputies, of their party, on condition of their consent to Robespierre's overthrow. eagerly accepted the offer, and were judged delighted at the prospect of seeing the terrible men of the Mountain cut their own throats. The fact was ingeniously related to me in conversation by Durand Maillasse one of the most influential members of the cotc droit. Recalled to my duties in the Convention, after the 9th Thermidor, I became assiduous in my attendance in the legislative committee, of which Durand Maillasse had also become recently a member. As I was held in some esteem in the committee, he was pleased to seek my acquaintance. One day our conversation turned on

sclf in the following words, which are still present to my memory: "We liked Robespierre pretty well, because we perceived that he was making every effort to re-establish order, and above all, religion; but Tallien came to propose to us, in the name of Billaud-Varennes, and other prominent men, to recall our 73 colleagues. who were in confinement at the Luxembourg, if we would unite with them to destroy Robespierre and his adherents ; -we could not resist so tempting an offer."

The greater part of the members of the Committee of General Security were devoted to Billaud-Varennes; he imparted to them his aversion against Robespierre. "It is you," would he urge upon them, "as well as we, whom he accuses, when he complains so loudly that a host of rictims are immolated unjustly, while the great criminals

are spared."

Cambon, who had the direction of the finances. and Thuriot who possessed great influence, soon united with Billaud-Varennes; from that moment, all those who had been guilty of malversation on their missions, such as Fouche, Bourdon de l'Oise, Barras, Merlin de Thionville, Rewbel, Fréron, Andre Dumont, declared themselves openly against Robespierre, who was unsparing in his denunciation of the public plunderers.

I can never forget what Bourbotte related to me, when he came to join me in the army of the Moselle, about a fortnight before the 9th Thermidor. "On the eve of my departure," said he, "I dined in the cellars (caveaux) of the Palais Royal, where I knew that several of our colleagues were assem. bled. I observed that they were divided into several scattered groups who were whispering together. They would inquire of cach other, Are you for the Billaud committee of Public Safety ? Others, Arc you for the Robespierre committee? I saw plainly that some extraordinary public event was in preparation. During the dinner a deputy said aloud that Baux (the name of a deputy on mission) had just forwarded to the Committee written proof of peculations committed by Fouche de Nantes. At these words Ruelle, a royalist deputy, said in an ironical and menacing tone- Oh! bientot les baux (beaux) seront bien laids. * I confess I was dceply afflicted at this recital of Bourbette. Regarding it in connection with some expression in a letter I had received from St. Just the day after the battle of Fleurus, respecting the Thermidorian

The point of this pun is untranslatable to readers unacquainted with Freuch. The idea conveyed s that Baux and his party would soon cease to have any authority or influence.

conspiracy, I resolved to repair to Paris as quickly order his arrest, he and his associates would as possible.

At this peroration the

St. Just's return to the Convention after this battle hastened the event. Billaud-Varennes dreaded his eloquence, and the increased influence attached to him by this victory, in which he had

taken so important a part.

Robespierre, knowing that he was about to be attacked, concluded that it was better for him to take the initiative; but he did it badly. Instead of openly designating Billaud-Varennes, Tallien and others (he would have wished to avoid an explosion), he made nothing but vague complaints. After exposing the machinations of the English ministry to divide the republicans, he added, that "there existed dangerous conspiracies in the heart of Paris itself. That no other motive animated him than the drsire to save the country, and that, however disagreeable might be these truths to certain persons, he was compelled to unveil them to the Convention, to enable it to adopt the necessary measures of defence against the danger that menaced it." This expression spread alarm throughout the deputies. Each said to himself-Is it to me that these vague intimations are addressed? Robespierre's forbearing reserve only emboldened his enemies. When he had concluded his speech, the usual proposition was made to order it to be Léonard Bourdon, Vadier and Cambon opposed it. Fréron demanded the report of the decree authorising the Committees to arrest deputies. The printing was ordered in spite of the opposition: and on the same evening Robespierre read his speech at the Jacobins.

The following day, the 9th Thermidor (July 27, 1794). St. Just, who had prepared a speech of a conciliatory character, ascended the tribune, and commenced in these terms:—"I belong to no faction; I will oppose them all; and were I to be precipitated from this tribune as from the Tarpeian rock, I would nevertheless speak out the truth respecting them." He was not suffered to utter more. A torrent of shouts issued from the côté gauche—"down with the tyrants! Down with the dictators!" Several said to St. Just—"Go hack to the armics!" The latter, who was of a gentle and calm disposition, astonished at these rude clamours, to which he was of all men little accustomed (he had always been listened to with interest and silenee), folded up his manuscript and retired, confused and dispirited.

Billand-Varennes immediately took possession of the tribune. The President gave him the floor. All were silent to hear him. He formally accused Robespierre, Conthon, and St. Just of aspiring to tyranny, and of wishing to cut the throats of the Convention. He charged Henriot and Lavalette with being the instruments prepared for this horrible atrocity. He demanded their arrest. Which was supported by Tallien. Barrere also, in the name of the committee, delivered a speech of similar purport. Robespierre demanded the floor to reply. The Convention seemed disposed to to reply. grant it, but the same howlings which had silenced St. Just were now renewed. "You shall not speak !" shouted the Dantonists. All Robespierre's efforts to gain a hearing were in vain. At length he cried out, "A hearing or death!" (La parole ou la mort.) It is certain that if the President had not been of the party opposed to Robespierre, and if he had put it to the vote whether Robespierre should be heard, it would have been decided in his favour. But he did nothing of the kind, and made no attempt to silence this tumult, which he himself favoured. Tallien raised his voice, and silence was restored. The parts of the drama were all distributed. He drew a frightful picture of the revolutionary government, the excesses of which he ascribed to Robespierre, Couthon, and St. Just. He recalled the death of the deputies who had been sacrificed, and imputed it to Robes. pierre, whom he loaded with horrible imprecation. He closed his haranguo by turning towards the picture of Brutus, and swore, dagger in hand, that if the Convention had not the courage to

poinard him themselves. At this peroration the President put it to the vote if Robespierre, Coutbon, St. Just, Henriot, and Lavalette should be ordered to be arrested. All the conspirators immediately rose with a tumultuous noise, stamping violently with their feet. They dragged along with them the timid, those who looked to others to direct their votes, and the resolution passed by a large majority. On its announcement by the President, the deputy Lebas said : "I will have no share in the infamy of this vote, and I demand to be myself arrested also." Robespierre's brother mado the same demand, and they were both included in the same arrest. The same was adopted in regard to the deputy David, the celebrated painter, for having the day before said to Robespierre in open session: "Be not disturbed: if you are made to drink the hemlock, I will drink it with you;" and Joseph Lebon for having, by severe measures against the leaders, arrested a revolt on the point of breaking out in maritime Flanders, while the English were in the act of besieging Dunkirk.

Robespierre, Couthon, St. Just, Lebas, and Robespierre the younger, on their way to prison, were followed by a crowd of citizens, overwhelmed with the most profound grief. The gaoler refused to receive them; the citizens present applauded; and the guard who had escorted them made no resistance to the liberation of those whom they were only bound to escort as far as the prison.

Robespierre, thus released, adopted a wrong course. Instead of returning to the Convention, accompanied by the multitude, he repaired to the municipality (commune). He there learned that Henriot, after being arrested and conducted to the Committee of General Seenrity, had been torn from them by about eight hundred patriots; that lie was traversing the streets of Paris, inviting the citizens to repair to the commune, where Robespierre had sought refuge from the perseeution of a faction which had made itself master of the Convention. The crowd at the commune increased. The cannoniers and the artillery had assembled there. Robespierre waited for the rcturn of Henriot, intending to proceed to the Convention surrounded by the people, and to demand a hearing. I learned from the citizen Dupleix, who was present on the occasion, that Couthon and St. Just disapproved of this inaction, saying that they ought to march immediately to the Convention, preceded by the cannon, and strike terror into the conspirators, without waiting for them to adopt measures of defence against the peril threatening them; but that Robespierre declared that he would never march in arms against the national representation—that he preferred to perish rather thau set so fatal au example. Meanwhile most precious moments were gliding away.

As soon as the Committees had learned the occurrences at the prison, and the gathering at the commune. they acted. They struck a panie into the bosom of the Convention, and communicated to it the terror they felt themselves: "If you do not adopt the promptest and extremest measures," they said, "Robespierre will presently be here to cut all your throats." The Convention passed a vote of outlawry against Robespierre and his accomplices, and charged the Committee with the duty of putting the same into immediate execution.

The notorious Barras was named military chief of the armed force destined to disperse the popular gathering at the commune. Legendre of Paris, Merlin de Thiouville and others of the same stamp, were commissioned to repair to the sections, and to bring out immediately all the national guards who were in arms and disposable. The guards of the 4th and 8th sections in a short time formed a considerable body, more than sufficient to disperse an unarmed assemblage of people. A decree of the Convention and

the force of military discipline prevailed over the repugnance of the citizens to act against Robespierre, though placed in outlawry. The national guard easily dissipated the crowd, and invested the hotol-de-ville.

At this aspect of affairs, Lebas and Robespierre the younger, who had provided themselves each with a pistol, blew out their brains. St. Just allowed himself, with a calm demeanour, to be arrested; Couthon, who had lost the use of his limbs, was carried off. Robespierre the elder, seeing Leonard Bourdon coming up to him, with a pistol in his hand, thought he was coming to inflict death on him, and presented himself to receive it. Leonard Bourdon might have killed him, having him under his muzzle; he vented his rage by only breaking his lower jaw, exclaiming :- "Wretch, you shall never speak again !" He was then arrested, together with the members of the Com-They were conducted to the Committee of mune. General Security. Couthon was insultingly thrown down near a curb-stone at the entrance of the Committee. The Revolutionary Tribunal, to which they were delivered, condemned them to death, after contenting themselves with establishing the identity of the individuals. All the members of the household of the citizen Dupleix, with whom Robespierre lodged, were also arrested. His bride (epouse) was strangled in the night.* They dared not attack the life of that citizen himself, who was an object of general esteem for his integrity, and the purity of his character. More than a hundred patriots were sacrificed without form of trial. At Paris, and afterwards in the Departments, every man of energy who had not been a plunderer, was summarily dealt with. The Ther-midorian assassins stopped at nothing. They justified themselves for this species of massacre, by coming to tell the Convention that Robespierre had aspired to become king, and that they had found on the burcau at the Hotel-de-Ville, a soal with the fleur-de-lis, which was false, and subsequently acknowledged to be so.

* The daughter of the citizen Dupleix, to whom Robes - pi rre was about to be married, is here referred to.

(To be concluded in No. 31.)

FLOGGING IN THE NAVY.

About eighteen months subsequently, I was appointed one of his Majesty's officers, with the very important rank of Midshipman. I had not been many days on board before I heard a hollow sound reverberating round the frigate's decks, and which seemed to bring a shade of gloom over all the faces around me. Again the words were repeated, "All hands, a-hoy!" I eagerly inquired the meaning of this mystery, and was answered by a lad about sixteen years old, "It is all hands to punishment, my boy; you are going to see a man flogged."

The idea of a man being flagged at all, or under any possible circumstances, had never before entered my brain. I had as yet no notion that such a degree of brutality could exist; I had indeed known that boys were flogged, but how they could horse a man was to me a mystery. My reflections were broken in upon by observing all my messmates busily engaged in putting on their cocked-hats, swords, dirks, &c. And as this was the first time I had sported my new dick, except in play, when I put it on at heme to surprise my sister, and to dazzle the brightest eyes in the world, whose owner's name was Caroline, I felt very strange and mingled sensations as I strutted forth on the quarter-deck. The marines were drawn out on the larboard side of the deck, with their bayonets fixed, and their officer with his sword drawn, resting against his shoulder. On the main-deck the seamen had all assembled in a dense erowd about the hatchway, and the said hatchway was ornamented with several gratings fixed up on one end, evidently for some purpose, which I had never yet seen accomplished. The officers in their full uniforms, with swords: and cocked-hats, were pacing the deck in great num-

beca; but all was still and solemn silence. langth the Captain, a stern but good looking man, came forth from his cabin; the marines earrying their arms at the first appearance of his head above the ladder which led from the cabin door to the quarter-deck. The first Lieutenant, taking off his hat, approached the Captain, and reported that "all was ready."

As the Captain came up to the gangway he removed his hat; which was followed by all the men and officers becoming uncovered; and, then, taking from his pocket a printed copy of the articles of war, he read aloud a few lines, which denounced the judgment of a court martial on any person who should be guilty of some particular offence, the nature of which I did not understand. This done, he ordered Edward Williams to strip; adding, "You have been guilty of neglect of duty, sir, in not laying in off the foretopsail yard when the first Lieutonant ordered you; and I will give you a d-d good flogging." By this time the poor fellow had taken off his jacket and shirt, which was thrown over his shoulder by the Master-at-arms, while two Quarter-masters lashed the poor fellow's cloows to the gratings, so that he could not stir beyond an inch er two either way. It was in vain that he begged and besonght the Captain and First Licutenant to forgive him; protesting that he did not hear himself ealled, in consequence of having had a bad cold, which rendered him almost deaf. His entreaties were unheeded; and at the words, "Boatswain's mate, give him a dozen," a tall, strong fellow came forward with a eat o'-nine tails, and having taken off his own jacket, and carefully measnred his distance, so as to be able to strike with the full swing of his arm, he flung the tails of the eat around his head, and with all the energy of his body, brought them down upon the fair, white, plump back of poor Williams. A sudden jerk of the poor fellow almost torc the gratings away from their position, he gave a sercam of agony, and again begged the Captain for the sake of Jesus Christ, to let him off. I was horror-struck on seeing nine largo welts, as big as my fingers, raised on his back, spreading from his shoulder blades nearly to his loins; but my feelings were doomed to be still For as soon as the tall boatswain's more harassed. mate had completed the task of running his fingers through the cords to elear them, and prevent the chance of a single lash being spared the wretched sufferer, he again flung them round his head to repeat the blow. Another slashing sound npon the naked flesh, another shrick and struggle to get free succeeded,-and then another and another, till the complement of twelve agonizing lashes were complete. The back was, by this time, nearly covered with deep red lashes; the skin roughed up and curled in many parts, as it does when a violent blow on the skin causes an extensive abrasion. The poor man looked up with an imploring eye towards the first Lieutenant and groaned out, "Indeed, sir, as I hope to be saved, I did not hear you call me." The only roply was, on the part of the Captain, who gave the word, "Another boatswain's mate!" "Oh, God, sir, have mercy on me." "Boatswain's-mate, go on; and mind you do your duty!"

The effect of one hundred and eight cuts upon

his back had rendered it a fearful sight, but when these bad been repeated with all the vigour of a tresh and untried arm, the poor fellow exhibited a sad spectacle. The dark-red of the wounds had assumed a livid purple, the flesh stood up in mangled ridges, and the blood trickled here and there like the breaking out of an old wound. The pipes of the boatswain and his mates now sounded, and they called "all hands up anchor!" gratings were quickly removed, and of all the human beings who had witnessed the crucl torture on the body of poor Edward Williams, not one soemed in the slightest degree affected. All was bustle, and activity, and apparent merriment, as they wont to work to prepare for quitting old England. As for myself, I was sad enough, and heartity wished that I had joined the camp of the gipsica, instead of the service of his Majesty. A

foul wind, however, compelled us again to anchor: and before we set sail for the Mediterranean, which we did in about a weok after the flogging, our eaptain exchanged into another ship, and we were joined by a very brave and excellent officer, who abominated flogging. For four years I served under his orders, and witnessed no more of the inhuman practice. Tho men were allowed to go on shore at Malta and other places, sometimes sixty or seventy at a time; and so kindly were they treated, that there was only one instance of desortion during all that period. The captain made a point of visiting the whole crew when at dinner, to see, himself, that they had everything they required to make them comfortable. This he did every day. The sick were always fed from his own table. The result of this was, that our ship was the smartest frigate on the station, and fought the most decidedly glorious action which ever graced the annals of the English navy.

I left the frigate eventually, and joined a man-ofwar, where the disgusting boast was made by the eaptain, that he never kept a midshipman six weeks without flogging him, It was not the custom of the service to flog a midshipman except on the breech; and, accordingly, I received my due share of what Captain S, facetiously termed his "battering in breach." I had sufficient interest to procure a speedy removal from that tyrant's power, and joined another ship, where the mids, at any rate, eseaped. I found that my new captain was a most especial saint. He never forgave a first offence, he was wont to say; for if there were no first offence, there could be no second. He seldom flogged for any other crime than profane swearing or drunkenness; these he never by any accident forgave. The result was a flogging-match every Monday morning, and very frequently once or twice in the week besides. The crew grew worse and worse under this treatment, and at length there was searcely a sober seaman or marine on board the ship, though her complement was about 600 men and boys. The more drunken they became, the more he flogged them; but the erime and punishment seemed to react on each other, for the ship became at length so very notorious for the eat, that he was joked about it by his brother The men descried at every opportunity, eaptains. and had less of the appearance and manners of English seamen than any I ever witnessed.

AIDS AND HINDERANCES TO DEMO-CRACY

THERE is no great political party in existence. Inertia among the working-classes is the guarante of things remaining as they are. Our opponente are not afraid to be disunited and disorganised Why should they? None will take advantage o it. Working-men have not yet placed their leader, in a position to do so. The Chartist party is no yet a power. The Parliamentary reformers are too heterogeneous a mass to be effective. They cannot act heartily in any direction. Tho demoeratical element-a large portion of them-pulls one way: the conservative element pulls another way. Between the two the party is kept stationary. An attempt is being made to form a Republican party. It appears to me mischievous. To form a new party whilst an old party isattempted to be consolidated is playing into the hands of opponents by tending to divide those who should be working together for a common end. Much that is excellent and practical is developed in the organ of the party—The English Republic—much that any party with sufficient carnestness would greatly profit by appropriating. There is little doubt that if the Chartist party prove themselves practical men, and make themselves a party worthy of the respect of carnest, thoughtful men. that it will absorb this small body of determined Republicans. Should the Chartist party not prove worthy, I, for one, would gladly see the Republieans take its place. But would unworthy Chartists make worthy Republicans?

The Russell clique—as Chateaubtiand said of

Monarchy - "does not live, cut only exists; and exists only to be pummelled and laughed at by all parties. The Tories pledged to a protective tariff dare not take office. The views of their leaders appear to be modified. They shun the practical explanation that taking office would necessitate. The reformers in the House have shown their dishonesty or miserable inefficiency as a party. Either they do not see their way any clearer than other parties, or they prefer standing still. Through fcar of what might be, they have supported a bad, a treacherous, and inefficient government. In doing so they forfeit the support, and confirm the doubts of those who are not afraid of a Tory Ministry.

The evident reflection on this is, that the Chartist party is not alone in its incapacity. Had the Chartist Exceutive a fourth of the means of the Parliamentary reformers, they would at any rate have made themselves felt-made their party a power that opponents would not have dared despise. As it is, the work must be done with what means we have or ean get. We must make up by extra exertion for the paucity of funds. Method, regularity, a little intelligence and a little persistency, and organization would be effec-

It behoves thoughtful men to set an example of activity as well as to show the necessity for it. The present inertia of working men is suicidal. There will be no harvest to reap in the years to come unless they sow tho seed now, though the germ of good that is in men's hearts germinates and spreads, revolting them with the manifest evils of society. Year by year increasing the disposition for reform, they but grasp blindly at the future. There is no practical party in the van, tracking and showing to what reform should lead. At the same time, year by year science increases the appliances of governments, and experience teaches them to consolidate their powers and to aid cach other. In all probability the next five years will bring the question to an issue between governments and peoples. What work must be done-steady, well-directed, persistent work, if the peoples are to be victorious! I cannot believe that this work will remain undone, when I perceive the scattered energy and intelligence that is working in many a hole and corner in the right direction, with an undaunted faith in the worth of humanity and an unextinguishable love of freedom.

A party is but wanted under whose banner all good men may conscientiously march, and the requisite work would be done right nobly. It appears to me that the late convention has shown signs of becoming such a party. Hithorto we have acted in a whirlwind of indignation under the pressure of want and injury, stimulated by fiery oratory. Let us show that we have outgrown our politieal childhood-that whilst ceasing to be the puppets of leaders, we have lost nothing of carnestness and determination. It remains with you, working men, whether the issue of the question shall remain doubtful in England or not. If you are found wanting, and oppression triumphs, yours is the shame and the loss.

The chartist party is the only political party that has shown to what political reform should lead. For the first time as a party it has said plainly that political rights are but barren principles unless they lead to social rights. It has shown that political reform means profit, inercased comfort, social amelioration to the saffering millions. Funds is all that is required to popularize these principles. The people want reform-reform they can see the worth of. They wait that party who knows the wants of the people and how to satisfy them, and has the means of making its policy known—that party will gain the people. The people wait—for chicanary and folly have so often ensured the defeat of popular forces. Class has so long been pitched against class to the detriment of each

other, that the people are seeptical of success ! however promising it seems. They stand in doubt, in coldness and despair. The people wait

for a guide, for a policy, for a leader.

No party is prepared. If we wait for an opportunity, the opportunity is here. A little exertion, a few men thoroughly in earnest, an effective agitation in the localities. Give vital power to Chartism by effective action in the branches, and we may give a policy to-be the leaders of the people, and guide the spirit of reform to such a consummation as shall lead to permanent and happy results. Take note of this. It is not in the power of executives or conventions to give us the vital energy that we lack. Leaders cannot do the work of the rank and file. It is our selves, who in our several localities must awaken the dormant energies and rouse the sleeping spirit of freedom.

There is talk of waiting till a reaction in our commercial presperity. Are those miserably abject beings, who are content while employment lasts, and reformers only when it ceases-reformers merely from the pressure of hunger-are such as these worthy of the title of soldiers of democracy? Shall true men wait for such? I think They would desert on the first sign of returning prosperity; whilst with us, their only aid would be in swelling a wild cry of savage impotence. They are to be pitied and reformed. It is not by waiting till they are hungry enough to turn anywhere for amelioration that we can hope to reform them; but by awakening a love of freedom, creating desires for a higher life, by showing that freedom with knowledge leads to a prosperity such as they have no conception, to a social existence to which their present is a hell. Success is not to be gained by waiting for a time of scarcity. It is only to be gained by consolidating our forces-by working as men have worked in days gone by, when they had great designs to consummate. The people wait—they will not consummate. The people wait—they will not always wait. We must speak to them now in language unmistakeably plain. We must provo

SERVO. I have preached much about activity and earnest work; I wish also to set an example. I believe there is no Chartist locality in Hoxton; will you signify, through the Friend of the People, that I shall be happy to meet any Chartists for the purpose of forming a locality in or near Hox-ton? It they will call on me at 8, Hemsworthstreet, Hoxton, we can confer upon the subject, any night, excepting Tuesday, after seven o'elock. Yours truly,

ourselves worthy, or they will have none of us.

E. F. NICHOLL.

JULIAN HARNEY'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.

Montrose, June 27, 1851. I AM to address a meeting at Glasgow, on Monday July 7th, and expect to address meetings at Paisley, Barrhead, and Kilbarchan, in the course of the same week.

Letters to be addressed up to the 8th of July, to the eare of Mr. George Adams, bookseller, Nelson-street, Glasgow.

In nearly all the letters of invitation I receive from my Scottish friends, I am asked what are my "terms," &c.—meaning, I suppose, how much money I expect for my visit, &e. To save unuecessary trouble for the future, I will here repeat that which I have had to state in numer as private letters-namely, that I leave all pecuniory arrangements to the honour and the ability of my friends. If I had the means to travel and visit the places to which I am invited without charging any one a penny, I would do so with pleasure. But, when I resigned my connexion with the Northern Star, and the income connected therewith, I gave up all. Perhaps my friends

should know, and I am sure my enemies will be gratified to learn, that I derive no advantage from the publication of this periodical; unless it can be considered profitable to "gain a loss." Under these circumstances, my friends will see that—to say nothing of family eousiderations—it is not possible for me to go North, South, East, and West, at my own cost. As to "terms," it may be very well for professional lecturers to make a fixed eharge for their services, I think they are quite right in doing so; but I am not a professional leeturer.

If I took into account my own self-interest only, I would not make this statement, for I have found that those who have been most reckless in taxing the people have always been best paid; while those who had other aims than money-making, were always the worst treated—proving the knavery of "leaders," and the folly of the led. It remains to bo seen whether both the people and their "advocates" are more conscientious than they were ten years ago.

I reject the idea of anything like an arrangement as to "torms," before visiting any locality; and, I repeat, I leave all money considerations to the honour and the ability of my friends.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JULY 5, 1851.

POISONERS AND PECULATORS. CRUCIFIXION OF THE POOR.

CONTINUING our re-print of the Lancet's revelations as to the real character of the food consumed by the people, we this week present to our readers a brief but sufficiently explicit, and more than sufficiently disgusting, account of the frauds practised by the chieory manufacturers. It is bad enough that the public should be cheated into paying three or four times the value of chicory, even if pure, disguised under the name of coffee. But it will be seen that it is as difficult for the retail purchaser to obtain pure chicory as to obtain pure coffee. The highest medical authorities pronounce pure chicory to be injurious to health, conducive to renal disorders, diarrhoea, &c.; and a celebrated German oculist has enumerated chicory-coffee as among the causes of amaurotic blindness.

If chicory, even in its pure state, is so injurious, what must be the direful consequences resulting from its use when adulterated with the deadly substances detailed in the annexed article! Although the nutritive and stimulating qualities of genuine coffee are absolutely wanting in such articles as roasted carrots, parsnips, beans, peas, mangold wurzel, acorns, &c., they cannot be pronounced absolutely poisonous. But what think our readers of breakfasting on oakbark—doubtless an 'excellent method of ensuring the perpetuation of "Hearts of Oak "-tan, earth, mahogany saw-dust, Venetian red, reddle, burnt blood, and baked horses' liver! Even this last-named filth, we believe, does not complete the list of abominations.

rendered unfit for the feeding of horses, rope-yarn, brick-dust, Russian glue, soot, and rotten coffin-wood!!! The strongest language would fail to express the villainy of the dealers in these horrible messes, which they have the audacity to dignify with the high-sounding titles of "Java Coffee," "Ceylon," "Berbice," "Costa Rica," "Purest Mocha," &c., &c.: These frightful frauds are a thousand fold more atrocious than the old-fashioned roguery of cheating in weight and measure. man who dealt in a pure article but who was base enough to add to his gains by short weight and deficient measure, was a saint compared with these adulterators-for the eustomer had far better be wronged to the extent of only receiving fourteen ounces instead of a pound of pure coffee, than to have sixteen ounces of chicory, burnt blood, horses' liver, Russian glue, brick-dust, soot, and rotten coffins. The law very properly punishes the trader whose weights or balances are imperfect, yet, strange to say, takes no notice of the organised system of poisoning unveiled by the Lancet. So influential are the poisoners that they can even command the protection of a Minister of the Crown, and the support and advocacy of members of the Legislature who pass themselves off as ultra-liberals, Radicals, and "Reformers." The poisoners even have the audaeity to avow their villany, glory in their erime, and declare that the poor shall have no other beverage in the form of coffee, save the filth they name "chicory." At a public meeting, recently held in the metropolis, conveued to consider the adulterations in the coffee trade, the partisans of adulteration boldly declared that their horrible mixtures were good enough for the people. "Coffee is a luxury," were the words of one of the gaug, implying that the poor have no right to anything better; that purity is a luxury to be reserved for the exclusive enjoyment of the rich! This is the very perfection of scoundrelism.

The meeting above alluded to was convened by the wholesale coffee merchants having suffered serious loss by the great falling off in the consumption of genuine coffee, took eare to proclaim themselves the friends of the poor man, and would have had the public believe that in testifying against the villany of the chieory dealers, they came into court with clean hands. That such was not the ease, the reader will see by perusing the following observations communicated by Mr. LLOYD JONES to a late number of the Christian Socialist:-

There are two classes of coffee, looked at in relation to cost; one, the foreign coffee, paying 6d. per pound duty; and tho other, the colonial, paying 4d. per pound duty. The article that regulates the market in England is the native Ceylon; every dealer is supposed to know the value of this, and according as this rises or falls in price, everything else in the market rises or falls in price. It will be seen from this, that the object of the importers must be to run this particular article upin price, because in so doing all other growths that they hold run up with it. Nice management in this respect will make a fortune for a speculator in an inercdibly short space of time. Whilst prices in the wholesale market are thus suddenly run up by the speculator, the retailer finds himself in a Competent authorities, who have followed the example set by the Lancet, announce the discovery of beans, which decomposition had at 1s. per pound. He may go into the market on Monday and pay 40s, per hundredweight for native Ceylons, whilst on Saturday he may be charged 50s. for the very same article; but he cannot, because of this, charge his customers more than he has been in the habit of charging. If he attempts to do se, some neighbour, who can afford to wait the turn of the market, will accept his eustomers at the understood price, and secure him for such profits as he will get in the season of low markets. In 1848, native Ccylon coffees sold at 27s. per hundred-weight; at that time the grocers sold at a good profit, but the wholesale men went into a wholesale speculation, and bought up and held back so large a quantity of the supply, that the prices rose with very great rapidly, until in less than eighteen months the very same article was selling at 65s. per hundredweight-not, be it understood, because of any natural deficiency, but solely and simply hecause speculators had bought up and held back the usual supply.

When this extraordinary rise took place, there remained for the vendors only two modes of proseeding; either to raise their price to the public, or adulterate the article which they sold.

It has been already explained how dangerous it would be to raise the price. The only thing remaining was to adulterate the article sold. Chicory was immediately added without limit or stint; then, as a natural consequence, chicory became dear; new methods became necessary, dog-biscuits and old sea-biseuits were bought up, roasted, and ground as coffee, until even these became scarce; then tarred-rope, and finally the clay dug out of the streets was carted to the premises of the grocers, pulverised in mortars, wetted, thrown into the cylinders with the chicory when roasting, and ground up with the coffee for the use of her Majesty's subjects.

The rascality of the speculators, or rather peculators, is undeniable; but cannot be held to justify the atrocities of the chicorydealers. Between the two thieves, the poor are crucified. Adequate remedy there will be none, until democracy is triumphant, and the people-enlightened, free, and omnipotent-change the entire system of trade and commerce, and abolish the reign of the profit-mongers, universally and for ever.

CHICORY AND ITS ADULTERATIONS.

WHILE the grocers cheat their customers by adulterating coffee with chicory, the chicorydealers cheat the grocers by adulterating the chicory—that is, when the grocers are not themselves consenting parties to the disgusting frauds we are about to expose. The Lancet has devoted two articles to the subject of chicory and its adulterations. In the first experiments, the Analytical Commissioner ascertained that chicory was adulterated with carrot, parsnip, mangold wurzel, beans, lupin-seed, wheat, ryc, dog-biscuit, burnt-sugar, red-carth, horse-chesnuts, and acorns. Only conceive a decoction of all these ingredients for breakfast! But in addition to all these articles, the Lancet has now discovered that oak-bark tan is largely used, charred, and ground very fine, in the adulteration of chicory. Certain preparations of tau known as "croats," are made up in cakes for the use of the adulterators. Iu colour this article has a resemblance to coffee, but it has the smell and taste of tan. It may be purchased in any quantity, and is largely employed in the adulteration of coffee and chicory. Another mixture is what is termed "Hambro

powder," and consists of roasted and ground peas, coloured with Venetian red. This last-named article is the sesqui-oxide of iron, obtained by calcining common copperas (sulphate of iron). Even the "Venetian red" used by the poisoners, is adulterated to suit the various prices of the market! The matter used to adulterate with is supposed to be reddle, the red colouring water used for marking sheep.

After all, perhaps the foregoing mixtures may

be pronounced inuocent compared with what! follows: —"A dealer tells us," observes the Lancet, "that he once bought a quantity of chicery, which contained twenty per cent. of log-wood and mahogany saw-dust." The Lancet adds -"Numerous statements have been made of the discovery in coffee of mahogany saw-dust. This adulteration is so atrocious, that until recently we have refused to give eredence to them, until we ourselves had obtained evidence that this substance is actually employed in the adulteration of chicory. The fragments of ma-hogany saw-dust may be distinguished by their reddish colour, and by the peculiar structure of the woody fibres. We have also evidence to show that other kinds of woody fibre besides mahogany saw-dust are sometimes employed in the adulteration of elicory.'

Still more horrible is the disgusting atrocity. The Lancet continues :- "In various parts of the nuctropolis, but more especially in the East, are to be found liver-bakers. These men take the livers of oxcu and horses, bake them, and grind them into a powder, which they sell to tho lowpriced coffee-shop keepers, at from fourpence to sixpenco per pound, horse's liver coffee bearing the highest price. It may be known by allowing ing the coffce to stand until cold, when a thick pelliele or skin will be found on the top. It goes further than coffee, and is generally mixed with chicory, and other vegetable imitations of coffee. We have received several samples of an article stated to consist of burnt liver. It formed a coarse granular powder of a black colour, and possessed an exceedingly disagreeable and animal smell. Dissolved in water, and set aside for a few days, it became extremely offensive and corrupt, showing that it consisted of some imperfeetly charred animal matter. As iron was readily detected in the solution, it is probable that in this case the substance consisted of burnt blood. The best way, then, to detect this adulteration, is to set aside an infusion of checory or coffec, when, if this substance be present, in a few days the liquid will become offensive.'

Reynold's Miscellany quoting the above, adds-"We have ourselves caused inquiries to be made into the facts above set forth, and the person charged with the investigation, and in whom the fullest reliance can be placed, declares that the disgusting adulteration is really practised in all its filthiest details. He saw the process of 'liverbaking' in operation at a place not a hundred miles from Brick Lane, Bethnal Green; and the master of the 'establishment' not only frankly admitted at once what the baked-livers were for, but also appeared to think that there was not the slightest harm in the adulteration. Another liver-baker, dwelling in the vicinage of Waterloo Town (Bethnal Green), observed with a smile, to our informant. 'It is a capital joke, sir! The grocers chouse their customers on one hand by putting chicory into the coffee; and the grocers are thouselves choused on the other hand, by the chicory-sellers who put liver-stuff and other things into the chicory!"

The Lancet concludes its interesting article in the following manner:-"We have, in previous articles, fully considered the subject of the adulteration of coffee with chicory, and we shall now merely offer a few additional remarks. The law, as we are all aware, sanctions the adulteration of coffee with chicory, to the injury of the revenue and the loss of the public in health and pocket. This same law, however, does not permit the adulteration of coffce with scorched wheat, beans, carrots, &c., but subjects parties practising these deceptions to prosecution, and in case of conviction, heavy penaltics. Such, at least, is the law; but under the present government it is a uscless and dead-letter law, since, notwithstanding the prevalence of these adulterations it is never enforced. But, singular to say, the law, while it provides in word against certain of the adulterations to which coffee is liable, is silent with respect to the adulter-

ation of chicory, so that that which is an offence in the case of coffee, is not illegal in that of chicory, with which the manufacturers may mix corn, beans, carrots, mangel-wurzel, mahogany sawdust, &c ... and yet not violate the excise laws; this, to say the least is grossly inconsistent. In our first report on chicory we treated of the properties of that production: we stated that the recent root is described in our best works on Materia Medica as aperient and diuretic. We showed, also, by experiment, that the roasted root, even when mixed with coffee, in many persons excited both diarrhea and diuresis. These facts are in themselves sufficient to condemn the indiscriminate use of chicory as an article of dict. The great increase which is known to have taken place of late years in the frequency of renal disorders, is probably to be found in the increased consumption of chicory root. But there is good reason to believe that chicory, from its narcotic character, also exerts injurious effects on the nervous system; so convinced of this is Professor Beer of Vicnna-that most celebrated German oculist, that he has enumerated chicory-coffee as among the causes of amaurotic blindness.

THE GOLD USED BY DENTISTS .- The public and the medical profession generally are not aware of a very fruitful source of disease which arises from the introduction iuto the mouths of many thousand persons of metallic plates, and other apparatus for the securing artificial teeth. These plates, &c., are nominally constructed of gold, but, in point of fact, in innumerable instances, there is little or no gold used in the construction of them; silver gilt, or some still baser metal, is employed, which being acted upon by the acids of the stomach produces a poison which insidiously undermines the health, causing cancer and other diseases. The false delicacy of the sufferer, and his ignorance of what causes his complaint, prevent him from receiving such ad. vice as would meet his case. This imposition on the public admits of a most simple remedy; it is merely compelling all persons who are employed in the trade or profession of making such plates, springs, &c.. to have them stamped at the Goldsmiths' Hall, and a standard enforced which would guarantee the security of those by whom they were required.

SOCIALISM.

By Louis Blanc.

Q.-What is Socialism?

A .- The Gospel in practice.

Q .- How so?

A. -The object of Socialism is to put in practice these four fundamental maxims of the Gospel. 1st. Love one another. 2nd. Do unto others as you would have others do to you. 3rd. He that is greatest among you shall be your servant. 4. "On earth peace, good will toward men!"

Q.—What do you infer from these four maxims? A.—The necessary inference, as St. Paul himself declares, is that, in the spirit of the Gospel, all men, though unequal in powers of body and mind, should form but one harmonious whole, as the members of a man, though differing from each other, form but one and the same body.

Q .-- Is that what Socialists look for?

A .- Yes, that is what they mean by COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS.

Q .- Is there any formula which embodies the principles of Socialism?

A .- Yes, it is this -Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

Q .- What is Liberty?

A .- It is the power to develop all our faculties under the dominiou of justice, and the protection of

Q .- Why do you use the word power and not

right in this definition of liberty?

A.-Because if the word right be used, liberty is but a vague theory; whereas, by employing the word power, it becomes a reality.

-What is Equality?

A .- It signifies the equal development of the

unequal faculties of all men, and the equal satisfaction of their unequal wants.

Q .- What do you mean hy that?

A .- I will explain myself more fully :- All men are not equal in physical constitution or in intellect. All men have not the same taste, the same inclinations, or the same dispositions, any more than the same features or the same stature; but it is hoth just and conformable to the general interest, to the principle of solidarity, and the laws of nature, that each should be in a position to employ to the utmost his-natural talents and capabilities for the benefit of others, and be able to satisfy all his natural wants for the benefit of himself. Thus, for example, in the human body there is neither strength nor health, unless each member receives what is necessary to keep it sound, and enable it to perform its natural function.

Q .- Equality, then, according to you, is only another word for a proper adjustment of parts, or

proportionality?

A .- Undoubdtedly; and it can never truly exist until each individual, in accordance with the law that God has stamped upon his organisation, shall produce according to his ability, and consume according to his wants.

Q .- Was it not stated at the Luxemburg that equality of wagos would be the ultimate mode of

realising the principle of Fraternity?

A.—No; but it was stated:—1st. That equality wages applied to the present individual and competitive system would be a premium upon idleness. 20d. That under associative arrangements there would not be the same objection to it; but it would he a sort of transitory means cf avoiding the hickerings and jealousies which an inequal ty of advantages inevitably produces. And lastly, that the true principle of Fraternity, such as it would be in the eventual progress of human society, consisted not io an equality of wages, but in the division of labour according to talent, and the distribution of wealth according to the wants of each.

Q .- Do you think such a state of things practi-

cable at the present day?

A:-No; not at present, perhaps. 1st. Because education having been hitherto a matter of privilege, the talents of most men arc unknown, or have never been brought out; and in the present corrupt state of society, the laws of nature are obscured, and a multitude of fictitious wants, depraved tastes, and useless wishes are created, so that many would work too little and demand too much. But let the false ideas now so prevalent he rectified by education and the advantages of a community life thoroughly understood, then what now appears so difficult would be found of the easiest application.

Q. - What is to be done in the meantime?

A .-- To keep the object steadily in view, and enter boldly on the road to it.

Q .- You do not allow, then, a greater share of social advantages to the most talented, merely

because they are the most intelligent?

A .- Certainly not; because here again it would be completely opposed to the laws of nature. If one man, in order to maintain life, required certain things: that were of no use to another, would it not be absurd to deprive the former of that which was absolutely accessary to him, in order to give it to the latter, to whom it would be perfectly useless? If you are twice as strong as your neighbour, this coroves that God intended you to bear a burden twice as large as his. If your neighbour cannot exist without eating twice as much as you, it is a proof that God has given him the right to a greater portion than yours. The man whose wants are greater, descrives a greater share, and he who has the greatest talents is most indebted to society.

Q .- But do you not lower superior intellect by refusing it the advantages of a peculiar and privi-

leged position?

A .- On the contrary; it is elevated, and obtains that true grandeur which is essentially immaterial, and becomes an object of reverence, admiration, and gratitude; whereas, the system of davishing prividenes and honours only expites very and hatred.

"Whosoever will he chief among you," says the liberty." Oh! such a liberty is doubly heinous, it Gospel, "let him be your servant."

Q .- Do you mean that the pretended right of superior intelligence to hetter treatment and superior advantages in our present, so ealled, civilised state, is as flagrant a nsurpation as that of the stronger over the weaker in the savage state?

A. Yes; and in the former case it is more

iniquitous than in the latter.

Q.—Why so?

A .- Because physical force does not consider its agtions, hut intelligence is expected to act in accordance with reason.

Q .- But suppose your idea completely realised, what reward or encouragement would there be for merit?

A .- The highest encouragement and most delightful recompense; for is it not the highest object to which the efforts of human wisdom can he directed, to enjoy the free exercise of our faculties in satisfying our wants and tastes, and to promote the happiness of others hy the same means that we advance our own? Equality consists in the greatest possible amount of happiness for all, according to the particular organisation and talents of each.

Q.-What is Fraternity?

A .- It is equality consecrated, idealised, sanctified, and maintained hy love.

Q .- Is it possible for liberty to exist in the

present state of society?

A .- No; for though the tyranny of persons has been destroyed, at least in part, hy the overthrow of the feudal system, yet the tyranny of eircumstances remains; for hy ignorance and hunger vast numbers of our brethren are the veriest slaves of poverty.

Q.-Is this slavery a necessary cousequence of

the present constitution of society?

A.—Certainly; for on the one hand education heing given only to those who pay for it, and the greater number not being able to pay, ignorance is positively their necessary portion; and on the other, labour not being protected, nor sufficiently remunerated, miscry is their inevitable fate.

Q .- How is it that in the present state of society

labour is not sufficiently remuncrated?

A .- Because the means and implements of labour are in the hands of a few, and those who possess them are the complete masters of those who are without them. Again, because the workmen, instead of working in associations, go separately to fight the hattle of competition each on his own account, so that when the competitors are too numerous, the wretched lahourers are compelled to struggle against each other for employment, as hungry wolves for their prey, and the one who can sell himself the cheapest is sure of the preference. The consequence is that wages become lower and lower, till they arrive at that point which is scarcely sufficient for the support of life.

-And how is it that labour is not protccted?

A .- It arises from this, that society maintains the principle that every one in this world ought to be left to his own resources to go on in his own way and work out his own destiny. So much the worse for him if he does not find the prize tickets on the threshold of this human lottery in his very cradle. No interference is the maxim of the powers that be in the present day; and, as many often want bread and have not the means to obtain it, the too frequent result is that no interference becomes their death warrant.

Q .- But are we not told that in the present day

industry is perfectly free?

A .- A splendid freedom indeed! which consists in a struggle hetween the millionaire and tho man of moderato income, or hetween the latter and one who has nothing. It is a combat between the gladiator, armed cap-a-pie, and the naked savage; between the giant and the dwarf; the combat hegins, and the blood of the naked man stains the ground, when the dwarf falls crushed by a single couch, lay apparently insensible to the less he had blow; "brave" cry the spectators, "this is just sustained, and his sister watched over him

adds insult to injury.

Q .- Does Equality exist in the present state of

A.—Certainly not, for on the one side are all the advantages, on the other all the burdens; or, in the language of the people, some overflow with wealth while others want the necessaries of life.

Q .- But is there not equality in the eye of the law?

A .- Mere words. Justice not being gratuitous, how can equality exist between the rich man who is able, and the poor man who is unable to pay the expenses of it?

Q .- Does Fraternity exist in the present state of

society?

A .- No; for the principle of all our institutions, laws, manners, and customs is the hase and cowardly one of Every man for himself and God for us all.

Q .- Our present system of society, then, although pretending to the name of Christian, is in no way conformable to the doctrines of Christ?

A .- By no means.

(To be continued.)

Leaves from our Library.

CONSUELO. BY GEORGE SAND.

(Continued from No. 28.)

"When Porpora had become more composed, he thought with terror of the situation in which he had left his pupil, and hastened to rejoin her. He was surprised to find her as calm as if she had watched by the bedside of a sleeping friend. He would have spoken to her and urged her to take some repose :

"'Do not utter unmeaning words,' said she, 'in presence of this sleeping angel. Do you retire to rest, my dear master: 'I shall remain here.'
"' Would you then kill yourself?' said Porpora

in despair.

"'No, my friend, I shall live,' replied Consuelo, 'I shall fulfil all my duties towards him and towards you, but not for one instant shall I leave his side this night.'

"When morning eame, all was still. An overpowering drewsiness had deadened all sense of suf-The physician, exhausted by fatigue, had retired to rest. Porpora slumbered in his chair, his head supported on Count Christian's bed. Consuclo alone felt no desire to abandon her post. The count was unable to leave his bed, but Baron Frederick, his sister, and the chaplain, proceeded almost mechanically to offer up their prayers before the altar; after which they began to speak of the interment. The canoness, regaining strength when necessity required her services, summoned her women and old Hans to aid her in the necessary duties. Porpora and the doctor then insisted on Consuelo taking some repose, and she yielded to their intreaties, after first paying a visit to Count Christian, who apparently did not see her. It was hard to say whether he waked or slept, for his eyes were open, his respiration calm, and his face without expression,

"When Consuelo awoke, after a few hours repose, she returned to the saloon, but was struck with dismay to find it empty. Albert had been laid upon a bier and carried to the chapel. His arm-chair was empty, and in the same position where Consuelo had formerly seen it. It was all that remained to remind her fof him, in this place where every hope and aspiration of the family had been centred for so many bitter days. Even his dog had vanished. The summer sun lighted up the sombre wainscoting of the apartment, while the merry call of the blackbirds sounded from the garden with insolent gaiety. Consuelo passed on to the adjoining apartment, the door of which was half opened. Count Christian, who still kept his with the same vigilant attention that she had formerly shewn to Albert. The baron gazed at the burning logs with a stupified air; but the silent tears which trickled down his aged cheeks showed that bitter memory was still busy with his heart.

"Gonsuelo approached the canoness to kiss her hand, but the old lady drew it back from her with evident marks of aversion. Poor Wenceslawa only beheld in her the destroyer of her nephew. At first she had held the marriage in detestation, and had opposed it with all her might; but when she had seen that time and absence alike failed to induce Albert to renounce his engagement, and that his reason, life, and health, depended on it, she had come to desire it as much as she had before hated and repelled it. Porpora's refusal, the exolusive passion for the theatre which he ascribed to Consuelo, and in short all the officious and fatal falsehoods which he had despatched in succession to Count Christian, without ever adverting to the letters which Consuelo had written, but which he had suppressed-had occasioned the old man infinite suffering, and aroused in the canoness's breast the bitterest indignation. She felt nothing but hate and contempt for Consuelo. She could pardon her, she said, for having perverted Albert's reason through this fatal attachment, but she could not fergive her for having so basely betrayed him. Every look of the poor aunt, who knew not that the real enemy of Albert's peace was Porpora, seemed to say 'you have destroyed our child; you could not restore him again; and now the disgrace of your alliance is all that remains to us.

"This silent declaration of war hastened Consuelo's resolve to comfort, so far as might be, the canoness for this last misfortune. 'May I request.' said she, 'that your ladyship will favour me with a private interview? I must leave this to-morrow ere daybreak : hut before setting ou tI would fain

make known my respectful intentions."

"' Your intentions! Oh, I can easily guess them, replied the canoness, hitterly. 'Do not be uneasy, mademoiselle, all shall be as it ought to be, and the rights which the law yields you shall be strictly respected.'

"I perceive von do not comprehend me, madam,' replied Consuelo; 'I therefore long-

" 'Well ! since I must drain the bitter cup to the dregs,' said the canoness, rising, 'let it he now, while I have still courage to endure it. Follow me, signora. My eldest brother appears to slumber, and Supperville, who has consented to remain another day, will take my place for halfan-hour.

"Wenceslawa conducted Consuelo to a large apartment, richly decorated in an antique fashion, where she had never been before. It contained a large state bed, the curtains of which had not been stirred for more than twenty years. It was that in which Wanda Prachalitz, the mother of Count Albert, had breathed her last sigh; for this had been her ap rtment. 'It was here,' said the canoness with a solemn air, after having closed the door, 'that we found Albert, it is now two-andthirty days since, after an absence of thirteen. From that day to this he never entered it again; nor did he once quit the arm-chair where yesterday

he expired.

"The dry cold manner with which the canoness uttered this funereal announcement struck a dagger to Consuclo's heart. She then took from her girdle her insparable bunch of keys, walked towards a large cabinet of sculptured oak, and opened both its doors. Consuelo saw that it contained a perfect mountain of jewels tarnished by age, of a strange fashion, the larger portion antique and enviehed by diamonds and precious stones of considerable value. 'Phese,' said'the canoness to her, 'are the family jewels which were the property of my sister-in-law, Count Christian's wife, before her marriage; here, in this partition, are my grandmother's, which my brothers and myself made her a present of; and lastly, here are those which her hueband bought for her. All these descended to her son Albert, and henceforth belong to you as

his widow, Take them, and do not fear that any one here will dispute with you these riches, to which we attach no importance, and with which we have nothing more to do. The title-deeds of my nephew's maternal inberitance will be placed in your hands within an hour. All is in order, as I told you; and as to those of his paternal inheritance, you will not, alas! have probably long to wait for them. Such were Albert's last wishes. My promise to act in conformity with them had, in his eyes, all the force of a will."

"'Madam,' replied Consuclo, closing the cabinet with a movement of disgust, 'I should have torn the will had there been one, and I pray you now to take back your word. I have no more need than you for all these riches. It seems to me that my life would be for ever stained by the possession of them. If Albert bequeathed them to me, it was doubtless with the idea that, conformably to his feelings and habits, I would distribute them to the poor. But I should be a bad dispenser of these noble charities; I have neither the talents nor the knowledge necessary to make a useful disposition of them. It is to you, madam, who unite to those qualities a Christian spirit as generous as that of Albert, it belongs to employ this inheritance in works of Charity. I relinquish to you my rights (if indeed I can be said to have any), of which I am ignorant, and wish always to remain so. I claim from your goodness only one favour, viz., that you will never wound my feelings by renewing such offers.'

"The canoness changed countenance. Forced to estcem, but unwilling to admire, she endeavoured

to persist in her offer.
"'But what do you mean to do?' said she, looking steadily at Consuelo; "you have no fortune ?'

"' Excuse me, madam, I am rich enough. I have simple tastes, and a love for labour.'

"' Then you intend to resume—what you call your labour?"

"'I am compelled to do so, madam, and for reasons which prevent my hesitating, notwithstanding the dejection in which I am plunged,

"'And you do not wish to support your new rank in the world in any other manner?"

" What rank, madam?"

" That which befits Albert's widow."

" 'I shall never forget, madam, that I am the widow of the noble Albert, and my conduct shall be worthy of the husband I have lost.

" 'And yet the Countess of Rudolstadt intends

once more to appear on the stage!

"There is no other Countess of Rudolstadt than yourself, madam, and there never will be another after you, except the Baroness Amelia, your niece.' Do you mean to insult me by speaking of

her, signora?' cried the canoness, who started at that name as if seared with a red-hot iron,

" 'Why that question, madam?' returned Consuelo, with an astonishment which' Wenceslawa saw at once was not feigned. 'In the name of Heaven, tell me why I have not seen the young baroness here? Oh, Heavens! can she be dead also?'

"'No,' said the canoness, bitterly. 'Would to Heaven she were! Let us not speak of her; what

we have said has no reference to her.

" 'I am nevertheless compelled, madam, to recall to your mind what only now strikes me. It is, that she is the only and legitimate heiress of the property and titles of your family. This must put your conscience at rest respecting the deposit which Albert has confided to you, since the laws do not permit you to dispose of it in my favour.'

"'Nothing can deprive you of a dowry and title, which Albert's last will has placed at your

disposal.'

Ther pothing can prevent me renouncing them; and I do renounce them. Albert knew well that I neither wished to be rich nor a countess.'

"But the world does not authorise you to renounce them. ""The world, madam! Well, that is precisely

what I wished to speak to you about. The world would not understand the affection of Albert, ner the condescension of his family, towards a poor girl like me. They would consider it a repreach to his memory, and a stain upon your life. They would esteem it both ridiculous and shameful on my part; for, I repeat it, the world would understand nothing of what has here passed between us. The world, therefore, ought always to remain ignorant of it, Madam, as your domestics are ignorant of it; for my master and the doctor, the only confident, the only witnesses of that secret. marriage, who are not of your own family, have not yet divulged it, and will not divulge it. I can. answer for the former; you can and ought to as. sureyourself of the discretion of the latter. Live. tranquil, then, madam, on this point. It will depend upon yourself alone to bury this secret in the tomb, and never by my act shall the Baroness Amelia suspect that I have the honour to be her cousin. Forget, therefore, the last hour of Count Albert's existenco; it is for me to remember it, to oless him and be silent. You have tears enough to shed, without my adding to them the mortification you must feel in recalling my existence as the widow of your admirable child!

"" Consuelo! my daughter! cried the canoness. sobbing, 'remain with us! You have a lofty soul and a great heart! Do not leave us again!

" 'That it would be the dearest wish of this heart, which is all devotion to you,' replied Consuelo, receiving her caresses with emotion; 'but I could not do it without our secret being betrayed or guessed, which is the same thing, and I know that the honour of your family is dearer to you than life. Allow me, by tearing myself from your arms without delay and without hesitation, to render you the only service in my power.'

"The tears which the canoness shed at the termination of the scene, relieved her from the dread. ful weight that oppressed her. They wore the first she had been able to shed since the death of her nephew. She accepted the sacrifice which Consuelo made, and the confidence which she placed in her resolutions proved that she at last appreciated that noble character. She left it to her to communicate them to the chaplain, and to come to an understanding with Suppervillo and Porpora, upon the necessity of for ever keeping silence on the subject.

CONCLUSION. "Consuelo finding herself at perfect liberty, passed the day in wandering about the chateau, the garden, and the environs, in order to revisit all the places that recalled to her Albert's love. She even allowed her pious fervour to earry her as far as the Schreckenstein, and seated herself upon the stone, in that frightful solitude which Albert had so long filled with his grief. But she soon retired, feeling her courage fail her, and almost imagining that she heard a hollow groan issuing from the bowcls of the rock. She dared not ad mit even to herself that she heard it distinctly: Albert and Zdenko were no more, and the allusion therefore, for it was plainly such, could not prove otherwise than hurtful and enervating. Consuclo hurriedly left the spot.

"On returning to the chatcau towards evening, she saw the Baron Frederick, who had by degrees strengthened himself on his legs, and had regained some animation in the pursuit of his favourite The huntsmen who accompanied amusement. The huntsmen who accompanied him started the game, and the baren, whose skill had not deserted him, picked up his victims with

a deep sigh.

"He at least, will live and be consoled,' thought

the young widow.

"The canoness supped, or pretended to sup, in her brother's chamber. The chaplain, who had been praying beside the dead body in the chapel, endeavoured to join them in their evening meal, But he felt feverish and ill, and after the first few mouthfuls was obliged to desist. This provoked the doctor a good deal. Ho was hungry, and now compelled to let his soup cool in order to canduct the chaplain to his chamber, he could not help exclaiming- 'These people have no strength or courage! There are only two men here—the canoness

and the seign ra!'

"He soon returned, resolved not to trouble himself much about the indisposition of the poor priest, and made a hearty supper, in which he was imitated by the baron. Porpora, deeply affected, though he did not display it, could not unclose his lips either to speak or to eat. Consuelo's thoughts were occupied with the last repast she had made at that table between Albert and Anzoleto.

"After supper she proceeded along with her master to make the necessary preparations for her departure. The horses were ordered to be in readiness at four in the morning. Before separating for the night, she repaired to Count Christian's apartment. He slept tranquilly, and Supperville, who wished to quit the dreary abode, asserted that he had no longer any remains of fever.

" 'Is that perfectly certain, sir?' said Consuelo,

who was shocked at his precipitation.

" 'I assure you,' said he, 'it is so. He is saved for the present, but I must warn you that it will not be long. At his time of life, grief is not so deeply felt at the crisis, but the enemy merely gives way to return with greater force afterwards. So be on the watch, for you are not surely serious in determining to surrender your rights.'

"'I am perfectly serious, Sir,' said Consuelo, 'and I am astonished that you do not believe in

so simple a matter.'

"Permit me to doubt, madam, until the death of your father in-law. Meantime you have made a great mistake in not taking possession of the jewels and title-deeds. No matter; you have doubtless your reasons, which I do not seek to know; for a person so calm as you are does not act without motives. I have given my word of honour not to disclose this family secret, and I shall keep my promise till you release me from it. My testimony may be of service to you when the proper time coines, and you may rely on my zeal and friendship. You will always find me at Bareith, if alive; and in this hope, countess, I kiss your hand.'

"Supperville took leave of the canoness, after having assured her of his patient's safety, written a prescription, and received a large fee-small however he trusted in comparison with that which he was to receive from Consuelo—and quitted the castle at ten o'clock, leaving the latter

indignant at his sordidness.

The baron retired to rest better than he had been the night before : as for the canoness, she had a bed prepared for herself beside Count Christians's. Csnsuclo waited till all was still: then when twelve o'clock struck she lighted a lamp and repaired to the chapel. At the end of the cloister she found two of the servants, who at first were frightened at her approach, but afterwards confessed why they were there. Their duty was to watch a part of the night beside the young count's remains, but they were afraid, and preferred watching and praying outside the door.

"'And why afraid?' asked Consuelo, mortified to find that so generous a master inspired only such sentiments in the breast of his at-

tendants.

"'What would you have, signora?' replied one of these men, unaware that he was addressing Count Albert's widow; 'our young lord had mysterious relations and strange acquaintances among the world of spirits. He conversed with the dead, he found out hidden things, never went to church, ate and drank with the gipsies-in short, no one could say what might happen to any one who would pass the night in this chapel. It would be as much as our lives were worth. Look at Cynabre there! They would not let him into the chapel, and he has lain all day long before the door without moving, without cating, without making the least noise. He knows very well that his master is dead, for he has never called him once, but since midnight has struck, see how restless he is, how he smells and whines. as if he was aware his master was no longer

"'You are weak fools!' replied the indignant 'If your hearts were warmer your Consuelo. minds would not be so feeble; and she entered the chapel, to the surprise and consternation of

the timid domestics.

"Albert lay on a couch covered with brocade with the family escutchens embroidered at the corners. llis head reposed on a black velvet cushion, sprinkled with silver tears, while a velvet pall fell in sable folds around him. A triple row of waxen tapers lit up his pale face, which was so calm, so pure, so manly, that a spectator would have said he slept peacefully. The last of the Rudolstadts was clothed, according to family custom, in the ancient costumo of his fathers. The coronet of a count was on his head, a sword was by his side, a buckler at his feet, and a crucifix on his breast. With his long black hair and beard, he seemed one of the ancient warriors whose effigies lay thickly scattered around. The pavement was strewn with flowers, and perfumes burned slowly in silver censers, placed at each corner of his last sad resting place.

"During three hours Consuelo prayed for her husband and contemplated him in his sublime repose. Death, in spreading a graver shade over his features had altered them so little, that often, in admiring his beauty, she forgot that he had ceased to live. She even imagined that she heard the sound of his respiration, and when she withdrew for an instant to renew the perfumo of the censers and trim the flame of the tapers, it seemed to her that she heard slight rustlings, and perceived almost imperceptible undulations in the curtains and the draperies. She re-approached him immediately, but on perceiving his frozen lips and silent heart, sho renounced her fleeting and insensate hopes.

"When three o'clock struck, Cousuelo rose and pressed upon the lips of her spouse her first last

kiss of love.

"' Adicu, Albert!' said she aloud, earried away by her religious enthusiasm; 'you can now read without uncertainty all the emotions of my heart. There is no longer a cloud between us, and you know how I love you. You know that if I abandon your precious remains to the eare of a family who to-morrow will return and look upon you with calmness, I shall not the less remember you and your unfaltering love for ever. know that it is not a heedless widow, but a faithful wife that leaves your last abode, and that she shall never cease to bear your memory in her heart. Adieu, Albert! As you have said, death severs us in seeming only, and we shall meet again in eternity. Faithful to the conviction again in eternity. Faithful to the conviction which you have implanted in me, certain that you have merited God's blessing and approval, I weep not for you; and nothing will present you before my thoughts under the false and cruel image of death. You were right, Albert, I feel it in my heart, where I shall ever love you—thore is no real death.'

"As Consuelo finished these words, the eurtains behind the bier were perceptibly moved, and suddenly opening, presented to view the pale features of Zdenko. She was terrified at first, accustomed as she was to look upon him as her mortal enemy, but there was an expression of gentleness in his eyes which reassured her, and, stretching over the bed of death a rough hand which she did not hesitate to grasp in hers, he exclaimed with a smile-'Let us be at peace, my poor girl, here by his bed of rest. You are the good child of God, and Albert is well pleased with you. Ah! he is happy now; Albert sloeps well! I have pardoned him, as you seo! When I learned that he slept, I came; and now I shall never leave him more. To morrow I shall bring him to the grotto, and there we shall still converse about Consuelo-Consuelo de mi alma! Rest then, my child; Albert is no longer alone. Zdenko is there-always thero! He wants nothing more—his friend will provide for him! The misfortune is averted; evil is destroyed; death is overcome. The thrice glorious day has risen. May he whom they have wronged salute

you! "Consuelo could support no longer this poor fool's childish joy. She bade him a tender adieu; and when she opened the chapel door, sho allowed Cynabre to enter and bound forward towards his old friend, whom with his uncrring instinct, he had already long perceived. 'Poor Cynabre! Come, come—I shall hide you under my master's couch, said Zdenko, caressing him as he spoke with as much tenderness as if he had been his own child. 'Comc, my Cynabre; we are all three once more united, and never shall we be scparated again.'
"Consuelo hastened to awaken Porpora, and

then ontered on tiptoo into Count Christian's apartment, and glided between his bed and that

of the canoness.

"'Is it you, my daughter?' said the old man, without evineing any surprise; 'I am happy to soe you. Do not waken my sister, who sleeps well, thank God! Go and do likewise; I feel quito easy. My son is saved, and I shall soon be

"Consuelo kissed his white hair and his wrinkled hands, and succeeded in stifling her tears which would perhaps have dissipated his illusion. She dared not disturb the canoness. who reposed at last after watching for thirty nights. 'God,' she thought, 'has placed bounds to grief, even in its paroxysm. May the rest of these unhappy souls be long!'

"Half an hour afterwards, Consuolo, who felt her heart wrung with grief on leaving these nobleminded friends, crossed the draw-bridge of the castle with Porpora, without once recollecting that the frowning stronghold whose moats and bars enclosed such riches and such suffering, had become the property of the Countess of

Rudolstadt."

THE END.

Poetry for the People.

THE EXCOMMUNICATION.

Out upon the lying teachers who beneath their traitor flag,
Fighting for the base and wicked, o'er the field of battle

lag;
Out upon the Truth's assassins, who would madly trample far
From day's firmament its sunshine, from the nightly sky cach star!

II.

Out upon the lazy Dives, who, when needy brothers pray, Each poor Lazarus that seeks him, foodless, drinkless, drives away;
Out upon the hoary varlets practised in all hollow wiles, Who before the earth's base idols only light their brows with smiles!

Out upon the godless priesthood, out upon the herd of

slaves, Who but wear the mask of virtue,—white-washed tombs

Who but wear the mask of virtue, and trim-kept graves;
Out upon the sainted traitors who with hearts all hardened now,
Though ten thousand judgments faced them, still would sin with brazen brow!

IV. Out upon the Consecration which they say is theirs by

right,—
Consecration fit for demons, into darkness changing light;
Out upon the false Apostles, those whose very name is

death;
Out upon the graceless minions,—pestilence is in their breath!

Out upon the whole dark legion, who this world into a hell

hell
Change, and raise themselves to heaven, yea, above it fain would dwell!
Lord of glory, come in tempest, summon them before Thy face, And to desolation hurl them, freeing Europe from their

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PROPIR. RRIEND

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

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CHANGE OF PUBLISHER.—The Friend of the People is now published by Mr. Henry Beal, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street. Each number is ready for delivery to the Trade, at 12 o'clock on Monday.

GEORGE SAND!—An early forthcoming number of the Friend of the People will contain the commencement of the matchless Romance, entitled "THE COUNTESS OF RUDOLSTADT" [Sequel to "Consulto."] By George Sand.—A full and perfect translation from the original world.

from the original work.

ROBESPIERRE.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF MAXIMILIAN ROBESPIERRE. BY NICHOLAS HENTZ, Deputy to the French National Convention of 1793-94.

(Concluded from No. 30).

ROBESTIERRE was one of the most honest men of the revolution,—his worst enemies do not ven-ture to deny this. In recapitulating what precedes, we see that he disapproved the rigorous measures pursued during the Revolutionary Government, since they reached only the instruments of crime, and spared its instigators.

It was not he who instituted that government; it was Billaud Varennes. It was not he who was the author of the loi des Suspects; it was Merlin de Douai. He opposed the institution of the proceedings against the 73; as also against Madame Elizabeth, which, nevertheless, took place in spite of his opposition. He blamed the indecency of the proceedings against Marie Antoinette. He wanted useful examples only,

by the punishment of the leaders.

He was, on the other hand, the principal framer of the constitution of 1793, the author of that of the worship of the Supreme Being. He proposed the institution of a system of public education. He invited the Convention to turn its attention to a civil code, which was prepared within his time, though not ordained till after his death.

The ruftians who rummaged his papers threw into the fire his moral writings, and those relative to republican institutions. This fact was told me by Massieu, one or the nine deputies commissioned by the Convention for this business of plunder. This commission was presided over by Courtois, a cousin of Danton, and his worthy imitator. Massieu was made so indignant by it, that he gave in his resignation, not choosing to share the infamy of the fraudulent suppressions which were committed there; he was, nevertheless, one of those whom Billaud had sneeceded in exasperating against Robespierre.

The most conclusive fact against the calumnics with which his memory is loaded, is that Billaud-Varennes charged it upon him as a crime when he accused him of not having set his foot in the meetings of the Committee for six weeks, -and it was during these six weeks that the Revolutionary Tribunal remained in permanent sitting, and mowed down the greatest number of heads.

But, it is said, he drew up, during that period, as before, lists of proscription, and men were dragged to the scaffold at his slightest nod! Can against Robespierre, is that of the feelish-learned

one give any credence to such absurdities? Who] was Robespierre in the Convention and the Com-Nothing more than each one of his colmittees? leagues; he had but his single voice like all the

Nobody had the right to send an individual to the revolutionary tribunal, but the Convention itself, the Committees of General Security and of Public Safety, or the representatives on mission to

the departments.

The Revolutionary Tribunal could not receive, and never did receive any one to trial but upon a decree, or an order from these authorities. Now, since Robespierre never accepted any mission, and had nothing but his voice in the Convention, and in the Committee of which he was a member, he never made nor could make any list admissible to the Tribunal; and if he had made a thousand, had given a thousand nods, no more attention would have been paid to him, than to the grimaces of a pantomime of Créteaux. Was it Robespierre whom Fouqué Tinville addressed, when he said,—" The river seemed to him to flow with blood?" No, it was the Committee of Public Safety, and at the period when Robespierre absented himself from it.

What eredence can we give to denunciations of Billaud-Varennes, who, on the 9th of Thermidor, accused Robespierre of the crimes of the revolutionary government, which Billaud himself directed,-and that more than six weeks after the eommission of them? If the revolutionary severities appeared crimes to him then, why did he not oppose them, or at least wby did he not denounce them before their execution? Why, when Barrère eame to tell the Convention, that the Committee then under the control of Billaud-Varennes, were stamping money on the Place de la Révolution?why did the Convention appland? Why, at that fine flourish, were hats waved, and why did the

hall resonnd with applause?

Is it not absurd to talk of a man having tyrannized over 749, his equals in station and power, for a space of fourteen months, while possessing neither money, nor armies, nor retainers, nor executive public employment—and that he should have forced them, in spite of themselves, to vote decrees which they repealed after his death, while they overwhelmed with excerations, him whom they had deemed worthy of apotheosis? It is very certain this assembly did fasten upon itself the alternatives of perfidy or of cowardice. I should blush to have been a member of it, if it had not proscribed me, at the same time that it thus attacked itself.

The class of men who have been the loudest

(les faux sarans). They consist of the greater part of ex-masters of colleges, accustomed only to speak with rod in hand. They fancy themselves demi-gods because they know, or fancy they know, a little Greek. "Du Gree, ma swur! Du Gree!" says Molière in his Femmes Savantes. They are the word-critics, who will throw the best book in the world into the fire, if they discover in it a fault of syntax or a word not approved by the aeademy. That Le Mercier, author of the Tableau de Paris, was one of the 73, and voted always with the Girondins, because he used to dine at Madame Roland's. He always belonged to the party opposed to the progress of the revolution; he wound up by becoming at last a Buonapartist. He published against Robespierre his Nouveau Tableau de Paris, where one-half of what he advances is contradicced by the other half. All these (and there were but too many of them in the Convention) detest Robespierre because he paid little regard to their verbiage, and because he only appreciated that learning which subserves the good of humanity.

Invention has been exhausted to imagine motives which would allow us to believe in the eruelties that are attributed to him. Some have said that he meant to reign in France; others suppose it was envy; others insist it was fear. Le Mereier, in his Nouvean Tableau de Paris, says that Robespierre was more pedantic than crucl.

Reign !- and reign over whom? No one has expressed himself with more vigour than he against

kings and all potentates.

Envy !- and what envy? That of riches? He might have obtained them ;-he died poor, after having lived soberly and simply; he was on the point of marrying the eldest daughter of the honest upholsterer with whom he lodged, is gratuitously supposed to have had richly furnished apartments; he lived, in fact, as a lodger, with the citizen Dupleix, who furnished him, at a moderate price, with two rooms. This supposed luxury is so well supported by fact, that the price of all his furniture and effects, when sold, did not exceed six hundred francs in assignats. Whom could he envy-he, who is supposed to have been during fourteen months the supreme ruler? He desired but one thing, the prosperity of the Revolution, for the benefit of the people, and not of a handful of plunderers. This single desire, this single thought, occupied all the faculties of his

Fear !- who could inspire with fear the man who is said to have reigned over the 749 masters of the destinies of France? He had but one fear, and that was the fear of the influence of the

English ministry. During the six menths pre-ceding his death, he never ceased repeating to the Jacobins, that the English guineas were our most mortal enemies. I often went to the house of the citizen Dupleix, where I used to see Robespierre. He always appeared to mo in a state of affliction for the misfortunes which he foresaw; he would often say to us: "I am afraid we have made a mistako in our desire to promote the good of our country. Virtue is in the minority on the earth. The wicked are too numerous, and will at last prevail, and we shall be obliged to cutour own throats." These are his own words.

When about setting out for my last mission to the army of the Rhine, in Floreal, I went to the Committee of Public Safety to receive my Instructions from Carnot. (They sent me, because this army had just sustained a loss in the encounter at Schifferstadt, which had forced it to rotire on the boundaries of Queich, before Landau.) I was struck with the air of constraint and anxiety which I observed there. I saw on one side Couthon and St. Just, both pensive, and even molancholy, seated on a bench against the wall; and on the other, Billaud-Varennes and Callot d'Herbois, before the writing-table, and apparently deeply engaged, casting, from time to time, a sinister glance on Conthon and St. Just. Robespierre arrived, and seemed to mo astonished at these different expressions of countenance. As I quitted the Committee, Robespierro followed me, and said, asido: "My dear colleague, if you find any criminals, let them be judged on the spot, and send none to the revolutionary tribunal. They want to effect the counter-revolution by means of their excesses."

So long as he did not denounce the libertlnes, the plunderers, he rose triumphant from all the attacks directed against him; but from the mo-ment that he drove them from the temple his ruin was so artfully contrived that it was impossible for him to avoid it. There is general outery against-Robespierre—that is easily understood—he opposed point-blank all parties unfriendly to the democracy which he wished to establish. Ho had, he has still for his enemics, the Court, the Aristocraey, the Girondins, the Dantonists, the Hébertistes, the rich, the greater part of the anti-rovolutionists, the pedants, or the foolishlearned. Who, then, remains to defend him? Reason, common senso, the people. But as for reason, the passions stifle it; as for common senso, there are so many people who do not wish to have anything to do with it; it kills prejudice;—and as for the people, they obey the direction that is given them. And what impression has it been possible for them to receive, whon, ever since the 9th Thermidor, all the papers under the surveil-lance of the government have never ceased their vociferations against this man-when Europe is poisoned by the calumnies of Eugland against the Revolution and its defenders ?

EXTRACT FROM THE LAST SPEECH OF ROBESPIERRE.

"They call me a tyrant! If I were so, they would fall at my feet: I should have gorged them with gold, assured them of impunity to their crimes, and they would have worshipped me. Had I been so, the kings whom we have conquered would have been my most cordial supporters. It is by the aid of scroundrels you arrive at tyranny. Whither tend these who combat them? To the tomb and immortality! Who is the tyrant that protects me? What is the faction to which I belong? It is yourselves! What is the party which since the commencement of the Revolution has crushed all other factions—has annihilated so many specious traitors? It is yourselves; it is the people; it is the force of principles! This is the party to which I am devoted, and against which crime is everywhere leagued. I am ready to lay down my life without regret. I have seen the past; I forsee the future. What lover of his country would wish to live, when is my own; as I am born to the carth, so is the tho ruin of others; among the proletarians who he could no longer succour oppressed innocence? earth given to me, what I want of it to till and have their daily bread to get, it is the attempt of

Why should he desire to remain in an order of things where intrigue eternally triumphs over truth -where justleo is deemod an imposture-where the vilest passions, the most ridiculous fears, fill every heart, instead of the sacred interests of humanity? Who can bear the punishment of seeing that horrible succession of traltors, more or less skilful in concealing their hideous vices under the mask of virtue, and who will leave to posterity the difficult task of determining which was the most atrocious? In contemplating the multitude of vices which the Revolution has let loose pell-moll with the civic virtues. I own I sometimes fear that I myself shall be sullied in the lips of posterity by their calumnies. But I am consoled by the reflection that if I have seen in history all the defenders of liberty overwhelmed by calumny, I have seen their oppressors dle also. The good and the bad disappear alike from the earth; but in very different conditions. No. Chaumetto! 'Death is not an eternal sleep!' -Citizens, efface from the tombs that maxim engravon by sacrilegious hands, which throws a funeral pall over nature, which discourages oppressed innocence: write rather, 'Death is the commencement of immortality!' I leave to the oppressors of the people a terrible legacy, which well becomes the situation in which I am placed: it is the awful trnth, 'Tuou shall die!'

PROPERTY.

The youth is an innovator by the fact of his birth. There he stands, newly born on the planet, a universal beggar, with all the reason of things, one would say, on his side. In his first consideration how to feed, clothe, and warm himself, he is met by warnings on every hand, that this thing and that thing have owners, and he must go elsewhere. Then he says, If I am born into the earth, where is my part? have the goodness, gentlemen of this world, to show me my wood lct/ where I may fell my wood, my field where to plant my corn, my pleasant ground where to build my cabin. Touch any wood, or field, or house-lot, on your peril, cry all the gentlemen of this world; but you may come and work in ours, for us, and we will give you a piece of bread. And what is that peril? Knives and muskots if we meet you in the act; imprisonment, if we find you afterwards. And by what authority? By our law. And your law—is it just? As just for you as it was for us. We wrought for others under this law, and got our lands so. I repeat the question, is your law just? Not quito just, but no cossary. Moreover it is justor now than it was when we were born; we have made it milder and more equal. I will none of your law, returns the youth. It encumbers me. I cannot understand, or so much as spare time to read, that endless library of your laws. Nature has sufficiently provided me with rewards and sharp penalties to bind me not to transgress. Like the Persian noble of old, I ask, that I may not be recommend nor obey. I do not wish to neither command nor oboy. I do not wish to enter your complex social system. I shall serve those whom I can, and they who can will serve me. I shall seek those whom I love, and shun those whom I love not, and what more can all your laws render me?

I find this vast network, which you call property, extend over the whole planet. I cannot occupy the bleakest erag of the White Hills or the Alleghany Range, but some man or corporation stops up to me to show mo that it is his. Now, though I am very peaceable, and on my private account could well enough die, since it appears there was some mistake in my creation, and that I have been mis-sent to this earth, where all the scats were already taken,-yet I feel called upon in behalf of rational nature, which I represent, to declare to you my opinion, that if the earth be yours, so also is it mino. All your aggregate existences are less to me a fact than

to plant; nor could I without pusillanimity, omit to claim so much. I must not only have a name to live, I must live. . I cannot spare you the whole world. I love you better. I must tell you the truth practically; and take that which you call yours. It is God's world and mine; yours as much as you want, mine as much as I want. Besides, I know your ways; I know the symptoms of the disease. To the end of your power, you will serve this lie which cheats you. Your want is a gulf which the possession of the broad carth would not fill. Yonder sun in heaven you would pluck down from shining on the universe, and make him a property or privacy, if you could; and the moon and the north star you would quickly have occasion for, in your closet and bod-chamber. What you do not want for use, you crave for ornament, and what your convenionce could spare, your pride cannot.

-Emerson's lectures, 1841.

THE SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES.—Within the last four years the head of the English church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, has died, and left bohind him a fortune of £100,000, which he has bequeathed to his rich relatives, and not a penny to the poor! The 25 state bishops of England divide among them annually, as shown by a late parliamentary return, the sum of one hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling! The sums which they leave behind them at their death are enormous. From another parliamentary return it is proved, as stated in the House of Commons, that 11 Irish state bishops left behind them amassed wealth to the amount of £1,875,000, accumulated within a period of from 40 to 50 years! The following is the list extracted from the parliamentary return:—"Probates of wills of Inix's bishops:—Stopford, Bishop of Cork, £25,000; Perey, Bishop of Dromore, £40,000; Cleaver, Bishop of Ferns, £50,000; Bernard, Bishop of Limerick, £60,000; Knox, Bishop of Killaloe, £100,000; Fowler, Bishop of Dublin, £150,000; Beresford, Bishop of Tuam, £250,000; Hawkins, Bishop of Raphoc, £250,000; Stuart, Bishop of Armagh, £300,000; Porter, Bishop of Clogher, £250.000; Agar, Bishop of Cashel, £400,000; making a total of £1,875,000. How great, indeed, must have been the privations of the apostolio Bishop of Cashel, through which he could save 400,000 in a single life, from the tribute levied on the poorest, worst fed, and worst clad of all the nations on the face of the earth. How much charity and christian virtue must the prelates of Dublin, Tuam, Armagh, and Cogher have exercised to enable them to heard up fortunes of from £250,000 to £300,000 a-piece And these are the bishops of the Church of Ircland, for which we are now keeping up an army in that country of 34,000 soldiers, besides an army of polico to mount guard overits safety.

SOCIALISM.

By LOUIS BLANC. (Continued from No. 30.)

Q .- How shall we establish and realise Liberty.

Equality, Fraternity?

A .- By ensuring the moral and intellectual development of all without exception, through the instrumentality of a uniform, gratuitous, and compulsory education; and by guaranteoing the right to labour by the substitution of the principle of association for that of individualism.

Q.—What do you mean by individualism?
A.—It is that principle which causes each man

to earo for himself alone, to promote his own private interests at any expense, even of society itself.
Q.—What is the most striking of the principles

of individualism in society as now constituted?

A.—Composition.

Q .- What is competition?

A .- It is the effort of each to enrich himself, by

each to get himself employed in preference to the

Q .- What are the natural effects of competition?

A .- Envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness and low tricks, adulteration of commodities, unbounded avarice, lowering of wages, waste of the energies of society through conflicting interests, an enormous and permanent destruction of capital, produotion left to the direction of chance, the weak oppressed by the strong, in a word, the ruin of all liberty, equality, and fraternity. Competition is the war of industry; its results are the same as those of war, without its glory, courage, and selfdevotion.

Q .- But does not competition give rise to emulation?

A .- Yes; if by emulation you mean the fierceness with which two enemies endeavour to kill one another; but certainly not, if you mean an ardent desire to be the foremost in promoting the happiness of others at the same time that you increase your own.

Q.—Whence arises real emulation ?

A. - From association.

Q .- What is association ?

A .- It is that principle by which men, instead of isolating themselves, fighting for life and fortune as for same booty, and tearing each other to pieces, are led to harmonise their wills, to combine their talents, and work together at a common task, of which each would receive the fruits according to his wants, after having con ibuted to the production in proportion to his abilities.
Q.—What are the results of association?

A .- Love, the harmony of the individual with the general interest, and, consequently, an ho-nourable emulation; the introduction of science in the place of chance, the unlimited increase of public wealth by a scientific combination of the various powers of nature, and its distribution according to the various wants of the individuals; in one word, the real practice of Christianity-Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Association is no other than the organisation of labour on the basis of family arrangements, and its results are the same.

Q .- How are we to pass from the present order of things to that which you contemplate?

A .- By the intervention of Government. Q .- What is the Government or State?

A. -It is a body of upright and distinguished men, chosen by their equals to guide us all on our way to liberty.

Q. Why do you say that the business of the Government is the consecration and establishment

of liberty?

A .- This results from the definition we have already given of liberty. For liberty being not only the universally-acknowledged right, but the actual power insured to overy citizen of fully developing his faculties, it follows that society owes to each of its members the benefits of mstruction, without which human energy is stifled at its very birth, and should provide bim with the means and implements of labour, without which he is at the merey of the tyrant. How, then, can reciety ensure to each of its members both instruction and the implements of labour, if not by the Government, which is the representative and epitome of society?

Q.-Does not the word Government or State

imply an idea of tyranny?

A .- Yes; wbcrever power is something distinct from the people; wherever it is allowable for any, whether an individual or a party, to say with Louis XIV., "I am the State!" Wherever power is a privilege rather than a duty. But in the new world which the Socialist contemplates, the Government is the people managing their own affairs by means of their delegates, and the grand maxim of the State would be, "the chiefest of all is the servant of all."

Q.—Why is it desirable for the Government to teke the initiative in Social regeneration?

A .- Because it is too vast a work, is opposed by too many obstacles, blind interests, and absurd prejudices, to be easily accomplished by isolated individual attompts. It requires nothing less than the united energies of all, powerfully exercised by the most upright and intelligent. The Government undertaking to regenerate society is like the head consulting for the health of the body.

Q .- Can the work of Social regeneration be undertaken or accomplished by a single attempt? A .- Certainly not. On the contrary, it requires much time, patience, and watchfulness, and could bo brought about solely by the gradual introduction of a series of well-digested measures, which will be given at the end of this Catechism in the form of a law.

Q.-Will the object of these measures be to make the Government the sole employer, merchant, and manufacturer of the country?

A.—Not in the least. The Government, as you will see, will only have to take the initiative of an extensive reform, which, instead of restricting individual energy and freedom of action by a narrow and oppressive policy, will give it greater scope and vigour, and impress it with a higher moral character.

Q .- Are all Socialst writers of the same opinion with respect to the measures that should be followed !

 Λ .—No. Some, indeed, do not admit the prineiple we laid down at the beginning, that " Each should work according to his abilities, and receive according to his wants." But all Socialists agree in these important points-that education should be gratuitous to all; that association should be snbstituted for individualism; that the right to labour should be acknowledged; that all taxes upon the necessaries of life, which press so heavily on the poor, should be exchanged for an income-tax on a just and equitable scale; that all railways, mines, and assurance offices should be transferred from the hands of private speculators to those of the Government; that usury should not be allowed under any form; that the interest of money should be continually diminished until labour should be entirely emancipated from the tyranny of capital, and that proletarianism should be abelished by the introduction of gratuitous credit.

Q .- What is capital?

A .- It is the totality of the implements of labour. The labourer requires food, clothing, and shelter, and must have tools, materials, &c., to work with. These, together, form what is called capital.

Q .- Does it not follow from this that without capital there can be uo labour?

A. - Undoubtedly.

Q.—Is it not just, then, that capital should receive a share of the profits under the name of interest, this being only a fair recompense for the services which it renders?

A.—Such are the arguments of the advocates of nsury, and may be shown to be mere sophistry. It is perfectly true that labour eannot exist without capital, but interest is paid to the capitalist, not to capital. Now, capital and the eapitalists are two perfectly distinct things. capital to exist it is not necessary that it should be exclusively possessed by a few individuals to whom interest must be paid. Suppose an association of labourers, possessing a common capital that is not belonging to any particular individuals, but all the members in common; they would work on their capital without paying interest on it to any one, as in this case there would be no capitalist, although there would be capital. It is not possible to imagine labour without a labourer, but we can easily conceive of capital without a capitalist, When a labourer dies, his labour ceases, but when a capitalist dies, his capital survives hlm. No similarity, therefore, can be established between capital and labour, from which to deduce the justice of any premium termed interest.

Q.—What is represented then by the interest of

capital?

A .- It represents the privilege accorded to certain individuals to sit still and see their fortune increase and reproduce itself; or it represents the price which labourers are compelled to pay for the permission to work; or finally, it represents their subjection to a condition which few can successfully strugglo against, and none escape.

Q.—How do you understand gratuitous credit? A.—It consists in supplying the labourer with necessary capital, without requiring interest from

Q .- Would not this be the result of the universal adoption of association?

A .- Certainly; for as soon as the labourer can always find admittance to an association possessing a commission capital, of which he is invited to take advantage, the problem is solved; eredit gratis is simply association.

Q .- What is money !

A .- It is the representative of capital, and the circulating medium of exchange.

Q .- Is a metallic surrency necessary in the operation of exchanges?

A .- Under the present social system it is, but not in that which the Socialist contemplates.

Q .- Why is a metallic currency the necessary medium of exchange in the present system of society?

A.—Because, having an intrinsic value, it becomes a scenity as well as a token, as it can be melted down into ingots, and be employed in works of art; it not only represents exchangeable commodities, but is actually of equal value to them. It, therefore, becomes a security to those who receive it; and it is the same as if they received the very object of which it is the tolen or representa-tive. Now, nothing less than such a veurity would be satisfactory under a system and opposing interests, where fraud ny thy be Primilar gets distrust.

Q.—Why will a metallic currency be unneces-

sary in the new order of things?

A.—Because all the members of an association would know one another, and uothing would be left to chance or accident.

Q .- What sort of money, then, will be employed in the new state of society?

A .- Paper money. Gold is the money of mistrust and individualism; paper is the currency of mutual trust and association.

Q.—Supposing Socialism realised, why would a paper currency be preferable to a me. allic one?

A.—Because the former, being without real value, would be exactly what a currency ought to be, a simple medium of exchange, while the latter, having an intrinsic value, becomes an object of merchandisc, and thus renders the rich complete masters of exchange operations, which are the life

and soul of trade and industry.
Q.—Is there no danger in the use of a paper eurrenev?

A .- There is certainly, in the present order of things, because the facility of creating it, would induce governments to extend the issue beyond all bounds, which would lower its value, and disturb commercial transactions; but there would be none in a state where the government really consisted of the best and ablest, and social intercourse was regulated on a systematic basis, in harmony with the laws of nature, as would be the case in the fraternal associations contemplated by the socialists, for in that case any arbitrary issue of paper money could be effectually prevented by regulating it according to the amount of goods in the ware-

When defects, either in the form, or in the administration of government, occasion such disorders in society as are excessive and intolerable, it becomes the common interest to discover and to apply such remedies as will most effectually remove them. Slight inconveniences may be long overlooked or endured; but when abuses grow to a certain pitch, the society must go to ruin or attempt to reform them.—Robertson.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

ERNEST JONES accepts with pleasure the invitations from the Democrats of Worcester, Han-ley, Cheltenham, Congleton, Tutbury, Peterborough, Birmingham, Newport Pagnell, Bristol, Bridgewater, Exeter, Devonport, Plymouth, Torquay, Newtown, Merthyr, Llanidloes, &c., and begs to assure them he will redeem his pledge of visiting those localities, as soon as the investigation relative to his treatment in prison, now before the House of Commons, permits of a lengthened absence from town.

CONSUELO.

I VERY much regret that, owing to an over-sight, a portion of the tale of "" Consuelo" was omitted in No. 30. The part so omitted shall be inserted in No. 32.-J. HARNEY.

JULAN HARNEY'S TOUR IN THE NORTH.

LETTERS, until further notice, to be addressed as follows :---

> G. JULIAN HARNEY, Manchline,

> > Ayrshire. N. B.

In nearly all'the letters of invitation I receive from my Scottish friends, I am asked what are terms,' &c .- meaning, 1 supboom reach money I expect for my visit, 10. To save unnecessary trouble for the future, I will here repeat that which I have had to state in numer us private letters-namely, that I leave all pecuniary arrangements to the honour and the ability of my friends. If I had the means to travel and visit the places to which I am invited without putting any one to the cost of even a penny, I would do so with pleasure. But, when I resigned my connexin with the Northern Star, and the income connected therewith, I gave up all. Perhaps my friends should know, and I am sure my onemies will bo gratified to learn, that I derive no advantage from the publication of this periodical; unless it can be considered profitable to "gain a loss." Under these circumstances, my friends will see that-to say nothing of family considerations-it is not possible for me to go North, South, East, and West, at my own cost. As to "terms," it may be very well for professional lecturers to make a fixed charge for their services, I think they are quite right in doing so; but I am not a professional lecturer.

If I took into account my own self-interest only, I would not make this statement, for I have found that those who have been most reckless in taxing the people have always been best paid; while those who had other aims than money-making, were always the worst treated—proving the knavery of "leaders," and the folly of the led. It remains to be seen whether both the people and their "advocates" are more conscientious than they were ten years ago.

I reject the idea of anything like an arrangement as to "terms," before visiting any locality; and, I repeat, I leave all monoy considerations to the honeur and the ability of my friends,

G. JULIAN HARNEY.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1851.

TO THE READERS OF THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

IT is my unpleasant task to announce that, in all probability, this publication will have to be discontinued.

A friend of mine, who had engaged in a literary speculation which had turned out unsuccessful, on being questioned as to why the unlucky publication had ceased to appear, made answer-in the dialect of North Britain—"It did na' pay." The answer more than satisfied the questioner.

However disagrecable the task, it is necessary for me to confess that this publication, both under its former and its present title, has never returned one penny for my labour. Of late, owing to causes I need not particularise, the "return" has been, each week, very considerably below the "out-lay." For some time past, the *Friend* has been published at a loss of from *thirty* shillings to three pounds weekly.

This must be mended, or ended. I am not in a position to pay out of my own pocket two or three pounds weekly for the pleasure of doing work that ought to command remuneration, instead of entailing upon the worker pecuniary loss; and to recklessly plunge into debt, would be both injurious and dishonourable. Thus far I have contracted a debt which, although in amount contemptible in the estimation of speculators and profit-mongers, will be to me a burden and an affliction of mind until I can succeed in discharging it, as I hope to do to the uttermost farthing. There is another reason why I should cease to harass myself with this unlucky publication. When the only personal result of writing for the people is to write oncself into debt, it is not possible for very long to sustain that "spirit" which is one of the essentials of good writing, and necessary to maintain a public writer's political influence and usefulness. Is there any "public spirited" patriot, blessed with a good conceit of himself, who feels disposed to demur to that which I have just declared, let him try the experiment; let him set himself to the patriotic task of labouring without reward, and not merely that, but also with the result of finding himself plunged into debt, and, my word for it, he will find his conceit evaporate long before he shall have given the experiment twelve months' trial.

Notwithstanding my losses, I shall, for two or three reasons, be sorry to terminate the existence of the Friend. I shall be grieved to part company from those few but faithful friends who have stood by me to this hour. It was desirable that the present

stamped Friend could be produced in its stead. I much wished to complete the story of "Consuelo," by publishing the sequel, announced on the 1st page; the sequel being by farthemost interesting and valuable portion of the story. Never were the holyprinciples of EQUALITY, LIBERTY, and FRATER-NITY set forth in language more sublimely eloquent than that adorning nearly every page of the "The Countess of Rudolstadt," a work never yet given to the people of this country. Lastly, in publishing the information, derived from the Lancet and other sources, relative to adulterations in the food of the people, I designed to complete the exposure by publishing the names of the principal cheats and poisoners.

The question as to whether the Friend of the People shall be continued, rests with its readers and well-wishers. I believe the circulation could be raised, provided I could command the means of greater publicity, and adopt therewith some changes, calculated to improve the matter of the publication. To pay for advertisements, placards, hand-bills, &c., some pounds are necessary.

 ${
m I}$ propose-

To withhold the first chapter of "The Countess of Rudolstadt," until I can sec whether there is a prospect of completing the translation, if once commenced.

To publish two more numbers, in addition to the present, to afford time to readers and friends to declare their wishes as to the. continuance of the Friend of the People. If I am supplied within a week or ten days with the necessary assistance, I will persevere. If not the publication must necessarily cease.

There may be some, who, declining or neglecting to render assistance to the present series of The Friend of the People. will nevertheless urge the immediate commencement of the stamped journal announced to appear under the same name. To all such I must beg leave to say, "Prove your good wishes for the success of the projected journal by responding to the appeals made some time since by the Committee." There has never yet been an instance of commencing a newspaper without capital-unless perhaps in a few casos, where certain schemers designed the plunder of certain paper-merchants, printers, &c., - and those schemers if they had not capital, at least had credit. Democratic journals form no exception to the general rule. If a paying circulation could be assured the projected newspaper from the first number, then very little capital would be needed; but who can guarantee that? To make a beginning without the means of cusuring for the experiment a fair trial, at a time too when there is no agitation worthy of the name, and, consequently, no extraordinary demand for democratic newspapers, would be madness. After the experience Friend should be carried on until the I have had, I am not at all willing to

risk the responsibility of the frightful losses, or debts, an unsuccessful newspaper is sure to create for its luckless "proprietors."

A man may be bound to give his labour, his liberty, and even his life, to the cause of his country and mankind, but he cannot be required to sacrifice his honour. On the contrary, I hold for a man to wilfully make shipwreek of his honour is to be guilty of treason to the cause with which his name may be. associated. Democracy can fall into no greater error than to commit its banner to those who trail it in the mire. One of the most powerful weapons the enemy can employ against the party of the people is to be able to affirm of the popular leaders that "he is a debauchce" "he is a charlatan"—"he is a liar" or "he is a reckless contractor of debts, &c." What though the people may be able to retort on the "higher" and "middle" classes the charges of impurity, imposture, mendacity, and swindling, and to prove that even those classes in the mass exist only in virtue of the present omnipotence of brigandage and fraud; avails not-

"Plate sin with gold,
And the strong lance of justice hurtless breaks;
Clothe it with rags—a pigmy's straw doth pierce it."

Demomeratic leaders should be able to silence the voice of Accusation, and defy the venom of Slander; and should aim at placing themselves in the position enjoined upon Cæsar's wife—that of being "above suspicion."

At the same time the people should do their part. Self-sacrifice and a steadfast adherence to Duty, are virtues which should not be monopolised by "leaders;" but should, on the contrary, be kept in view by the masses. The best-intentioned men may faint and fall, if they see all around them steeped to the lips in selfishness.

For myself I feel that I have already sacrificed even more than I ought to have done to keep this publication alive. It must cease, unless its readers and well-wishers immediately determine otherwise.

This is No. 31; unless I receive the assistance necessary to enable me to rescue the publication from its present ruinous position, No. 33 will terminate the existing Friend of the People.

Letters to be addressed to G. JULIAN HARNEY, Manchline, Ayrshire, N.B.

P.S.—Persons who may receive this number through the post will please to understand that the design is not to make any personal appeal to them individually, but merely to secure their help in giving the earliest publicity to the above letter amongst those who, in their neighbourhood, may fairly lay claim to the title of "Good men and true."

JULIAN HARNEY AT MONTROSE.

From the Montrose Standard, June 27, 1851: Public Meeting.-A meeting was held last night in the Guildhall, with the view of memorialising her Majesty's Government to exercise its influence on behalf of Kossuth, now confined in Turkey, with a view to his immediate liberation. The Hall was pretty well filled, in consequence of all our Chartists assembling to hear Julian Harney, one of their favourite leaders, and not a few went to hear him out of mere curiosity. The tailors seemed to have the management of the meeting, and one of their number being called to the chair, gave a very eloquent speech, full of sound and fury, but his memory unfortunately failed him. Harney then came forward, and drew an historical sketch of the eauses which led to the Hungarian war, taking a wide sweep over continental politics, and indignantly denouncing the crowned brigands of Europe, and the assassin governments that persecuted patriots to the death. As a platform agitator, Harney certainly possesses great talent, but seems so thoroughly wedded to extreme democracy and French Socialism, that we would advise him to learn the French language, and become a member of some of the sceret Parisian clubs. A few thoughtless youths cheered him when he said he could easily prove all property to be robbery; and some of them were even so very foolish as to give him a cheer when he was justifying the lawless murder or assassination of what he called the tyrants and oppressors of their country—alluding to seenes that had oc-curred on the Continent. Regarding Hungary, he said much that was true-often rising to eloquence; but, ever and anon, the red-hot Republican appeared in his address; and we thought, oftener than once, that the speaker might have been of some service to Robespierre during the Reign of Terror-at least he might have been heard in the terrible Jacobin Club that was in the cellar. Such men, we are happy to say, have little power in this country; for the physicalforce Chartists are defunct, and, as for Socialism, the working classes have too much good sense to embrace its pernicious absurdities and delusions. So far from being a member of the Peace Congress, Harney would have us to free Hungary by force of arms, and he spurns the mean-spirited crew who would not rise and fight for liberty. With him Louis Napoleon is a traitor, and so are all the members of the French Assembly. What Harney wishes, is a pure democratic Republic, a sovereign people, such perhaps as existed in France after the execution of Louis the Sixteenth. A public agitator of this stamp, if he rise above the contempt of the public, ought to be handed down as an enemy to the best interests of society. We have no sympathy with fire and faggot de-magogues—with Red Republicans, and Infidel Socialists, whatever language they may speak, or to whatever side of the English Channel they may belong. From the first to the last we sympathised with the Hungarians, and would be happy if Kossuth and his copatriots were restored to freedom; but such Socialists as Harney will not benefit their cause by declaring that all property is robbery, that the soverigns of Europe are crowned brigands, and that war ought not to cease until the last sword be buried in the heart of the last tyrant in Europe. Such language is more befitting bedlam than a public hall, and we hope it will not be repeated in the hearing of a Montrose audience, without calling forth the disapprobation which it merits. From the Montrose Review, June 27, 1851 :-

THE HUNGARIAN PATRIOTS. - A public meeting of the inhabitants was held yesterday evening in the Guildhall, for the purpose of memorialising the British Government to use their influence to obtain the liberation of the noble Kossuth and his companions in captivity. Mr. Rew was called to the chair, and a resolution was read in accordance with the object of the meeting. Mr. Julian Harney, from London, then rose to speak in support of the resolution. Commencing with the state of Hungary in 1847, he traced step by step, in a most energetic and eloquent manner, the treacherous and perfidious conduct of the Austrian Government towards that noble and gallant country; showing that, while preserving the mask of friendship towards the Magyars, they instigated the barbarous Croatians to enter the country, carrying ruin and murder and devastation in their train; and that, notwithstanding the bravery and heroism of the Hungarians, they were finally trampled down under the iron hoof of despotism, and the torch of liberty almost extinguished in blood. With a power and an energy rarely surpassed, Mr. H. depicted their sufferings, and stigmatised the traitor Georgey and the oppressing Austrians; and he concluded by calling on the meeting to make up their minds as to what part they were to take in the struggle of the futurewhether they were again to stand supinely by, and calmly see liberty once more trodden under foot, or whether they were to compel the Government to use all the resources of this great nation in protecting suffering humanity from the Cossack hordes. For (said he) the tyranny and oppression at present triumphant will shortly cause one vast conflagration-one sweeping revolution-to pass over Continental Europe, compared with which the revolutions of 1848 were mere child's play. .The resolution was agreed to unanimously; and after votes of thanks to Mr. Harney, the Chairman, and the Provost for the use of the hall, the meeting separated.

If representation be a question of right, then the right is in favour of reform; if it be a question of reason, then is reason in favour of reform; if it be a question of policy and expediency, then do policy and expediency both loudly call for the extension of reform.—Lord John Russell, 1st March, 1831

The kings of Europe would have laughed mightily two centuries ago, at the idea of a commoner, without robes, crown, or sceptre, stepping into the throne of a strong nation. Yet who dared to laugh when Washington's voice greeted the New World from the President's chair, and the Old World stood still to catch the echo?

COCOA AND ITS ADULTERATIONS.

[FROM 'THE "LANCET "]

In this country, cocoa is sold under the names flake, rock, granulated, soluble, dietetie, homocopathie cocoa, etc. Now there is nothing in these names to indicate that the articles in question are anything more than varieties of eocoa; or to show, what is too frequently the case, that they are compounds of sugar, starch, eocoa, and oftentimes other substances. The practice of calling these mixed articles "cocoa" is manifestly as improper and is manifestly as improper and deceptive as it is to call the compound of coffee and and chicory, "Patent Compressed Coffee," "Finest Turkey Coffee," etc. The French and other continontal manufacturers of cocoa adopt a more straightforward and proper course; they never eall their compound and manufactured articles "cocoa," but "chocolate;" thus they even denominate the cakes which they prepare, and which contain nothing but cocoa, "chocolate." The cocoa, then, of the English makers in general is not cocea at all, but chocolate; whenever, therefore, the word cocoa, (an adjective of indefinite signification being prefixed,) is employed to designate an article which is not pure or genuine cocoa, we shall consider and subscrit e that article as adulterated -- a course which is not only suggested by common sense, but also justified by the law as framed to prevent the adulteration of cocoa.

Respecting the adulteration of cocoa, Mr. Mitchell has the following observations :- " Chocolate is adulterated with flour, potato-starch, and sugar, together with cocoa-nut oil, lard, or even tallow. Even the so-called finest chocolate is made up with clarified mutton suct and common sugar, together with ordinary cocoa. If in breaking chocolate it is gravelly; if it melt in the mouth without leaving a cool, refreshing taste; if it, on the addltlon of hot water, becomes thick and pasty; and, lastly, if it form a gelatinous mass on cooling, it is adulterated with stareh and such like substances. Where earthy and other solid substances are doposited from chocolate mixed with water, either the beans have not been well cleansed. inferior sugar has been employed, or mineral substances have been added to it, either for the purpose of colouring or of increasing its weight. Morcover, when chocolate has a kind of cheesy taste, animal fat has been added; and when very raneid, either vegetable oil, or even the seeds themselves, have been employed in the sophistication. The mineral substances employed in the making up of chocolate are some of the ochres, both red and vellow, together with minium (red lead), vermilion, sulphate of lime, chalk, etc. Chocolate so adulterated, more especially with the preparations of lead, are highly injurious; it is, however, only the inferior chocolates that are thus adulterated."

From the work of Mr. Normandy we extract the following remarks:- "Unfortunately, many of the preparations of the cocoa-nut, sold under the names of chocolate, of cocoa flakes, and of chocolate powder, consist of a most disgusting mixture of bad or musty cocoa-nuts, with their shells, coarse sugar of the very lowest quality, ground with potatostarch, old sea-biscuits, coarse branny flour, animal fat (generally tallow, or even greaves). I have known coacoa-powder made of potatostarch, moistened with a decoction of cocoa-nut shells, and sweetened with treacle; chocolate made of the same materials, with the additions of tallow and of ochre. I have also met with chocolate in which brick-dust or red-ochre had been introduced to the extent of twelve per cent,; another sample contained twenty two per cent of peroxide of iron, the rest being starch, cocoa-nuts with their shells, and tallow. Red lead has been found in certain samples of chocolate, and serious accidents have been caused by that diabolical adulteration. Genuine chocolate is of a dark brown colour; that which has been adulterated is generally redder, though this brighter hue is sometimes given to excellent chocolate, especially in Spain, by means of a little atinato. This addition is unobjectionable, provided |

the annato is pure, which, however, is not always the case."

We now proceed to suggest a plan, by which the presence of foreign fatty matter may be determined with considerable ease and certainty. This consists in ascertaining, by boiling, the quantity of fat present in any samples of cocoa of given weight, and by observing the size and form of the concrete fat-globules which form on the surface of the decoction when cold. One half-onnee of genuine Trinidad cocoa, prepared from the kernels only, and boiled for ten minutes' with ten ounces of water, yields about sixty-five grains of concrete fat, exclusive of loss. The same quantity of genuine flaked eoeoa, which contains both kernels and husk, toiled for the same period, yields about forty grains. When, therefore, a sample of cocoa, treated as above, is found to contain a greater proportion of fat, there is no question, if the excess be at all considerable, and amount to several grains that foreign fatty matter has been mixed with the cocoa.

But in some cases there may be no excess of fat, and even a deficiency, and yet animal oil or fat may have been added to the cocoa—circumstances sufficiently explained by the fact, that in many adulterated samples, sugar, starch, and a small proportion of animal fat, are frequently made to supply, to a great extent, the place of cocea.

In all cases in which the presence of animal oil or fat is suspected, it is then of importance to notice the number, size, and form of the fat globules and dises which collect on the surface of a cup of cocoa when cold; if these be numerous, firm, shot-like, and globular, except on the upper surface, which is slightly flattened, and very small, rarely exceeding the twelfth of an inch, then there is no doubt but that the globules in question consist of the fat or butter proper to cocoa. If, however, on the other hand, the globules be large, flat, or dise-like, exceed this size considerably, attaining, some of them, to one-fourth of an inch, and even more in diameter, then animal fat or oil is present, a conclusion which may be still further confirmed by testing the fat, keeping it for a time, and observing whether it becomes rancid or not.

THOUGHT AND LANGUAGE. - A cunning mystery, by which the great desert of thoughts and planets takes this engaging form, to bring, as it would seem, its meanings nearer to the mind. Thoughts walk and speak, and look with eyos at me, and transport me into new and magnificent scouos. These are the pungent instructors who thrill the heart of each of us, and make all other teaching formal and cold. How I follow them with aching heart, with pining desire! I count myself nothing before them. I would die for them with joy. They can do what they will with mo. How they lash us with those tongues! How they make the tears start, make us blush and turn pale, and lap us in elysium to soothing dreams, and eastles in the air! tones of triumph; of dear love, by threats; by pride that freezes, these have the skill to make the world look bleak and inhospitable, or seem the nest of tenderness and joy. I do not wonder at the miracles which poetry attributes to the music of orpheus, when I remember what I have experienced from the varied notes of the human voice. They are an incalculable energy, which countervails all other forces in nature, because they are the channel of supernatural powers.—Emerson's Lectures.
The Spirit of Reform is looking into the laws

THE SPIRIT OF REFORM is looking into the laws of property, and accuses men of driving a trade in the great boundless providence which had given the air, the water, and the land to men, to use and net to fence in and monopolise. So it easts its eye on trado and labour, and so it goes up and down, paving the earth with eyes, destroying privacy, and making thorough lights. Is all this for nothing? Do you suppose that the Reforms, which are preparing, will be as superficial as those we know?—Energon's Lectures.

THE "PRIVILEGED POISONERS."
TO THE EDITOR OF THE FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

Sir,—I was much pleased with your article on privileged poisoners," and I hopo you will thoroughly expose the scoundrels who thus fatten on the poor working man. I have written to you principally, asking that you will cut up a couple of articles upon the chicory question which appeared in the Examiner lately. One appeared in the paper of June 8th, and the other about six weeks ago. Of all the base and stupid and jesuitical justification of the coffee adulteration, these articles were the vilest. I hope you will notice them whilst you are now on the question. I wrote two letters myself to the editor, but he took very good care not to insert them-merely saying he had received some letters on the chicory question, some written in a very bad temper, and others he could not understand. It is astonishing how the poor are defrauded on all sides, and in all places; for exactly the same game is carried on by grocers, in this and other provincial towns, as the Lancet has exposed amongst the London tradesmen, and they have precisely the same arguments, such that the poor people like coffee mixed with chicory better, and so on, as the London tradesmen Yours sincerely,

A FRIEND TO JUSTICE.

Merthyr Tydvil, June 25, 1851.

[If our correspondent, or any other friend, will forward the numbers of the Examiner containing the articles, the said articles shall have our attention. Address "Julian Harney, Manchline, Ayrshire."

MASTERS AND SLAVES.

THERE was formerly a wieked man, one accursed of heaven. And this man was strong, and he hated labour; therefore he said, What shall I do? if I labour not, I shall die; and labour is insupportable to me.

Then a thought of hell entered into his neart. He went forth in the night, and seized some of his brethren whilst they slept, and laded them with chains.

For said he within himself, I will compel them with reds and with whips to labour for me, and I will eat the fruit of their labour.

And he did even as he had imagined; and others seeing that, did likewise, and men were no longer brethren; they were masters and slaves.

That day was a day of mourning over all the earth.

And long after there arose another man more wicked than the first, and more accursed of heaven.

Seeing that men had every where increased, and that their multitude was innumerable, he said within himself:

Perchance I might easily enchain some, and compel them to labour for me; but they must be fed, and that would diminish my profits. Let us do better; let them labour for nothing! They will verily die; but as their number is great, I shall heap up riches before they shall have diminished much, and there will always remain of the treasures enough.

Now, all this multitude lived upon that which they received in exchange for their labour.

Having spoken after this manner, he addressed himself to certain amongst them, saying to them: You labour for me during six hours, and a piece of money is given you for your labour.

of money is given you for your labour.

Labour during twelve hours, and you will gain two pieces of money; and you will live better, you, your wives, and your children.

And they believed him.

Then said he again to them: You labour but the half of the days of the year; labour all the days in the year, and your gain will be double.

And they believed him again.

Now, thenceforth it happened that the quantity of labour having become greater by the half, whilst the necessity for labour was not greater, the half of those who formerly lived by their toil no longer found any one to employ them.

Then the wicked man, whom they had believed, naid unto them: I will give work to you all, upon condition that you labour for me the same time, and that I pay you but the half of that which I paid you before; for I wish indeed to render you assistance, but I cannot ruin myself.

Then, as they were hungry, they, their wives. and their children, they accepted the proposal of the wieked man, and they blessed him : for, said

they, he restores us to life.

And, continuing to deceive them in like manner, the wicked man continually increased their labour and diminished their hire. And they died for lack of sustenance, and others eagerly supplied their places; for the poverty had become so great in this country, that whole families sold themselves for a morsel of bread. And the wicked man who had lied unto his brethren, heaped up greater riches than the wicked man who had enchained

The name of the latter is Tyrant; the other has no name but in Hell.

LAMENNAIS.

CENSUS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HOUSES AND POPULATION.

	1851 (31st March).									
}	FR	017878		POP	POPULATION.					
	Inhab-	Unin- habtd.	Build- ing	Persons	Males	Pemales				
Grt. Britain and Islands in the British Seas	3675451	65603	29109	20919531	10154687	10734841				
England and Wales Scotland Islands in	3276975 375650	52570 11956	26529 2378	17905831 2870784	8754554 1363622					
the British Seas	21826	1077	202	142916	66511	7640				
London	307722	16889	4817	2353141	1104356	125878				

1841 (7th June).

Grt. Britain and Islands in the						
BritishSeas	3465981	198129	30334	18655981	9074642	9581339
England and Wales Scotland Islands in	2943939 502852	173234 24026	27468 2646	15911757 2620184	7775224 1241862	8136533 1376822
tbe British Sess	19190	869	220	124040	57556	66484
London	262-37	11324	4032	1948369	912001	1036368

Note.—The army in Great Eritain, and the navy, merchant seamen, and other persons on board vessels, in the ports, are included in the return of 1851; the navy, merchant seamen, and persons on board vessels in the ports, were not included in the return of 1841.

1841.

The apparent decrease of houses in Scotland between 1841 and 1851 is attributable to the fact that in 1841 flats or storeys were reckoned in many places as "houses;" in the present census the more correct definition has been employed.

GEORGE GRAHAM, Registrar Ganeral.

Census-office, Craig's-court, June 14, 1851.

Men seidom, or rather never, for a length of time and deliberately, rebel against any thing that does not deserve rebelling against. Ready, ever zealous is the obedience and devotedness they show to the great—to the really high; prostrating their whole possession and self, body, heart, soul, and spirit under the feet of whatever is authentically above them. Nay, in most instances, it is rather a slavish devotedness to those who only seem and pretend to be above them, that constitutes their fault. - T. Carlyle.

It is surely neither enthusiasm nor absurdity to affirm, that governments are more or less perfect, in proportion to the greater or smaller number of individuals to whom they afford the means of cultivating their intellectual and moral powers and whom they admit to live together on a liberal fosting of equality correven to expect, that in momortion to the progress of rescon, governments will
actually approach nearer and nearer to this description.—Dugald Stewart. THE WALK HOME FROM BELDAGON,

AFTER A CHARITY SERMON.

The rich are going to their homes, The clouds of dust arise; For rich men always try to cast The dust in poor men's eyes.

The pavement bounds—the church resounds, The rush is at the gato;
The coursers prance—the chariots glance, And rings the pious plate.

And, wide, behold-the list unrolled Of squires, and lords, and dames: Some give their silver, some their gold And some bestow their names.

Oh! bitterest chain that cunning yet Has fashioned for the free;
To bind the mind of human kind, The chain of charity!

Go! poor man; on the butler fawn, The lacquey's favour sue, That yours may be, by charity, What God made yours by duc.

And bare the head, and meekly tread-The rich man passes by; For he upon your toil is fed, You starve on charity.

On Soyer-soup, their dogs would spurn,
They feast your fainting throng;
In schools, since you will think and learn.
They teach you to think wrong;

In unions, gaols, and workhouses, Your separate flocks they tether; And starve you singly, for they fear To let you starre together.

In naked hospitals they cage Your martyrdom's last sighs; The homes that should have cheered your age, Their avarice denies.

Unhonoured, in a parish-grave Your toil-worn bones they toss: Your labour was the ore they coincid, Your body is the dross.

The bireling priest performs his part, Fit guide for such a goal! And he, who helped to break your heart, Prays God to bless your soul.

Then bless the good Samaritan For every crumb he gave; And live a beggared working man! And die-a pauper slave!

But I will teach you how to live, Or shew you how to die; And so shall do ten thousand more, All better men than I.

Your lords may think it wise to set The "rabble" an example, And worshipping the decencies. Upon the duties trample;

May bid your virtuous gratitude Their grasping sin surround, May rob you first, and then restore A farthing in the pound!

But they shall find nor truce nor grace, Nor rest, nor peace, nor pause: I'll toar the mask from off their face, The glove from off their claws.

A niggard tithe of all they won Their fear may well bestow, To huld another Beldagon, And scatter tracts like snow:

Time rent in twain-their feudal chain, And ball and bayonet failBut church and chapel may remain Your spiritual jail;

While mammon's soheme is working well Behind its ghostly curtain: They keep you here in certain hell, Through fear of one uncertain.

They call the plagues, that common sense To their misrule can trace, The anger of Omnipotence On your rebellious race.

THE SUFFICIENCY OF DEMOCRACY. ARGUMENTS that bave been employed to prove the insufficiency of Democracy grow out of this one root, the supposed necessity of deception and prejudice for restraining the turbulence of human passions. It is here taken for granted that Reason is inadequate to teach us our duty; and consequently recourse must be had to an equivocal engine, which may, with equal ease, be employed in the service of Justice and of Injustice, hut would surely appear more in its place in the service of the latter. Is it certain that there is no alternative between deceit and unrelenting severity? Does our duty contain no inherent recommendations? If it be not our own interest that we should be temperate and virtuous, whose interest is it? Why deceive mo? It is either my wisdom to do the thing you require of me, or it is not. 'The reasons for doing it are either sufficient or insufficient. If sufficient, why should not they be the machine to govern my understanding? If insufficient, why should I comply? It is strongly to be suspected, that that regulation which does not rest upon its own reasonableness, conduces to the benefit of a few, at the expense of the many.—Godwin's Political Justice.

There are many punishments enacted against thieves; but it were much better to make such good provisions, by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so to be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing.—Sir T. More.

Of all injustice that is the greatest, which goes

under the name of law; and of all sorts of tyranny, the forcing the letter of the law against the equity, is the most insupportable.—Sir R. L'Estrange.

Law, we sometimes call the wisdom of cur ances-

ters; but this is a strange imposition. It was as frequently the dictate of their passion, of timidity, jealousy, a monopolizing spirit, and a lust of power

that knew no bounds.—Godwin.

The earth, the air, the water, and all their produce, are the common patrimony of humanity. every one has a right to enjoy these common bounties to such an extent as shall not be prejudicial to the rest of mankind.—James Napier Bailey.

Government is the creature of the people, and that which they have created they surely have a right to examine. In spite of the attempts of sophistry to conceal the origin of political right, it must inevitably rest at length on the acquiescence of the people. - Robert Hall.

Every man has a right to one vote in the choice of his representatives; it belongs to him in right of his existence, and his person is his title-deed.

Almost all civilized nations have assumed a different moral phasis, according to the direction gradually given them by political institutions. Lady Morgan.

"Onward! wherefore should ye pause? Fear ye death may come? What is life, when despot laws Strike ve dumb?" What, when Hope's last link is sundered? What?—oh, better far That the ocean o'er ye thundered, Than be what ye are!

Rebellion consists in forcibly opposing the general will of a nation, whether by a party or a government. There ought, therefore, to be in every nation a method of occasionally ascertaining the state of public opinion.

OUR LEGISLATION.-It only needs that a just man should walk in our streets, to make it appear how pitiful and inartificial a contrivance is our legislation. - Emerson.

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT .- Our age is retrospective. It builds the sepulchres of the fathers. It writes biographies, historics, and criticisms. The foregoing generations beheld God and Nature face to face; we, through their eyes. Why should not we also enjoy an original relation to the universe? Why should we not have a poetry and philosophy of insight, and not of tradition, and a religion by revollation to us, and not the history of theirs? Embosomed for a season in Nature, whose floods of life stream around and through us, and invite us by the powers they supply, to action proportioned to nature. Why should we grope among the dry bones of the past, or put the living generation into masquerade out of its faded wardrobo? The sun shines to-day also. There is no more wool and flax in the fields. There are new lands, new men, new thoughts. Let us demand our power works and laws and working. own works, and laws, and worship .- Emerson.

THE MAN OF PRINCIPLE. - That is the man who, without any flourish of trumpets, titles of lordship, or train of guards, without any notice of his action abroad, expecting none, takes in solitude the right step uniformly, on his private choice, and distaining consequences, does not yield, in my imagination, to any man. He is willing to be hanged at his own gate rather than consent to any com-promise of his freedom, or the suppression of his conviction. I regard no longer those names that so tingled in my ear. This is a baron of a betier nobility and a stouter stomach. - Emerson's Lectures, 1838.

THE COMING REVOLUTION .- No man can compare the ideas and aspirations of the innovators of the present day with those of former periods, without feeling how great and high our criticism is. revolutions that impend over society are not now from ambition or rapacity, from impatience of one or another form of government,—but from new modes of thinking, which shall re-compose society after a new order, which shall animate labour by love and science, which shall destroy the value of many kinds of property, and replace all property within the dominion of reason and equity. There never was so great a thought labouring in the breasts of men, as now. It almost seems as if what was was aforetime spoken fabulously and hieroglyphically, was not spoken plainly, the doetrine, namely, of the indwelling of the Creator in man .-Emerson, 1841.

THE NEW BARBARIANS.

We live in times when it is affirmed that a new invasion of barbarians is approaching our old society. Behold, it is said, they are already on our threshold demanding admittance. You know that they mean the illiterate, destitute, and miscrable multitudes, who have, indeed, preserved the vi-gour of barbarity, and compose in themselves almost all the human race. They besiege us already on all sides, through hunger, suffering the wants of the soul and the body. The invasion is approaching. What shall we do? Who will march out to meet these new barbarians, like another St. Leo? Shall we say the world is near its end? We will say that a new cpoch is about to commence, that before we are surprised by those who are knocking at the gate, we must prepare a new spirit, open again the fastened seal of grand discussions, and work once more to accomplish christianity. Shall we, without doing anything, quietly wait for the last judgment! Why, it has already been, the trumpet has already sounded. Whoever belongs to the old wor'd is judged; dies and disappears .- Lectures by . ofessor Quinet, delivered in 1844-45.

The community hathan indubitable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish government in such manner as shall be by that community judged most conducive to the public weal .- Pennsylvanian Declaration of Rights.

Poetry for the People.

RIENZI.
Reflections on reading De Cerceau's Account of the Conspiracy of Rienzi, in 1347.—The Meeting of the Conspirators on the night of the 19th of May.—Their Procession in the morning to the Capitol.—Rienzi's Speech.]

'Twas a proud moment—ev'n to hear the words
Of Truth and Freedom 'mid these temples breath'd,
And see, once more, the Forum shine with swords,
In the Republic's sacred name unsheath'd—

That glimpse, that vision of a brighter day
For his dear Rome, must to a Roman be—
Short as it was—worth ages past away
In the dull lapse of hopeless slavery.

Short as it was—worth ages past away
In the dull lapse of hopeless slavery.

'Twas on a night of May, beneath that moon,
Which had, through many an age, seen Time untune
The strings of this Great Empire, till it fell
From his rude hands, n broken, silent shell—
The sound of the church clock, near Adrian's tomb,
Summon'd the warriors, who had ris'n for Rome,
To meet unarm'd, with nought to watch them there,
But God's own eye, and pass the night in prayer.
Holy beginning of a holy canse,
When heroes, girt for Freedom's combat, pause
Before high Heavin, and, humble in their might,
Call down its blessing on that awful fight.
At dawn, in arms, went forth the patriot band,
And, as the breeze, fresh from the Tiber, fann'd
Their gilded gonfalons, all eyes could see
The palm-tree there, the sword, the keys of heaven—
Types of the justice, peace, and liberty,
That were to bless them, when their chains were riven.
On to the Capitol the pageant mov'd,
While many a Shade of other times, that still
Around that grave of grandeur sighing rov'd,
Ilung o'er their footsteps up the Sacrèd hill,
And heard its mournful echoes, as the last
High-minded heirs of the Republic pass'd.

'Twas then that thou, their Tribune (name which brought
breams of lost glory to each patriot's thought),
Didst, from a spicit Rome in vain shall seek
To call np in her sons again, thus speak:—

"Romans, look round you—on this sacred place
There once stood shrines, and gods, and godlike men—
What see you now?—what solitary trace
Is left of all, that made Rome's glory then?
The shrines are sunk, the sacred mount bereft
Ev'n of its name—and nothing now remains
But the deep memory of that glory, left
To whet our pangs and aggravate our chains!
But shall this be?—our sun and sky the same,
Treading the very soil our fathers trode,
What visitation hath there come from God,
To blast our strength, and rot us into slaves,
Here, on our great forefathers' glorious graves?
It cannot be—rise un, ye Might' Dead,

What visitation hath there come from God,
To blast our strength, and rot us into slaves,
Here, on our great forefathers' glorious graves?
It cannot be—rise up, ye Mighty Dead,
If we, the living, are too weak to crush
These tyrant-priests, that o'er your empire tread,
Till all but Romans, at Rome's tameness blush?

Happy Palmyra in thy desert domes
Where only date-trees sigh and serpents hiss;
And thou, whose pillars are but silent homes
For the stork's brood, superb Persepolis!
Thrice happy both, that your extinguish'd race,
Have left no embers—no half-living trace—
No slaves, to crawl around the once prond spot,
Till past renown in present shame's forgot.
While Rome, the Queen of all, whose very wrecks,
If lone and lifeless through a desert hurl'd,
Would wear more true magnificence than decks
Th' assembled thrones of all th' existing world—
Rome, Rome alone, is haunted, stain'd and curst,
Through every spot her princely Tiber laves,
By living human things—the deadliest, worst,
This earth engenders—tyrants and their slaves!
And we—oh, shame!—we, who have ponder'd o'er
The patriot's lesson and the poct's lay;
Have mounted up the streams of ancient lore,
Tracking our country's glories all the way—
Ev'n we have tamely, basely kiss'd the ground
Before that l'apal power, that ghost of her,
The World's imperial mistress—sitting, crown'd
And ghastly, on her mouldering sepulchre!
But this is past—too long have lordly priests
And wingeth lands ledges with all our pride Happy Palmyra in thy desert domes

And ghastly, on her inouldering sepuleire!
But this is past—too loop have lordly priests
And priestly lords led us, with all our pride
Withering about us—like devoted beasts,
Dragg'd to the shrine, with faded garlands tied,
'Tis o'er—the dawn of our deliverance breaks!
Up from his sleep of centuries awakes
The Genius of the Old Republic, free
As first he stood, in chamless majesty,
And sends his voice through ages yet to come,
Proclaiming Rome! Rome! Eternal Rome!'

TO THE FRIENDS OF DARKNESS.

To enthrone a brute dominion on the seat where justice

reigns,— And the whole enfranchised world to bind in mediæval

chains,—
And the sky to clothe with blackness, where the sunshine gleams so bright,—
And to bury deep the Nations in their old sepulchral

And the Easter morn of Europe in its dawning life sublime To delete, with tyrant sword-blade, from the almanae of

And to choke in death the cry for light of our awakened

youth,—
And to rain red gold on Falsehood, add black curses on the Truth,—

And to croak their monstrous "Backwards," through the world from pole to pole,— And to murder, by fixed system, all the first fruits of the

And Civilization's index to reverse with finger fell, When the glorious one has searce been struck on Free-dom's silver bell,—

IV.

And to metamorphose, by their laws, the living into things
Fitted therefore to be manacled with serfdom's brazen

rings, -Laws that chauge the freeborn spirit to the veriest

machine
Pillaged of its own self-motion, lifeless wreck of what has been!

This, this is of priest and Jesuit the ever-present aim, Who with man's eternal hopes thus play their foul and subtle game;
But, ye hoty miners, boring in the dark deep shaft,

beware
Lest your own minc, proving traitor, hurl ve howling through the air!

Advertisement.

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No. XI. THIS DAY.

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THE DOTTE .

EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY,

No. 32.]	SATURDAY, JULY 19th, 1851.	[PRICE ONE PENNY.
The Enemy of Progress Justice is Sufficient Socialism, by Le Blanc Practical Method of Social Organization	CONTENTS: . 269 True Liberty	27

CHANGE OF PUBLISHER .- The Friend of the People is now published by Mr. HENRY BEAL, Shoe-lane, Fleet-street. Each number is ready for delivery to the Trade, at 12 o'clock on Monday.

GEORGE SAND!—An early forthcoming number of the Friend of the People will contain the commencement of the matchless Romance, entitled "THE COUNTESS OF RUDOLSTADT" [Sequel to "Consuelo."] By George Sand.—A full and perfect translation from the original work.

THE ENEMY OF PROGRESS.

It must, to every thoughtful mind, seem passing strange that humanity, though ever inclining towards a higher and a better state, should yet have lingered on through long ages in ignorance and miscry, and that the world, after the struggles of centuries, should still be unable to free itself from its swaddling clothes.

That man should have advanced so little when all nature seems ever to force him onward, can he attributed only to the tyranny of an unjust consti-

tution of property.

Wealth torn by fraud or by force, from the ignorant producing-many, and concentrated in the hands of the intelligent non-producing-few, has formed a power by which, even the eternal laws of nature have heen impeded, and almost overcome. We see the operation of this power in all past history; we see its working amongst us now. But a few months ago we had an account of a man's engaging to till the soil—to produce food, for the ample remuneration of a half-penny a week.

What state of society is this which compels men to raise food for others, but will suffer him to have none himself? . Talk of barbarism !- "Savages' would trample down in indignant scorn, such a social system as this. And yet the war-cry of the order-mongers is, "Barbarism is amongst us! we hattle for civilisation!!" Yes, men of the counter-revolution! barbarism is among us; hut it is your so-called "order" which is so; you are the barbarians: for is it not your constant practice to oppose reason with the sword, and to answer argument with bayonet, and with cannon? Your con servatism is merely an attempt to uphold the villanies of the past; you defend the rights of property, only of those who have unjustly acquired it.

In his "Belisaire," Marmontel gives the following picture of a "propertied man:" "Continual object of the cares and of the labours of society, he receives with nonchalance the tribute as a just honiage. The magistrate watches, the soldier eombats, the artisan and the labourer work without eessation for him, his rights acquired on their services renew themselves yearly, and the privilege that he has of living useless is engraven on plates of gold. It is to satisfy his desires, to flatter his tastes that nature is occupied; it is for him that the seasons produce the most delicious fruits-the elements, the most exquisite dishes; the arts, their rarest master-pieces. He enjoys all, hut contributes nothing—takes from society a crowd of useful men, fulfils not, himself, the task of one of them, some be encroached upon, we have no longer

the goods which he has consumed.'

In my opinion there may be traced to two great eauses all the monster evils of our social system. These are the usurpation of the land, and the These are the usurpation of the land, and the to the producers the amount of remuneration unlimited powers of a trading class. But for the they shall receive for their labour; and, however first the anomaly presented by men employing their physical or mental powers in producing for others, while they lack necessaries for themselves, could not exist, for none would labour under such circumstances while they had the land to give them support. And thus relieved from the fear of extreme want, they would be enabled to employ their talents in the service of society as members, not as slares. Society would then be forced to award to them a just remuneration for their labours, or would lose their scrvices altogether, for assuredly if they were not, as now, dependent upon others for life, they could never be induced to heap up luxuries for those with whom they have no sympathy, while they themselves are in want even of necessaries.

It is the opinion of many that the recognition of the principle of every man's right to a portion of the soil would lead to an agrarian anarchy unless the state interfered in its management, and made efficient regulations for its possession. That opinion is also mine. It is very clear that all the population could, would, or should not become agriculturists. It will, therefore, be the duty of the state to make conditions for the occupation of the land, and to prevent those who are unfitted for its tillage being lodged thereon, who, after there living uselessly for a time, would desert it in a condition worse than that in which they found it. But if the state place upon the land that portion of the people, who to it, shall appear best qualified for raising food for all, thus excluding from their natural inheritance the remainder, it is unquestionably the duty of the state to take earo that the excluded have the means of otherwise employing their labour-that they receive their full share of the produce of the land.

The trading evil a government of the people would speedily abolish. To say that it would be an interference with individual liberty to crush the horde of unprincipled lawyers and scllers who, in their gold-seeking race of competition, are trampling suffering labour in the dust, is sheer humbug.

That only is real freedom which recognises and upholds the rights of all, so that individual liberty must always be circumscribed by the rights of others; for, if it be suffered that the rights of

and dies without leaving other void than that in | freedom, but despotism and slavery-the tyranny of the strong, and the subjugation of the weak. And this is the present organization of society under the rule of a trading class. They dictate unjust and oppressive the conditions may be, the workman is, by dire necessity, compelled to accept them or to starve.

This genuine free trade in human labour must, doubtless, be very consolatory to the "practical politicians" of the Manchester School, but, I should say, very little so to the workingmen

themselves.

Smith reduces the pay of the "hands" who make his shirts in order that he may undersell Jones, and Jones in turn reduces the wages of his "hands" so that he may sell as cheap as Smith. "Nevertheless," say the 'liberals, "we must have no law to protect the shirtmakers; that would be an interference with industry which we cannot allow. May not the shirtmakers refuse to work for Jones and Smith on unjust terms, and seek employment elsewhere?" Most assuredly yes; and if they should die of hunger in the meantime, will they not be decently buried in a pauper's grave? How then, oh, ye landless, foodless wretches, can ye be dissatisfied with such blessed froedom as this?

It is palpable that our present social system, with its pretended care for individual liberty, and the rights of property, is nothing more than one vast organization of plunder and oppression. How is it clse that a trading class amass fortunes while they doom to wretchedness and famine those who have produced all their riches?

A few days ago I was told by a commercial traveller who is in the habit of visiting the mining districts of Walcs, that the "masters" have made the discovery that it is only when wages are good that the workmen begin to turn their attention to politics, to hold Chartist meetings, &c.; and that they have determined to keep wages as low as possible as the only means by which "order!" can may be preserved, and the men prevented falling into such "improper practices!"

I can well see the inevitable success of this diabolical plan, for the man who is engaged in a ceaseless struggle to obtain bread for himself and family is not likely to pay much attention to

political questions.

Here we have a direct instance of the unjust and tyrannical power of property. We see it not only robbing labour of its material wealth, but also with its iron hoofs trampling out of the people's hearts every thought of freedom, and of progress.

Too long has this vile system lasted; too long have the robbers of the people retarded the world's onward course. I trust that in their coming day of triumph, the people will not forget that this false system of property is the great ENEMY OF PROGRESS.

ALEXANDER BELL.

JUSTICE IS SUFFICIENT.

THE PEACE POLICY.

The well-intentioned should not be divided, if it is possible to prevent it. That the peace party consists of well-intentioned men I do not doubt. They appear to be led away by a sentiment that clouds their sense. Strange that men should seek peace before justice. Stranger still that practical statesmen should hope for peace amid the conflicting elements of the times. Republicanism and autocracy striding nearer day by day will soon stand foot to foot, and for a time seal the doom of one. Autocratic policy may not be clear,—its purpose is. Will it disband armies, be the pleading of peacemen ever so eloquent? No, Niebolas is right: "an end must be put to revolution," by putting down the Peoples, or by putting down the Autocrats. Then peace may be practicable—the peace of death, of humanity trodden in the mire, crushed and bleeding, too weak to raise voice or arm to disturb the Cossack quiet, a peace of

"Gagged despair, and inarticulate wrong."

This is the proferred peace of Nieholas. The other is proferred by the Peoples, guaranteed by their instincts, by their interests, and by their social ideas which tend to universal amity. The People's peace comes hand in hand with Liberty. Peace with them means freedom to live, to apply our garnered knowledge, that present life may expand into a higher life, and misery and want, as well as tyranny, cease to corrupt mankind, and warp their noble and loving instincts. Let not the love of peace draw you to leap blindly, nor the lust of trade. A victory must be gained before peace is possible. Which side will peacementake? Until despotism stands unabasbed and triumphant, or the peoples erect and free, peace is utopian.

"Disband your armies," says Cobden. Had ne added, "train and arm the people, give them freedom and comfortable homes; no other defenders are needed when a people cease to be aggressors," we could appreciate his desire for peace and retrenchment. We need have no expectations of so respectable a politician committing himself in that way. A statement so much to the purpose would destroy him. A politician with a purpose is so dangerous an animal that he would be deserted as revolutionary. Many men are incapable of grasping a whole subject, viewing all its details and understanding its consequences. They are thus led to seize upon partial truths as whole truths-to be lead away by a sentiment, mistaking it for justice. I urge upon all men to make a caroful review of the policy of the peace party, to see to what conclusions their premises must lead. Then be heartily with them or against them. Be not kept neutral by fear of the stigma of being termed a lover of war. Incrtia is on the side of the autocrat.

We have no desire for war with its opportunities of peculation—its ministerial patronage. No cry is so appalling and so rninous as the ery of victory. At no time can dust be so effectually thrown in a people's eyes as in that of war. Its glory blinds a people to their own interests—blinds them to what war is, and makes them puppets in the hands of a minister who is not blind. War is the opportunity of the cunning, the wicked and ambitious, as now conducted. For standing armics we have no liking. In war they are doubly expensive. Their presence, though it be friendly, is a blight. In peace they live without producing, and are a fearful source of prostitution. Thus far

we can cheer the declamation of the peacemen. Wars between governments we denounce. Wars between peoples are sad examples of the folly and barbarism of men; as they grow wiser wars would cease. Wars between a people and an oppressive government is desirable, is righteous—war till death or victory.

If the peace party means that all nations shall be neutral, that they will enforce neutrality, and can show they have the means to do so, we can be with them. If the peace party means no nation shall be allowed to assist another nation to emancipate itself, whilst any government may assist another government to put down a people who have been goaded to insurrection, or have grown wise enough to demand a freer life, we are against them. Arbitration between the oppressor and the oppressed is impossible. Their relative strength always decides the question. The autocrat does not recognise the right of protest-the right of nations to interfere in their own affairs. He docs not recognise the right of a nation to think upon the subject of government, to discuss the question at issue between himself and them. As there can be no discussion, there can be no arbitration. Talk of peace whilst the red hand of tyranny is yet uplifted, and has power to strike, is to talk of what does not, can not, and ought not to exist. Tyranny is a continual war, and sacrifices more victims in peace than the cannon and bayonet in time of war. The nearest road to permanent peace, a peace that all true men may not disown, is over the ruins of despotism, which leads to the consolidation of nations and inauguration of justice. Tho peoples would then be prepared to listen with attention and gratitude to any proposition that proposed to preserve them from the casualities of war, and tended to increase the amity of nations.

Governments are not the representatives of the peoples. The governments will not budge at the people's bidding, unless the bidding be in carnest, and the peoples are prepared to enforce it. The peace idea would have to be inaugurated in almost every country by a revolution.

"For all the past of time reveals
A thunder dawn of thunder peals
Whenever thought hath wedded fact."
Tennyson.

Should the peace policy be accepted by present rulers, is it possible for the peoples to regard it without distrust? Could they do ought else than believe it to be a more subtile and refined mode of keeping them down? We all wish for peace, but not at the sacrifice of honour, of liberty, or of progress. Enfranchiso the peoples; inaugurate justice, and peace will not be far off.

The non-interventionists have thought only of governments, of sentiments, and of trade. They have ignored the peoples. In the abstract their idea is good, and they have done well to come boldly forward and proclaim it amid the armaments of Europe. The idea will grow, men's eyes will open. They will begin to wonder why peace is so impossible. They will see that peace doctrines are not applicable at present without certain injustice. The peacemen must improve their text, and accept the all-sufficiency of justice for their theme, would they move the peoples. "Justice is sufficient;" the only worthy peace comes through justice. The idea of universal peace is nobly good. The mere proposition to substitute arbitration for war is indicative of progress. The peoples cannot as yet accept it. They love peace, but they love freedom more.

SERVO

FREEDOM OF OPINION.—The proper method for hastening the decline of error, and producing uniformity of judgment, is not by brute force, or by regulation, which is one of the classes of brute force; but, on the contrary, by teaching every one to think for himself.—Godwin's Political Justice.

SOCIALISM.

BY LOUIS BLANC.

(Concluded from No. 31.)

Q.—ls it true that Socialists have no religion? A.—The Socialists without religion! Why you may see from what has been already stated that their's is the religion of the Gospel.

Q.—Is it true that the Socialists wish to over-

throw the institution of family?

A.—Such an accusation is as absnrd as it is false. The Socialists on the contrary have so profound a respect for the institution of family, and so deep a sense of its excellence, that there wish is to fashion the whole of society after this model, in which every one produces according to his powers and consumes according to his wants.

Q.—Is it true that Socialists wish to destroy

property !

A.—On the contrary they would make it accessible to all. As man cannot exist without appropriating certain external objects to his use, the Socialists define property as the right to live, and believe that such a right should not be made a privilege.

Q.—Is it true that the Socialists would divide the land out into equal portions to every

eitizen?

A.—This is a most ridiculous falsehood. Such a division, could it endure two days would lead to universal ruin. Socialists on the contrary, for the interest of agriculture and agriculturists, wenld have the land cultivated in large portions by agricultural colonies, so that each kind of soil might be employed to the greatest advantage, pastures for cattle, and arable for corn, according to its capacities, that hedge rows in which so much land is wasted might be rooted up, and whole herds of cattle be tended by the man whose time is now occupied in looking after a single cow.

Q.—To sum up all, what sort of society would result from the principles you have just ex-

plained?

A .- It would be a society :-

Where by means of a gratuitons, but compulsory and uniform education every member would attain the highest condition, intellectual and moral, that his nature was capable of reaching.

Where consequently all the vices and miseries that arise from ignorance would be stifled in their

birth.

Where religion in harmony with philosophy would consist in a practical operation of the

eternal laws of the Gospel.

Where it being admitted that all men have an equal right to the full development of their unequal faculties, the implements and means of labour would be as much the property of all as is the sun and atmosphere.

Where the tyranny of usnry would give way to gratnitous credit; the natural debt of all to each.

Where trade and agriculture instead of resembling a field of battle, strewed with ruins and corpses, would present the delightful feature of fraternal associations intimately connected with each other by mutual interests.

Where the division of labour and the distribution of wealth would be based upon that principle now everywhere maintained in families, from each according to talent, to each in proportion to his wants.

Where the individual and the general interest being the same, emulation would not excite envy, pride, avariee, and hatred.

Where the public wealth, at present limited by the blind and anarchical principle of competition, would be indefinably increased by the harmonions and scientific combination of the various powers and capacities in nature.

Whence would be banished all that crowd of cormorants and parasites which the antagonism

and variance of interests alone render necessary

in the present day?

Where the Government would consist of a body of earnest and intelligent men, freely chosen by their equals, to perform the same office in society which the head does in the human economy.

Where taxes would only be a portion of the common profits appropriated to purposes of

general utility.

Where the wicked being treated as diseased in mind, would be prevented, rather than punished, and more care would be taken to cure than to torture thom.

Where, in fine, Civilisation, before whose advancing step the beasts of the forest disappear, would in like manner drive away all misery, and with it all the vices, crimes, and woes of which it is the frightful parent.

Q .- If such be the Socialists' profession of faith, how comes it that they are denounced as impious and factious anarchists, preachers of spoliation, enemics of family, and fellows who would pareel out the land by an agrarian law?

A .- Because such has always been the lot of those who, in times of corruption and selfishness, have earnestly desired the happiness of humanity. Before the Socialists, their precursors, the first Christians, were treated as brigands by their furious enemies in the heathen world, and HE, whose pure name we will not breathe, "in whom there was no guile," the Great Teacher of Socialism, died on a cross between two thieves.

A PRACTICAL METHOD OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Art. 1 .- A ministry of progress should be created, whose business would be to complete our Social revolution, and gradually, peaceably, without injury to any one, bring about the aboli-

tion of proletarianism.

Art. 2.-To this end the ministry of progress would be directed-1st, to buy up with the revenue of the state all mines and railways-2nd, to change the Bank of France into a National Bank-3rd, to have but one grand national insurance office, to the great advantage of individuals and of the Government-4th, to establish, under the direction of responsible officers, large public warehouses, where producers and manufacturers could deposit their merchandise and provisions, for which they would have receipts of a negotiable value, and serving the purpose of paper money, guaranteed to the full amount, by the merchandise thus deposited of an estimated and determined value-5th, to open bazaars, which would supply the place of our retail dealers, just as the public warehouses or magazines would be instead of the present system of wholesale business.

Art. 3.—The ministry of progress would make out their special budget, the "labour budget," on the profits arising from the wharehouse duties, railways, mines, insurances, and the bank, which employed in private speculation, are now but would, in the new system, be appropriated

by the Government. Art. 4.—The interest and gradual paying off the sums borrowed for the preceding operations having been deducted from the labour budget, the rest would be employed,-1st, in establishing associations of workmen—2nd, in founding agri-

cultural colonies.

Art. 5 .- In order to obtain the assistance of Government every association must be established on the principle of community of interests, so as to be able to acquire in its progressive development an inalienable, ever-increasing, eommon capital, which is the only means of destroying all kinds of usury, of making capital cease to be an instrument of tyranny, the possession of the implements of labour a privilege, money-dealing a trade, happiness an exception, and idleness a right.

Art. 6.—Consequently every association that would desire Government aid must embody the following regulations in its constitution:

After deducting wages, interest of capital, and expenses of management the profits would be thus divided :-

One quarter to pay off the capital borrowed by the Government for the association.

One quarter to be appropriated as a fund for the assistance of the aged, the sick, the disabled,

One quarter to be divided as profits among the incombers in a manner to be stated below.

The remaining quarter for the formation of a reserve fund, the object of which will be explained further on.

Such would be the constitution of a single association.

The next thing would be to connect together all the associations of the same trade, so that they may be bound up in one common interest.

Two conditions would be enough.

First, to determine the cost price; the amount of legal profits would be fixed above the cost price, always considering the state of the industrial world, so that we might establish a uniform price, and prevent competition between establishincuts of the same trade.

Next, there would be established throughout all the associations of the same trade, not an equality of salaries, but a proportional scale of salary, because the material wants of life are not

the same in all parts of France.

Having thus established solidarity, or community of interests, among all the associations of the same trade, it would be necessary to give the crowning touch to our edifice, whereby we should establish order on an everlasting basis, and prevent the possibility of war, hatred, and revolu-tion; this would be done by establishing solidarity, or community of interest, between all the various trades and all the members of society.

Two conditions are requisite.

Ascertain the sum total of the profits of each trade, and share it equally between all the opera-

Then make a mutual assistance fund of the various reserve funds mentioned above, so that any branch of trade that was prosperous one year would, by this means, assist any other that might be in distress. Thus would be found a capital belonging to all the members collectively.

The distribution of this capital would be entrusted to an administrative council regulating the affairs of the whole united branches.

The government would gradually develop this plan by a series of successive measures. need be injured. The government would have its model institution, and private associations would be carried on at the same time. But so great would be the superior advantages of the government system, that all private undertakings would be gradually attracted to it by the all-powerful influence of its superiority, so that it would form a centre from which all other associations would diverge, as the stone thrown into the water becomes the centre of innumerable circles that continue to spread and enlarge themselves indefinitely.

Art. 7.—The agricultural colonies would be founded with the same object, and based upon the same principles.

TRUE LIBERTY-THE PEOPLE AND THEIR OPPRESSORS.

BE not deceived by idle words. Many will seek to persuade you that you are really free, when they shall have written on a sheet of paper the word liberty, and shall have pasted it up in the streets.

But liberty is not a placard to be read at the corner of streets. It is a living power felt within us, and around us; the protecting genius of the be true, you will indeed be sunk beneath the

domestic hearth, the safeguard of our social rights. and the first of these rights.

The oppressor who clothes himself with this namo is the worst of oppressors. He joins falsehood to tyranny, injustice to profanation; for the name of liberty is holy.

Guard against those men who say, Liberty, li-

berty! and destroy it by their works.

Is it you who choose those who govern you, who command you to do this, and not to do that, who tax your property, your industry, your labour? And if it be not you, then how are you free?

Can you dispose of your children at your pleasure, entrust to whom you will the power of instructing them, and forming their morals? And if you

cannot do this how are you free?

The birds of heaven, and even the insects assemble together to do in common, that which none amongst them can do alone. Can you thus assemble yourselves together, to discuss your interests, to defend your rights, or to ebtain some relief to your evils? And if you cannot do this, how then are you frec?

Can you go to this place or to that without the permission of any? or use the fruits of the earth and the production of your industry? dip your finger in the water of the sea, and let a drop of it fall into the poor earthen vessel where you dress your food, without exposing yourself to be fined and led away to prison? And if you cannot do this,

how then are you free?

Can you, when you lie down to rest at night, bo assured that none shall come, during your sleep, to search the most retired places of your dwelling, to tear you from the bosom of your family, and to cast you into the depths of a dungeon, because power, in its fear, shall mistrust you? And if you eannot do this, how are you free?

Liberty will shine npon you when, by courage and perseverance, you shall have froed yourselves

from all this bondage.

Liberty shall shine upon you when you shall say in the bottom of your soul, We will be free; and when, to become so, you shall be ready to sacrifice all and to suffer all.

Liberty will shine upon you when, at the foot of the cross upon which Christ died for you, you

shall have sworn to die for each other.

"The people are incapable of understanding their own interests; for their benefit they ought then to be kept under guardianship. Is it not then for those who have knowledge, to guide those who are deficient in knowledge?

Thus speak the hypocritical crowd who wish to busy themselves with the affairs of the people, that they may fatten upon the substance of the people.

You are not competent, say they, to understand your own interests; and upon that, they will not permit you even to dispose of that which is yours, for a purpose that you may deem useful; and they will dispose of it, against your will, for a different purpose, that is unpleasant and repugnant to you.

You are incompetent to administer a little common possession; incompetent to know what is good or evil to you; to know your own necessities, and how to provide for them; and upon that they will send you men well paid at your own expense, who shall manage your property after their own faney, shall prevent you from doing what you wish, and shall compel you to do what you do not wish.

You are incompetent to discern what education is the most suitable to give your children; and out of tenderness to your children they will plunge them into a sink of iniquity and evil, at least unless you rather choose that they should remain

destitute of all instruction.

You are incompetent to decide whether you are able, you and your family, to subsist upon the hire given you for your labour; and you will be forbid under severe penalties, to consult together to obtain an increase of your hire, to the end that you may be able to live, you, your wives, and your ehildren.

brute: for the beast knows all that you are told you do not know, and it requires only instinct to know it.

God has not made you to be the flock of another man. He has made you to live freely in society as hrothers.

Now a brother does not command his brothers: but brothers are linked together by mutual conventions, and these conventions are the law; and the law ought to be respected; all, all should strive together to prevent its infringement, because it is the bulwark of all, the will and the interest of all.

Be men: none are powerful enough to harness the yoke upon you in spite of yourselves; but you may bend the head to the yoke if you choose.

There are some stupid beasts which are shut up in stables, and fed for labour, and then when they begin to grow old, are fattened for their flesh to be eaten as food.

There are others which live in the fields at liberty, and eannot be inured to bondage, which will not be tempted by deceitful caresses, nor overcome by threats or bad usage.

Courageous men resemble these latter: but co-

wards are as the first.

They who profit by the slavery of their brethren, will practise every art to prolong it. For that end, they will employ falsehood and force.

They will say that the arbitrary dominion of some, and the subjection of all the rest, is an order established by God; and to maintain their tyranny they will not fear to blaspheme Providence.

Answer them, that their God is Satan, the enemy of the human race, and that your God is he who has overcome Satan.

After this they will let loose upon you their myrmidons, they will build innumerable prisons to incareerate you in, and they will pursue after you with fire and sword; they will torment you, and will shed abroad your blood like the water of the springs.

If, then, you are not resolved steadfastly to combat, to bear everything without hending, never to weary, never to yield, keep then your chains, and renounce a liberty of which you are unworthy.

Liherty is as the kingdom of God; it suffers violence, and the violent take it by force.

But the violence which will put you in possesgion of liberty is not the brutal violence of robbers and brigands, injustice, revenge, and eruelty; but a determined and inflexible will, a ealm and generous courage: LAMENNAIS.

THE DANUBIAN DEMOCRACY.

THE following manifesto, addressed to the population of Romania, by the Democratic Central Committee of London, appears in the Voix du Proscrit :-

"Inhabitants of Romania,-You are of a raco of those who do not perish. The name which you inherit from your forefathers, your language, your traditions, your tendencies, every thing reminds you that you are of that people, who, twenty eenturies back marked the world with a giant's tread on the high road of European eivilisation. That people at present is again alive. You also ought to revive; for you have a mission to fulfil in Europe, and the instinctivo conscience of that mission has never heen effaced from your mind.

"You are called on to represent in the midst of eastern Europe the idea of personal liberty and of collective progress, which has conscerated us Europeans apostles of humanity. You are tho advanced guard of the Greco-Latin race, and you are destined to be one of the links of union in uniting its activity to that of the Sclavonian and Magyar races. It is the sentiment of your mission which constitutes and guarantees your nationality. Develop it, then, with perseverance; suffer, labour, combat for it. It is your duty towards humanity; it is your duty towards the nations which compose it.

"Be our brothers, as we are yours. A people can no more advance alone on the earth and achieve its liberty, which is the breath of life, than an individual can remain alone in the centre of a state. Nations are the individuals of the universe. Enter then into the great family, for it is in its shelter that you will find the titles of your future national existence. Let us grasp each other's hands over the touchs of our martyrs. The same earth supports ns, the same heaven spreads its canopy over our heads; let the same sentiment of love warm our hearts; let a similar sign mark our fraternity before God and before man. One for all, and all for one. That sacred motto, so long forgotten by nations, and usurped by their oppressers for their own impious ends, shall be your only safety.

"A great battle is about to be fought in the world between what is really good and the spirit of evil, for liberty and for justice, against oppression, wherever they come from. It is there that each national flag will receive its consecration, and will be blessed by other nations after its victery. Hold yourselves ready and rush forward at the first signal; and meanwhile, whilst waiting for that moment, purify your faith. Meditate on the word which issues from the entrails of nations, and hovers over Europe; rally your young men round the principles suggested by wisdom, and which our late reserves confirm. Never separate the question of liberty from that of independence. Nations, like individuals, have a double existence, internal and external; and he who forgets the former is not worthy of achieving the latter.

"Liherty is not anarchy; it is not the caprice or selfish interest of each, substituted for arbitrary rule, or for the interest of a easte or a man; it is the faculty of selecting without trammels, and with the aid of one's brethren, the means suitable to each to obtain the great end; that end is happiness, truth, justice, and love. It is the same for all; only many roads lead to it, and the choice between these different roads is liberty.

"Nationality is the liberty of nations. Nationality is not hatred, distrust, or jealousy; it is not the captious, hostile, selfish sentiment, which in times past caused a people to call barbarians all those who lived outside the frontiers of a nation: that was only the nationality which kings, princes, and nobles could conceive and inculcate. nationality of nations is the spontaneous and instinctive sentiment of a special duty to accomplish-of something to be done freely in the world, in virtue of certain aptitudes given to a group of men, placed in the same territorial conditions, speaking the same language, and haptised with the same traditions. Nationality is the sign of that group of labourers in the great family of human kind; it is their right of place at the common hanquet; the flag which they come to intertwine with the flags of other nations, announcing their faith in the general association for the good of all and reserving to that nation at the same time the right of regulating freely its private interests, of developing as its own guise its tendencies and local

"Never forget these principles, inhabitants of Romania, for you are encompassed with enemies in disguise, who usurp the sacred words of your futuro existence, to better efface their value and meaning. The Czar ealls himself your protector, and speaks to you of independence and nationality; reject him without hesitation, for the Czar is a living lie. There is no independence without liberty; and how could liberty come to you from the oppressor of Poland and of Hungary, from the man who only reigns in his own dominions hy force of bayonet. the knout, and the mines of Siberia? The Emperor of Austria tells you that your nationality is war against the Magyars and fidelity to his house. Repel with horror such insinuations. This man uses the same language to the Magyar, to the German, to the Sclavonian; he divides in order to reign. His cabinet is the centre of European despotism, everywhere tyrannical. The power which hears on its forehead the double stain of the horrors of Gallicia and of Italy has not a right to touch your national flag.

"The Scalvonian and the Magyar, the Italian and the Greek, are your brethren; the Emperor and the Czar are their enemies and yours. will not have either independence, or liberty, or justice, except hy their fall; and their fall cannot take place, except by the fraternal union of all who suffer and pray, and who will combat against their double oppression. Amongst the races which surround you, some have too long forgotten you; but they hold out the hand to you at present. Others have been unjust towards you; hut they cannot be so any longer. They learn justice and equality in adversity and commou suffering. Do the same, and from the mutual drawing closer together let the force of all arise.

"Grave territorial questions are in agitation amongst you. Adjourn the solution of those matters until the defeat of the enemy, and declare that the solution in question will he a pacific one. The future is not to kings, who in virtue of brutal force arbitrarily distributed nations at the Congress of Vienna. The future is to the nations who have faith in themselves; it is to the future Congress at which all will he represented on a basis of equality, and which will remodel the map of Europe according to the wishes of the populations, arranged harmoniously according to geographical conditions, language, traditions, and special aptitudes; it is to the universal vote, the supreme law of the democracy, which all will admit. Fear nothing, therefore, for the future. There, where the voice of the people will say with a common accord and a determined resolution, 'Our will is this'-that will must be fulfilled. The European democracy will defend every right that is rendered sacred by duties accomplished.

"Organize yourselves; establish an accord between yourselves and all the nations oppressed by the Czar and the Emperor. It is by such a labour that you will enter into the European alliance, and that you will put an end to that violation which would condemn you to impotence. The great Danubian Confederation will be a fact of our period. Let that idea direct you in your acts. The bridge of Trajan has now only its extremities on the two banks of the Danuhe; it is the symbol of the actual state of things. New arches must be cast over the stream by your hands-that is your

task for the future.

"For the Central European Democratic Committee,

" LEDRU-ROLLIN.

" JOSEPH MAZZINI.

"ARNOLD RUGE.

" DARAST"

THE ADULTERATIONS OF MUSTARD.

(FROM THE " LANCET.")

THE plants from which mustard is obtained are, Sinapis nigra, or black, and Sinapis alba, or white mustard. The black mustard-plant is distinguished by its seed vessels, which are reddish, or blackish brown. In the white mustard-plant the seed vessels or pods are clothed with hairs, which render them rough, and the seeds are yellow. The two species of mustard differ in properties as well as in botanical characters, especially as the seeds of the S. nigra are more pungent than those of S. alba. M'Culloch's "Commercial Dictionary" contains the following interesting particulars in relation to the growth, &c., of mustard - "It was formerly extensively cultivated in Durham, but it is now seldom seen in that county. At present it is principally raised in the neighbourhood of York, and throughout other parts of the North Riding; and being manufactured in the City of York, is afterwards sold under the name of Durham mustard. Two quarters an aere are reckoned a good crop. Mustard is of considerable importance in the materia medica, and is extensively used as a condiment. It was not, however, known in its present form, at our tables, till 1720. The seed had previously been merely pounded in a mortar, and in that rude state separated from the integuments,

and prepared for use. But at the period referred | to, it occurred to a woman of the name of Clements. residing in Durham, to grind the seed in a mill, and to treat the mill in the same way that flour is treated. Her mustard was, in consequence, very superior; and being approved by Geo. I., speedily came into general use. Mrs. Clements kept her secret for a considerable time, and acquired a

competent fortune."

We find the eelebrated author of "Death in the Pot," in the year 1820, publishing the following observations in reference to the adulteration of mustard:—"Genuine mustard, either in powder, or in the state of a paste, ready for use, is perhaps rarely to be met with in the shops. The article sold under the name of patent mustard is usually a mixture of mustard and common wheaten flour, with a portion of eayenne pepper, and a large quantity of bay salt, made with water into a paste, ready for use. Some manufacturers adulterate their mustard by means of turmerie. The presence of the minutest quantity of turmerie may instantly be detected by adding to the mustard a few drops of the solution of potash, or any other alkali, which changes the bright-yellow colour to a brown or deeporange tint. Two ounces and a half of cayenne pepper, 1½lb. of bay salt, eight pounds of mustardflour, and a pound and a half of wheaten flour, made into a stiff paste, with the requisite quantity of water, in which the bay salt is previously dissolved, forms the patent mustard sold in pots. The salt and caycnie pepper contribute materially to the keeping of ready-made mustard."

Professor Brande, in 1839, writes-"The brightyellow powder, sold under the name of flour of mustard, and used at the table, is a compound of powdered black and pale mustard-seed, eayenne

pepper, wheat-flour and turmeric."

Dr. Ure, in his Dictionary published in 1844, describes two receipts for the manufacture and adulteration of mustard :- "With two pounds of very fine flour of mustard mix half an ounce of each of the following plants: Parsley, ehervil, celery, and tarragon, along with a clove of garlic, and twelve salt anchovies, all well minced. The whole is to be triturated with the flour of mustard till the mixture becomes uniform. A little grape-must, or sugar, is to be added, to give the requisite sweetness: then one ounce of salt, with sufficient water to form a thinnish paste by rubbing in a mortar. With this paste, the mustard-pots being nearly filled, a red-hot poker is to be thrust down into the contents of each, which removes (it is said) some of the aerimony of the mustard, and evaporates a little water, so as to make room for pouring a little vinegar upon the surface of the paste. Such table mustard not only keeps perfectly well, but improves with age."

The mode of preparing table mustard patented by M. Soyer, consisted in steeping mustard-seed in twice its bulk of weak wood vinegar for eight days, then grinding the whole into a paste in a mill, putting it into pots, and thrusting a red-hot poker

into each of them.

According to Mitchell: "The substances employed in the adulteration of the condiment are not generally injurious to health, they only weaken the strength of the material. Pea-flour, ordinary flour, and linseed-cake, ground very fine, with turmeric powder as a colouring matter, are the bodies used in weakening the usual pungency of mustard. The mineral substances are, yellow oehre, and, as I have been informed, chromate of lead in small quantities, to give a bright yellow to mustard that has had much coloured vegetable matter, as linseed-meal, added to it."

According to Pereira, "The common flour of Mustard of the shops is adulterated with flour (wheaten), coloured by turmeric, and rendered hot

by pod pepper."

Immense quantities of wheaten flour are employed in the adulteration of mustard, and many samples almost entirely consist of it. It has been stated that pea-flour is sometimes used: out of nifty samples of mustard which we have submitted breast when she approached him, and remained for

to examination we have not met with a single instance of adulteration with any other farina than wheaten flour. Turmerie powder is the ground tuber of the Circuma longa, one of the Zingiberaceæ; it is of a dark yellow colour, and consists of large cells; some of these are loosely embedded in a reticular tissue, but others, and these the majority, are quite free: they may be recognised with facility, under the microserope, by their size and bright yellow colour. Although we have examined a large number of samples of mustard, in no instance have we found turmerie powder to bo absent. By some means or other-probably by moisture and heat—the turmeric powder is made to part with a portion of its colouring-matter to the flour which enters so largely into the composition of the mustard of the shops.

Four qualities of mustard are supplied by the

manufacturer.

The first is ealled "seconds:" it is usually of a bright yellow colour, but is thickly studded over with numerous black or reddish-black points : these are fragments of the husks of black mustard seed.

The next quality is termed "fine:" it also presents a considerable number of black speeks, but

fewer than in the former ease.

The third quality is ealled "superfine:" it is spotted to a much less extent, although minute

specks are still visible.

The fourth, or best quality, is the "double-superfine:" in this the cyc ean searecly detect husk at all, although with the microscope, a little may still be discovered.

These several qualities are vended to the public by a wholesale and retail establishment in the City at the following rates: "seconds," 5d.; "fine," 8d.; "superfine," 11d.; "double-superfine," 1s. 2d. per lb.

The qualities of the following samples varied much-from "seconds" to "double-superfine.

The price also varied greatly-from 1s. to 2s. the pound; the ordinary charge made being 1s. and 1s. 4d. the pound.

The results of our experiments and researches are as follow :-

1st. That genuine mustard, whatever be the price paid for it, is scarcely ever to be obtained.

2nd. That the whole of the forty-two samples submitted to examination were adulterated. 3rd. That the adulteration practised in every ease,

was the same in kind, varying only in degree, and consisted in the admixture of genuine mustard with immense quantities of wbeaten flour, highly coloured with turmeric. 4th. That mustard is an article made in many in-

stances rather for sale than use.

The practice of making inferior qualities of mustard, such as "seconds" and "fine" mustard, is open to much objection, since it gives the unserupulous grocer the greatest seope for imposition. The poor man buys his mustard hy the ounce, and for this he usually pays one penny, for which he receives so much "seconds," "fine," or "superfine" mustard, as the ease may be, according to the conscience of the vendor. Now, as we have seen, " seconds" may be sold retail, and realize a profit at fivepence per pound; "fine" at eight-pence, and "superfine" at elevenpence per pound. We are now, then, in a position to judge of the extent to which the poor man is frequently robbed in the article "mustard."

Teaves from our Library.

CONSUELO.

BY GEORGE SAND. (Continued from No. 30.)

(This portion of the Tale immediately precedes that inserted in No. 30.)

"Albert was so exhausted by the effort he had just made, that he leaned his forehead on Consuelo's

some moments in this position, as if at the point of death. His white lips turned livid, and Porpora, terrified, feared that he had uttered his last sigh. During this time Supperville had collected Count Christian, the baron, the canoness, and chaplain, round the fire-place, and addressed them earnestly. The chaplain was the only person who ventured on an objection, which, although apparently faint, was in reality as powerful as the old priest could urge.

"'If your excellencies demand it,' said he, 'I shall lend my sacred functions to the celebration of this marriage. But Count Albert not being at present in a state of grace, must first through coufession and extreme unction make his peace with the

chureli.

" Extreme unction!' said the caupness, with a stifled groan, 'Gracious God! is it come to that?'

"'It is even so, replied Supperville, who as a man of the world, and a disciple of the Voltaire school of philosophy, detested both the chaplain and his objections; 'Yes, it is even so, and without remedy; if his reverence the chaplain insists on this point, and is beut on tormenting Count Albert with the dreary apparatus of death.'
"And do you think,' said Count Christian, di-

vided between his sense of devotion and his paternal tenderness, 'that a gayer ceremony, and one more eongenial with his wishes, might prolong his days?'

"'I can answer positively for nothing,' replied Supperville, 'but I venture to anticipate much good from it. Your excellency consented to this marriage formerly-

'I always consented to it. I never opposed it,' said the Count, designedly raising his voice, 'it was Master Porpora who wrote to say that he would never consent, and that she likewise had renounced all idea of it. Alas!' he added lowering his voice, it was the death-blow to my poor child!

"'You hear what my father says,' murmured Alhert in Consuelo's car, 'but do not grieve for it. I helieved you had abandoned me, and I gave myself up to despair; but during the last eight days .I have regained my reason, which they eall my madness. I have read hearts as others open hooks-I have read, with one glance, the past, the present, and the future. I learned, in short, that you were faithful, Consuelo; that you had endeavoured to love me; and that you had, indeed, for a time succeeded. But they deceived us both; forgive your master, as I forgive him!'

Consuelo looked at Porpora, who could not indeed catch Alhert's words, but who, on hearing those of Count Christian, was much agitated, and walked up and down before the fire with hurried strides. She looked at him with an air of solemn reproach, and the maestro understood her so well that he struck his forehead violently with his clenched hand. Albert signed to Consuelo to bring the maestro close to his couch, and to assist him to hold out his hand. Porpora pressed the cold fingers to his lips, and burst into tears. His conscience reproached him with homicide; but his sincere and heartfelt repentance palliated in some measure his fatal error.

Albert made a sign that he wished to listen what reply his relations made to the doctor, and he heard it, though they spoke so low that Porpora and Consuelo, who were kneeling by his side, could not distinguish a word.

The ehaplain withstood, as well as he could, Supperville's hitter irony, while the canoness sought by a mixture of superstition and tolerance, of Christian charity and maternal tenderness, to conciliate what was irreconcileable to the Catholic faith. The question was merely one of form-that is to say, whether the chaplain would consider it right to administer the marriage sacrament to a heretic, unless indeed the latter would conform to the Catholic faith immediately afterwards. Supperville, indeed, did not hesitate to say that Count Albert had promised to profess and helieve anything after the ceremony was over; but the chaplain was not to be duped. At last, Count Christian, calling to his aid that quiet firmness and plain good sense with which, although after much weakness and hesitation, he had always put an end to domestic differences,

spoke as follows :--

"Reverend Sir," said he to the chaplain, "there is no ecclesiastical law which expressly forbids the marriage of a Cathelic to a schismatic. The church tolerates these alliances. Consider Consuelo, then, as orthodox, my son as heretic, and marry them at once. Confession and betrothal, as you are aware, are but matters of precept, and in certain cases may be dispensed with. Some favourable change may result from this marriage, and when Albert is cured, it will then be time to speak of his conversion."

The chaplain had never opposed the wishes of Count Christian, who was in his eyes a superior arbiter in cases of conscience even to the pope himself. There now only remained to convince Consuelo. This Albert alone thought of, and drawing her towards him, he succeeded in clasping the neck of his beloved with his emaciated and shadowy arms.

"'Consnelo,' said he, 'I read at this hour in your soul that you would give your life to restore mine. That is no longer possible; but you can restore me for ever by a simple act of your will. I leave you for a time, but I shall soon return to earth under some new form. I shall retnrn unhappy and wretched if you now abandon me. You know that the crimes of Ziska still remain unexpiated, and you alone, my sister Wanda, can purify me in the new phase of my existence. We are brethren; to become lovers, death must cast his gloomy shadow between us. But we must, by a solemn engagement, become man and wife, that in my new birth I may regain my calmness and strength, and become, like other men, freed from the dreary memories of the past. Only consent to this engagement; it will not bind you in this life, which I am about to quit, but it will unite us in eternity. It will be a pledge whereby we can recognise each other, should death affect the clearness of-our recollections. Consent! it is but a ceremony of the church which I accept, since it is the only one which in the estimation of men can sanction our mutual relation. This I must carry with me to the tomb. A marriage without the consent of my family would be incomplete in my eyes. Ours shall be indissoluble in our hearts, as it is sacred in intention. Consent!'

"'I consent,' exclaimed Consuelo, pressing her lips to the pale cold forehead of her betrothed.

"These words were heard by all.

"Well!' said Snpperville, 'let us hasten,' and he urged the chaplain vigorously, who summoned the domestics, and gave them instructions to have everything prepared for the ceremony. Christian, a little revived, sat close beside his son and Consuelo. The good canoness thanked the latter warmly for her condescension, and was so much affected as even to kneel before her and kiss her bands. Baron Frederick wept in silence, without appearing to know what was going on. In the twinkling of an eye an altar was erected in the great saloon. The domestics were dismissed; they thought it was only the last rites of the church which were about to be administered, and that the patient required silence and fresh air. Porpora and Supperville served as witnesses. Albert found strength sufficient to utter the decisive yes and the other forms which the ceremony required, in a clear and sonorous voice, and the family from this conceived a lively hope of his recovery. Hardly had the chaplain recited the closing prayer over the newly-married couple, ere Albert arose, threw himself into his father's arms, and embraced him, as well-as his aunt, his uncle, and Porpora, earnestly and rapidly; then scating himself in his arm-chair, he pressed Consuelo to his heart, and exclaimed:

"'I am saved!'

"'It is the final effort, the last convulsion of nature;' said Supperville, who had several times examined the features, and felt the pulse of the patient, while the marriage ceremony was proceeding.

In fact, Albert's arms loosed their hold, fell forward, and rested on his knees. His aged and faithin the immortality of the soul. Albert, allve, but prejudiced against her by appearances, seemed as if

ful dog Cynabre, who had not left his feet during the whole period of his illness, raised his head, and uttered thrice a dismal howl. Albert's gaze was riveted on Consuelo; his lips remained apart, as if about to address ber; a faint glow animated his cheek; and then gradually that peculiar and indescribable shade which is the forerunner of death, crept from his forehead down to his lips, and by degrees overshadowed his whole face as with a snowy weil. The silence of terror, which brooded over the breathless and attentive group of spectators was interrupted by the doctor, who, in solemn accents, pronounced the irrevocable decree, "It is the hand of Death!"

CHAPTER XLIV.

Count Christian fell back senseless in his chair. The canoness, sobbing convulsively flung herself on Albert's remains, as if she hoped by her caresses to rouse him to life again, while Baron Fredgrick nttered some unmeaning words with a sort of idiotic calm. Supperville approached Consuelo, whose utter immobility terrified him more than the agitation of the others.

"Do not trouble yourself about me, sir,' she said, 'nor you either, my friend,' added she, addressing Porpora, who hastened to add his condolence, 'but remove his unhappy relatives, and endeavour to sustain and comfort them; as for me, I shall remain here. The dead need nothing but respect and prayers.'

"The count and the baron suffered themselves to be led away without resistance; as for the canoness, she was carried cold; and apparently lifeless, to her apartment; where Supperville followed, to lend assistance. Porpora, no longer knowing where he was nor what he did, rushed ont, and wandered through the gardens like an insane person. He felt as if suffocated. His habitual insensibility was more apparent than real. Seenes of grief and terror had excited his impressionable imagination, and he hastened onwards by the light of the moon, pursued by gloomy voices, which chanted a frightful Dies ire incessantly in his ears.

Consuelo remained alone with Albert; for hardly had the chaplain begun to recite the prayers for the dead, than he fainted away, and was borne off in his turn. The poor man had insisted on sitting up along with the canoness during the whole of Albert's illness, and was utterly exhausted. The Countess of Rudolstadt, kneeling by the side of her husband, and holding his cold hands in hers, her head pressed against his which beat no longer, fell into deep abstraction. What Consuelo experienced at this moment was not exactly pain; at least it was not that bitter regret which accompanies the loss of beings necessary to our daily happiness. Her regard for Albert was not of this intimate character, and his death left no apparent void in her The despair of losing those whom we love, not unfrequently resolves itself into selfishness, and abhorrence of the new duties imposed on us. One part of this grief is legitimate and proper; the other is not so, and should be combated, though it it just as natural. Nothing of all this mingled with the solemn and tender melancholy of Consuelo. Albert's nature was foreign to her own in every respect, except in one-the admiration, respect, and sympathy with which he had inspired her. She had chalked out a plan of life without him, and had even renounced the idea of an affection which, until two days before she had thought extinct. now remained to her was the desire and duty of proving faithful to a sacred pledge. Albert had been already dead as regarded her; he was now nothing more, and was perhaps even less so in some respects; for Consuelo, long exalted by intercourse with this lofty soul, had come in her dreamy reverie to adopt in a measure some of his poetical convictions. The belief in the transmission of souls had received a strong foundation in her instinctive repugnance towards the idea of eternal punishment after death, and in her Christian faith in the immortality of the soul. Albert, alive, but

wrapped in a veil, transported into another existence incomplete in comparison with that which he had proposed to devote to pure and lofty affection and unshaken confidence. But Albert, restored to this faith in her, and to his enthusiastic affection, and yielding up his last breath on her bosom-had he then ceased to exist as regarded her? Did he not live in all the plenitude of a cloudless existence, in passing under the triumphal arch of a glorious death, which conducted him either to a temporary repose, or to immediate consciousness in a purer and more heavenly state of being? To die struggling with one's own weakness, and to awake endowed with strength; to die forgiving the wicked, and to awake under the influence and protection of the upright; to die in sincere repentance, and to awake absolved and purified by the innate influence of virtue-are not these heavenly rewards? Consuelo, already initiated by Albert into doctrines which had their origin among the Hussites of old Bohemia, as well as among the mysterious sects of preceding ages, who had humbly endeavoured to interpret the words of Christ-Consuelo, I repeat, convinced more from her gentle and affectionate nature than by the force of reasoning, that the soul of her husband was not suddenly removed from her for ever, and carried into regions inaccessible to human sympathies, mingled with this belief some of the superstitious ideas of her childhood. She had believed in spirits as the common people believe in them, and had more than once dreamed that she saw her mother approach to protect and shield her from danger. It was a sort of belief in the eternal communion of the souls of the living and the dead-a simple and childlike faith, which has ever existed to protest as it were against that creed which would for ever separate the spirits of the departed from this lower world, and assign them a perfectly different and far distant sphere of action.

Consuelo, still kneeling by Albert's remains, could not bring herself to believe that he was dead, and could not comprehend the dread nature either of the word or of the reality. It did not seem possible that life could pass away so soon, and that the functions of heart and brain had ceased for ever. 'No,' thought she, 'the Divine spark still lingers, and hesitates to return to the hand who gave it; and who is about to resume his gift in order to send it forth under a reneved form into some loftier There is still, perhaps, a mysterious life existing in the yet warm bosom; and besides; wherever the soul of Albert is, it sees, understands, knows all that has taken place here. It seeks perhaps some aliment in my love-an impulsive power to aid it in some new and heavenly career.' And, filled with these vagne thoughts, she continued to love Albert, to open her soul to him, to express her devotion to him, to repeat her oath of fidelity-in short, in feeling an idea, to treat him, not as a departed spirit for whom one weeps without hope, but as a sleeping friend whose awakening smiles we joyfully await."

THE FERRY.

Many a year is in its grave,
Since I crossed this restless wave;
And the evening, fair as ever,
Shines on ruin, rock; and river.
Then, in this same boat, beside,
Sat two comrades, old and tried;
One with all a father's truth,
One with all the fire of youth.
One on earth in silence wrought;
And his grave in silence sought;
But the younger, brighter form,
Passed in battle and in storm!
So, where'er I turn my eye,
Back upon the days gone by;
Saddening thoughts of friends come o'er me;
Friends who closed their course before me?
Yet what binds us friend to friend,
But that soul with soul can blend!
Soul-like were those hours of yore,
Let us walk in soul once more.
Take, O boatman, thrice thy fee;
Take, Itgive it willingly;
For, invisibly to three,
Spirits twain have crossed with me

LUDWIO UHLAND.

SKETCH OF ROTHSCHILD'S LIFE.

(From Francis's "Chronieles and Characters of the Stock Exchange,")

The eminent abilities of Nathan Meyer Rothschild were inherited from his father, who, educated for the synagogue, distinguished himself as a financier, and, though engaged in the uncongenial sphere of a counting-house, became a learned archæologist. Frankfort, Berlin, Vienna, London, Naples, and Paris, have alike witnessed the prescience of the money-making Rothschilds, and it is reported that the first great success of Meyer Anselm, the father of the house, originated in the possession of the fortune of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, which he saved from the grasp of Napoleon and which must have been to a commercial man

of the utmost importance.* By his own report, Nathan Meyer Rothschild came to Manchester because Frankfort was too small for the operations of the brothers, although the immediate cause was some offence to a customer; and it is characteristic of the intrepidity of the man that, with searcely any hesitation, and with an absolute ignorance of the English language he came to the country where he realised such great results. On Tuesday he told his father he would go to England, and on Thursday he started. With £20,000 he commenced his career, and in a short time his capital was trebled. At Manchester he soon saw there were three profits to be made, in the raw material, the dyeing, and the manufac-turing. It need hardly be added that his great mind had stomach for them all, and that, having secured the three, he sold goods cheaper than any one elso. . This was the foundation of that eolossal fortune which afterwards passed into a proverb; and in 1800, finding Manchester too small for the mind which could grapple with three profits, Rothsehild came to London. It was the period when such a man was sure to make progress, as, clear and comprehensive in his commercial views, he was also rapid and decisive in working out the ideas which presented themselves. Business was plentiful; the entire continent formed our cus-

tomers; and Rothsehild reaped a rich reward.

From bargain to bargain, from profit to profit, the Hebrew financier went on, and prospered. Crifted with a fine perception, he never hesitated in action. Having bought some bills of the Duke of Wellington at a discount, to the payment of which the faith of the state was pledged, his next operation was to buy the gold which was necessary to pay them, and when he had purchased it, he was, as he expected, informed that "government required it." Government had it; but doubtless paid for the accommedation. "It was the best business I ever did!" he exclaimed triumphantly; and he added that when the government had got it, it was of no service to them, until he had undertaken to

convey it to Portugal.

In 1812, Meyer Anselm, the head of the house, died at Frankfort. A princely inheritance, unbounded eredit, and selemn advice never to separate, were left to his four sons. From this period Nathan Meyer Rothsehild was regarded as the head, though not the elder of the family; and skilfully did he support and spread the credit of the name. Previous to the advent of Mr. Rothsehild, foreign loans were somewhat unpopular in England, as the interest was receivable abroad, subject to the rate of exchange, liable to foreign eaprice, and payable in foreign coin. He introduced the payment of the dividends in England, and fixed it in sterling money—one great cause of the success of these leans in 1825.

Although Mr. Rothschild was commonly termed a merchant, his most important transactions were in connexion with the Stock Exchange. It was here that his great decision, his skilful combina-

* "The Prince of Hesse Cassel," said Rothschild, "gave my father his money; there was no time to be lost; he sent it to me. I had 600,000l. arrive unexpectedly by post; and I put it to such good use, that the prince made me a present of all his wine and linen."

tions, and his unequalled energy, made him remarkable. At a time when the funds were constantly varying, the temptation was too great for a capitalist like Mr. Rethschild to withstand. His operations were soon noticed; and when the moneymarket was left without an acknewledged head by the deaths of Sir Francis Baring and Abraham Goldsmid-for the affairs of the latter were wound up, and the successors of the former did not aim at the autoeracy of the money market—the name of Nathan Meyer Rothsohild was in the mouths of all eity men as a prodigy of success. Cautiously, however, did the capitalist proceed, until he had made a fortune as great as his future reputation. He revived all the arts of an older period. He emploned brokers to depress or raise the market for his benefit, and is said in one day to have purchased to the extent of four millions.

The name of Rothschild as contractor for an English loan made its first public appearauce in 1819. But the 12 millions for which he then beeame responsible went to a discount; it was said. however, that Mr. Rothschild had relieved himself from all liability before the calamity could reach him. From this year his transactions pervaded the entire globe. The old and tho new world alike bore witness to his skill; and with the profits on a single loan he purchased an estate which cost £150,000. Minor capitalists, like parasitical plants elung to him, and were always ready to advance their money in speculations at his bidding. Nothing seemed too gigantic for his grasp; nothing too minute for his notice. His mind was as capable of contracting a loan for millions, as of calculating the lowest possible amount on which a clerk could exist. Like too many great merchants, whose profits were counted by thousands, he paid his assistants the smallest amount for which he could procure them. He became the high-priest of the temple of Janus, and the coupons raised by the capitalists for a despotic state were more than a match for the cannon of the revolutionist.† From most of the speculations of 1824 and 1825, Mr. Rothschild kept wisely aloof. The Alliance Life and Fire Assurance Cempany, which owes its origin to this period, was, however, produced under his auspices; and its great success is a proof of his forethought. of the loans with which he was connected were ever repudiated, and when the crash of that sad period came, the great Hebrew looked coolly and calmly on, and congratulated himself on his caution. At his counting-house a fair price might be procured for any amount of stock which, at a eritieal time, would have depressed the public market; and it was no uncommon circumstance for brokers to apply at the office of Mr. Rothschild, instead of at the Stock Exchange.

He was, however, occasionally surpassed in eunning, and, on one occasion, a great banker lent Rothsehild a million and a half on the security of eonsols, the price of which was thon 84. terms on which the money was lent were simple. If the price reached 74, the banker might claim the stock at 70; but Rothschild felt satisfied that, with so large a sum out of the market, the bargain was tolerably safe. The banker, however, as much a Jew as Rothsehild, had a plan of his own. He immediately began selling the consols received from the latter, together with a similar amount in his own possession. The funds dropped, the Stock Exchange grew alarmed, other circumstances tended to depress it, the fatal price of 74 was reached, and the Christian banker had the satisfaction of outwitting the Hebrew loan-monger.

But, if sometimes outwitted himself, there is little doubt he made others pay for it, and, en one occasion, it is reported that his finesse proved too great for the authorities of the Bank of England. Mr. Rothschild was in want of bullion, and went

† In 1824, it was said that public attention was so entirely absorbed by financial operations, that the movements of Mr. (Rothschild, and a few London capitalists, excited an intensity of expectation scarcely inferior to the march of armics

te the governor te procure, on loan, a portien of the superfluous store. His wishes were met, the terms were agreed on, the period was named for its return, and the affair finished for the time. The gold was used by the financier, his end was answered, and the day arrived on which he was to return the borrowed metal. Punctual to the time appointed, Mr. Rothschild entered; and those whe remember his personal appearance may imagine "the cunning twinkle of his small, quick eye, as, ushered into the presence of the governor, he handed the borrowed amount in bank notes. Ho was reminded of his agreement, and the necessity for bullion was urged. His reply was worthy a commercial Talleyrand. "Very well, gentlemen; give me the notes. I dare say your eashier will honour them with gold from your vaults, and then I can return you bullion.' To such a speech the only worthy reply was a scornful silence.

One cause of his success was the secrecy with which he shrouded all his transactions, and the tortuous policy with which he misled those the most who watched him the keenest. If he possessed news calculated to make the funds rise, he would commission the broker who acted en his behalf to sell half a million. The shoal of men who usually follow the movements of others sold The news soon passed through Capel with him. Court that Rothschild was bearing the market, and the funds fell. Men looked doubtingly at one another, a general panic spread, bad news was looked for, and these united agencies sunk the price 2 or 3 per cent. This was the result expeeted, and other brokers, not usually employed by him, bought all they could at the reduced rate. By the time this was accomplished, the good news had arrived, the pressnre eeased, the funds arose instantly, and Mr. Rothschild reaped his reward.*

But it was not an unvaried sunshine with this gentleman. There were periods when his gigantic capital seemed likely to be scattered to the four quarters of the globe. He lost half a million in one English operation; when the French entered Spain, in 1823, he was also in the utmost jeopardy; but perhaps the most perilous position in which he was placed was with the Pelignac loan, although his vast intelligence again saved him, and placed the burden on the shoulders of others. With this, however, he suffered greatly, as the price fell 30 per cent.

He had also ether sources of apprehension. Threats of murder were not unfrequent. On one eccasion he was waited on by a stranger, who informed him that a plot had been formed to take his life; that the loans he had made te Austria, and his connexion with governments adverse to the liberties of Europe, had marked him for assassination, and that the modo by which he was to lose his life was arranged. But though Rothsehild smiled outwardly at this and similar threats, they said, who knew him best, that his mind was eften troubled by these remembrances, and that they liaunted him at moments when he would willingly have forgotten them. Occasionally his fears took a ludicrous form. Two tall, moustachioed men were once shown into his counting-house. Mr. Rothschild bowed, the visitors bowed, and their hands wandered first in one pocket and then in another. To the anxious eye of the millionaire they assumed the form of persons scarehing for deadly weapons. No time seemed allowed for thought; a ledger, without a moment's warning, was hurled at the intruders, and in a paroxysm of fear he ealled for assistance to drive out two customers, who were only feeling in their poekets for letters of introduction. There is no doubt that he dreaded assassination greatly. "You must be a happy man, Mr. Rothschild," said a gentleman who was sharing the hospitality of his splendid home, as he glanced at the superb appointments of

The intelligence of this gentleman was so good, that he was the first to announce the Paris revolution of July to Lord Aberdeen, and the victory of Waterloo was known to him some days before it was made public.

the mansion. "Happy—me h ppy!" was the rcplv. "What'! happy—when, just as you are going to dine, you have a letter placed in your hands, saying, 'If you do not send me £500 I will blow your brains out? Happy!—me happy!" And the fact that he frequently slept with loaded pistols hy his side is an indirect evidence of a constant excitement on the subject.

The name of this gentleman, the entertainments given hy him, the charities to which he occassionally subscribed, and the amount of his transactions in the money market, were blazoned abroad. Peers and princes of the blood sat at his table, clergymen and laymen blowed before him, and they wbo preached loudest against mammon bent lowest before the mammon-worshipper. Gorgeous plate, fine furniture, an establishment such as many a noble of Norman -descent would envy, graced bis entertainments. Without social refinement, with manners which, offensive in the million, were but brusque in the millionaire, he collected around him the fastidious members of the most fastidious aristocracy in the world. He saw the representatives of all the states in Europe proud of his friendship. By the democratic envoy of the New World, by the ambassador of the imperial Russ, was his hospitality alike accepted; while the man who warred with slavery in all its forms and phases was himself slave to the golden reputation of the Hebrew. The language which Mr. Rothschild could use when his anger overbalanced his discretion was a license allowed to his wealth; and he who, when placed in a position which almost compelled him to subscribe to a pressing charity, could exclaim, "Here, write a check-I have made one-fool of myself!" was courted and carressed by the clergy, was feted and flattered by the peer, was treated as an equal by the first minister of the crown, and more than worshipped by those whose names stood foremost on the roll of a commercial aristocracy. His mode of dictating letters was characteristic of a mind entirely absorbed in money making; and his ravings, when he found a bill unexpectedly protested, were translated into mercantile language ere they were fit to meet a correspondent's eye. It is painful to write thus depreciatingly of a man who possessed so large a development of brain; but the golden gods of England have many idelaters, and the voice of truth rarely penetrates the private room of the English merchant. Mr. Rothschild's was a character which may be serviceably held up as a warning. There was, however, an occasional gleam of humour in him, sternly as his thoughts were devoted to heaping up riches. "I am as much as you," he said to the Duc de Montmorenci, when his title was granted; "you style yourself the first Christian baron, and I am the first Jew baron."

He was a mark for the satirists of the day. His buge and somewhat slovenly appearance, the lounging attitude he assumed as he leaned against his pillar in the Royal Exchange, his rough and rugged speech, his foreign accent and idiom, made caricature mark him as its own, while even caricature lost all power over a subject which defied its utmost skill. His person was made an object of ridicule, but his form and features were from God: his mind and manners were fashioned by. circumstances; his acts alone are public property, and by these we have a right to judge. great benevolence lit up his path, no great charity s related of him. The press, every ready to chronicle liberal deeds, was almost silent upon the point, and the fine feeling which marked the path of an Abraham Goldsmid, and which brightens the career of many of the same creed, is unrecorded by the power which alone could give it publicity. Dr. Herschell, indeed, said that Mr. Rothschild had placed some thousands in bis hands, for the benefit of his poorer brethren; but thousands spent in a carcer of thirty-five years, by one who counted his gains in millions, assume a narrow form. The Jewish code prescribed a

tithe, but Jewish laws are often abrogated when Jewish ceremonies are closely followed.

At last the time arrives which proved a millionaire to he a man. Mr. Rothschild's affairs called him to Frankfort, and he was seized with his last illness. The profession there could do nothing for him, and, scarcely even as a last hope, Mr. Travers, the eminent surgeon, made a rapid journey to see if English science could avail the dying Crossus. The effort was vain, and the inevitable fate was well and worthily met. There appears even a certain degree of dignity in bis resignation to the last struggle, and something touchingly manful in the wording of the will which was to surrender to others the gold won by the sweat of his brain. Breathing an almost patriarchal simplicity, it recommends his sons to undertake no great transaction without the advice of their mother, of whom he speaks with tender and even touching affection. "It is my special wish that my sons shall not engage in any transaction of moment without having previously asked her maternal advice."

The first intelligence of his death was received by the same method which had so often contributed to his success. Beneath the wings of a pigeon, shot in sport at Brighton, were discovered the words, "il est mort." The intelligence created an intense sensation, as the uniniated were ignorant that his illness was dangerous, and calculations were plentiful as to the amount of his fortune. A greater tumult than had heen produced since the violent death of his predecessor, marked the precincts of the Stock Exchange, as it was impossible to tell the tendency of his speculations, or what effect might be produced by his unexpected demise.

His remains were brought to England. The Austrian, Russian, Prussian, Neapolitan, and Portuguese ambassadors assisted at his funeral; and his sons, who were deeply affected, attended him to his last resting place. The coffin which contained his massive remains was elaborately carved and gorgeously ornamented, looking like some splendid piece of man's cunning, destined for the boudoir of a lady, rather than the damp of the grave.

His children inherit his business, but they do not inherit his position in the stock market. They are competitors for government loans; but though with the name remains a certain prestige of its former power, they do not appear willing to entertain the extensive and complicated business in the funds in which their father delighted.

† Mr. Salomons attributed the difficulties which followed his death to the sudden withdrawal of the dexterity with which he managed the exchanges, as Mr. Rothschild prided himself on distributing his immense resources, so that no operation of his should abstract long the bullion from the Bank.

Society As it is .- Can any system be more worthy of our disapprobation than that which converts nineteen twentieths of the human race into heasts of hurden, annihilates so much thought, renders impossible so much virtue, and extirpates so much happiness? There is no mistake more thoroughly to he deplored on this subject, than that of persons sitting at their ease, and surrounded with all the conveniencies of life, who are apt to exclaim, "We find things very well as they are," and to inveigh bitterly against all projects of reform, as "the romances of visionary men, and the declamations of those who are never to he satisfied." Is it well that so large a part of the community should he kept in abject penury, rendered stupid tbro' ignorance, and disgusting through vice, perpetuated in nakedness and hunger, goaded to the commission of crime, and made victims to the mcrciless laws which the rich have instituted to oppress them? is it sedition to inquire whether this state of things may not be exchanged for a hetter? or can there be anything more disgraceful to ourselves than to exclain that "all is well," merely because we are at our ease, regardless of the misery, degradation, and vice, that may be occasioned in others? - God. win's Political Justice.

Poetry for the People.

TO THE MEN OF ENGLAND.

Men of England, heirs of glory, Heroes of unwritten story, Nurslings of one mighty mother, Hopes of her, and one another!

Rise, like lions after slumber, In unvanquishable number! Shake your chains to earth, like dew Which in sleep had fallen on you; Ye are many, they are few!

What is Freedom? Ye can tell That which Slavery is too well, For its very name hath grown To an echo of your own.

"Tis to work, and have such pay As just keeps life from day to day In your limbs, as in a cell, For the tyrants' use to dwell:

So that ye for them are made, Loom, and plough, and, sword, and spade With or without your own will, bent To their defence and nourishment.

'Tis to see your children weak, With their mothers pine and peak, When the winter winds are bleak; They are dying whilst I speak.

'Tis to hunger for such diet As the rich man in his riot Casts to the fat dogs that lie Surfeiting beneath his eye.

'Tis to let the ghost of gold Take from toil a thousand-fold, More than e'er its substance could In the tyrannies of old.

Paper coin—that forgery Of the title deeds, which ye Hold to something of the worth Of the inheritance of earth.

'Tis to be a slave in soul, And to hold no strong control Over your own wills, but be All that others make of ye.

And at length when ye complain, With a murmur weak and vain, 'Tis to see the tyrants' crew Ride over your wives and you: Blood is on the grass like dew!

Birds find rest in narrow nest, When weary of their winged guest; Beasts find fare in woody lair, When storm and snow are in the air.

Horses, oxen, have a home, When from daily tool they come; Household dogs, when the wind roars, Find a home within warm doors.

Asses, swine, have litter spread, And with fitting food are fed; All things have a home but one, Thou, O Englishman, hast none!

This is slavery—savage men, Or wild beasts within a den, Would endure not as ye do: But such ills they never knew

Rise, like lions after slumber, In un'anquishable number! Shake your chains to earth, like dew, Which in sleep had fall'a on you: Ye are many, they are tew!

SHELLEY.

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LETTERS, for the Editor, to be addressed as follows:—

G. Julian Harney,
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EQUALITY, LIBERTY, FRATERNITY.

EDITED BY G. JULIAN HARNEY.

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[PRICE ONE PENNY.

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THE REPUBLIC—DEMOCRATIC— SOCIAL-AND UNIVERSAL.

"UTOPIA!" exclaims the king, the courtier, the aristocrat, the priest, the usurer; and singing chorus to the same song, "Utopia!" exclaims the "liberal" bourgeois, the "moderate reformer," the "wait-a-littlelonger" Frogressionist, and all the tribe of cheats, counterfeits, and charlatans who live and flourish by dealing in "philanthropy" and political humbug of every description; affecting to war against the existing system, but always ranging themselves on its side, and against the men who earnestly desire the the salvation of humanity.

If the REPUBLIC-DEMOCRATIC-SOCIAL AND UNIVERSAL be indeed an "Utopia," then it is utopian to hope for the regeneration of the vast mass of mankind, at present plunged in slavery, misery, and degradation.

Time is not more certain, or Death more sure, than that there is no salvation for the down-trodden millions, but by and through THE REPUBLIC-DEMOCRATIC-SOCIAL-AND

How wretched the lot of the immense body of the people in all lands, compelled to toil like beasts of burden, but not so well cared for as the creatures that reason not and are subjected by a higher intelligence to bondage and labour. Even as regards toil, there is no animal so cruelly wrought as is man for the profit of his fellow man. The most noisome, disgusting, dangerous, health-and-life-slaying occupations, are readily undertaken by multitudes eager to earn bread at any cost; multitudes who have been made outcasts and pariahs in the very midst of their own heritage, by kings, and priests, and landlords, and usurers. Denicd the possession and exercise of those rights which should distinguish them from the brute creation, and set to labour, not for their own support, but for the profit of those who live upon their toil, they are used up without pity, and flung no fabled creation of a diseased imagination. away — like vilest weeds trampled upon — without remorse. In all respects their romance and the living, reigning reality,

lot is more wretched than is that of the worstused of the animal creation. To cure this enormous evil no miserable modicum of "reform" will suffice. All changes short of absolute social revolution, and that too, simultaneous and universal, or, to say the least, throughout Europe, must result only in renewed reactions and bitter disappointments. There is but one adequate remedy; THE TRUE REPUBLIC, extended by fraternal hands from shore to shore.

Behold the fairest portions of the earth blighted under the quadruple plague of king, priest, landlord, and usurer. See Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece-the most lovely and the most renowned of countries, sharing with ice-bound Russia and the barbarous lands of Asia and Africa in the curse of triumphant kingcraft. The purple-clad triumphant kingcraft. brigands play their several parts after different fashions, but all to the same end:—the gratification of their lusts at the cost of the tears and the blood of the unhappy millions over whom they bear sway. He of Russia is at once Pope and Autocrat-civil, military, and spiritual dictator over millions upon millions of human beings. At his bidding masses of unhappy wretches immolate themselves to build him palaces and fortresses, and to extend the area of his rule. At his nod the slaves over whom he is lord-paramount march to either extremity of his empire, and beyond its boundaries, to destroy every germ of liberty, and impose their own heavy yoke upon nations yearning for froedom. The Abomination of Desolation is incarnated in the person of the Tsar. All his subordinates are of the same stamp. Like the vile and venomous things that went into Noah's Ark, the crowned criminals are all "after their kind." See the Austrian Kaiser dripping with the blood of Hungary, as his predccessor was saturated with the blood of Gallicia. Behold the quintessence of falsehood, perjury, and pious hypocrisy embodied in the person of Prussia's King, and godfather to our Prince of Walcs. The existence of the King of Naples proves the vampire to be

consists in this, that the former had the reputation of sucking the blood of only a solitary victim, or at most his victims were but few; while the latter victimises a nation, laps the blood of thousands, and, unlike the vampire of the fictionists, whose hideous repast was made by stealth in the dead hour of night, the Ncapolitan vampire riots in carnage in the broad face of day, is applauded by hireling writers, and blessed by the impostor who takes to himself the title of "God's Vicegerent." The Queens of Spain and Portugal are "constitutional monarchs." They imitate the Tsar and the Kaiser, but in a constitutional way. They reign over peoples said to be free-that is, free to cash up at the demand of royal profligates, military cut-throats, and rapacious usurers; or, failing therein, free to be murdered in the name of "the Queen and the Constitution." The knowt and the sabre, the dungeon and the scaffold, ever seem side by side with the sceptre and the throne, testify now even as sixty years since, that "THE HISTORY OF KINGS IS THE MARTYROLOGY OF NATIONS."

But what of France and Great Britain? In France a nominal Republic exists, but not the less does kingcraft reign. The placemen of the Monarchy fill the offices of the Republic, the generals of the Monarchy command the armics of the Republic, while the chiefs and supporters of three dynasties have scized upon the supreme power, with the intent of destroying the very name of Republic. Worse than all, the gangrene of the monarchical regime has eaten into the heart of French society, and an abominable mass of corruption presents a barrier all but insurmountable to the triumph of Repub-lican virtue. In this country it is well understood that the monarch is but a puppy in the hands of a ruthless oligarchy of landlords and capitalists, but that puppet and the honey-sucking drones who with their trappings make up "the barbaric splendours" of the British monarchy, cost an outlay of money that would raise thousands of Victoria's "happy subjects" from wretchedness to comfort. Shorn of all real power the monarchy in this country is less a positive evil than a nuisance. As long as it is maintained a multitude of abuses will be perpetuated.

"Those gilded flies that, basking in the sunshine of a court.

Revel in its corruption,"

cannot be extirpated until the pretext for their existence is annihilated. The elevation of the multitude generally is impossible so long as the monarchy exists, the ignorant and the unthinking, too prone to self-abasement, will never learn self-respect until all that pertains to a throne is annihilated. There are people who are so unreflecting that might dare to attempt its destruction. they will honour anything that proclaims their own shame—even a palace flunkey. Such people are incompetent to save themselves, and must be saved in spite of themselves. To establish the reign of democracy, the multitude must be made worthy of selfgovernment, and to that end the last vestiges of royalty must be swept away.

Wherever monarchy exists the banner of THE REPUBLIC must be raised against it. For the salvation of humanity all good men and true must vow "War to Royalty."

* Let these be the last of the Queens and the Kings."

It is not enough that thrones be abolished and THE REPUBLIC proclaimed. The form of monarchy may be consigned to the tomb, yet may its spirit survive. That this is the case in France has already been shown. Moreover the name of "Republic" has often been assumed to cover and impart a false lustre to the most cruel despotisms. Hideous slavery was the lot of the great majority of the inhabitants of the boasted republics of Sparta and Athens. Even in their high and palmy days Venice, and Genoa were ruled by haughty, rapacious, and pitiless oligarchies, who maintained their usurpation by terrible laws and most cruel punishments. Lastly, America is an example in modern times of how much the glorious title, of "Republic" can be abused. In Mexico and the republican states of South America, the people are the eternal prey of military brigands—the spawn of cast out royalty. In the United States four millions of slaves—to say nothing of other anomalies—turn the "Declaration of Independence" into a mockery and a lie. For The REPUBLIC to be real, it must comprise all. There must be no helots. According to the circumstances of the time being, it may or may not be necessary for a nation to pass through the system of representative institutions founded upon universal suffrage; but sooner or later democracy must be established in its most absolute form. That is to say, the people must elect by direct suffrage all the officers and guardians of the commonwealth; and from the people themselves must emanate the laws for the regulation of the common weal. A deliberative body to initiate or suggest laws, or the amendment of existing regulations, will probably be necessary-but to the people themselves, in their primary assemblies, must be reserved the sovereign decision. A "constitution," in the ordinary sense of the term, would under a truly democratic system be a superfluity. A solemn declaration of principles and rights-political and social-founded upon those principles, would be all that would be necessary. The absolute sovereignty of the people, evory man

enjoyment of labour's full fruition; every! man to enjoy freedom of speech, of publication, and of assembling and associating with his fellow-citizens; in short, the realisation of Robespierre's definition of Liberty :-"The power which belongs to a man, of exercising all his faculties at pleasure. It has justice for its rule, the rights of others for its boundaries, nature for its origin, and the law for its safeguard." This liberty to be guaranteed by the solemn covenant of each, and alk to destroy without pity any one who

For the salvation of Humanity THE RE-PUBLIC must be democratic; the People, in

their entirety, must reign.

A democratic Republic may exist in name, yet not in fact. It is not enough to abolish what are termed "class distinctions," classes themselves must be abolished; otherwise, the reign of democracy is impossible. "Equality in the eye of the law "-the beau ideal of the French revolutionists of 1789-is a delusion. To pretend that under any form of government a pauper can command justice equally with a rich man, or that a proletarian is as free to exercise his citizen rights, as is the capitalist, upon whose breath he is dependent for employment, for bread, for the very life of himself and child, is to be guilty of the grossest hypocrisy. Mention has already been made of that stain upon the American Republic, black slavery; but there are white as well as black slaves in the American Republic. There are tens of thousands of American "citizens" who, deprived of their heritage in the soil, have no resource but that of dooming themselves to wages-slavery. The sea-board towns, unceasingly flooded with pauperised masses from Europe, the native American finds his labour decreed "surplus," unless he will consent to toil for wages scarcely, if at all, above the average standard of Europe. The grossest tyranny prevails in the manufacturing states, and the factory workers of Republican America have yet to gain a "Ten Hours Bill." Competition amongst the needle-women of New York and other large cities produce results only to be fitly set forth in the inimitable language of Hood's "Song of the Shirt." Trades Unions, strikes, and fierce discussions of "the Labour question," may be further adduced to prove that THE TRUE REPUBLIC has yet to be founded in America. As long as the western states, and the newly acquired territories remain thinly inhabited; as long as the entire of the soil is not appropriated; as long, too, as the landless, the enterprising, and the adventurous can be misled by the meteor of Conquest, so long America may be counted upon as likely to escape those social convulsious which Europe must inevitably pass through. But the day will come when in America the plebeians of poverty will be arrayed for deadly conflict against the patricians of property, and the question at issue will be decided by the ballot-box or by arms. It is not enough to declare that "all men are born free and equal," they must so live—otherwise, the republic is a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.

The Social Republic, as I understand it, means the abolition of classes, and the extinction of wages-slavery. Instead of the present order of things THE STATE would be and sim as regards all the world, and in fact

moment to assume what would be the particular arrangements of such a state of society. The time undoubtedly is for the discussion of all kinds of theories, but to the future must be left the decision as to what shall be accepted and what rejected of the several systems put forth by social reformers. It is enough for the present to determine that those who grow the corn, rear the cattle, build splendid mansions, weave richest fabrics, and by their labour create or prepare for use all othe successaries, scomforts, and luxuries of life, shall enjoy the fruits of their toil.

In THE SOCIAL REPUBLIC, landlords, coalkings, millocrats, bankers, and usurers of every kind, profit-mongers of every description, lawyers, soldiers, and priests could have no existence. In saying that priests could have no existence I mean that, firstly, state churches would necessarily be abolished, and, secondly, the schoolmaster, or instructor, would gradually supersede the priest. Priestcraft, though still mighty, is no longer the dominating power of the world. Instead of controlling the rulers of the earth, the priests are now controlled by, and made the instruments of those rulers. Even the infallible Pope is kept in existence solely by the force of bayonets and for the purpose of upholding the power of kings, landlords and usurers. Doubtless the influence of the priesthood is a terrible obstacle in the way of human progress; and as long as the people are priest-ridden there can be but small hope of their regeneration. But the power of the priest must be combated, less by political than by moral weapons. Every sane man can see that it is an act of supreme folly to set apart a body of men interpret mysteries which they can no more comprehend than can the most ignorant of those upon whose credulity they feed, fatten, and flourish. Nevertheless, all that the enlightened and earnest friends of humanity have a right to insist upon, is, that each sect. shall support its own priests, and shall not under any pretext legy contributions from any other sect. The extinction of priests altogether will come to pass when universal education-education of the highest order-shall have brought each man to the conclusion that he may exercise his religious devotions, and give full play to his religious convictions, without the intervention of hireling or impostor of any description.

In the Social Republic, all would work and all would enjoy. Instead of .Capital being the devourer, and Machinery the enemy, they would be the servant and the handmaiden of Labour, and the hours of toil would be fixed far below the number prescribed by good King ALFRED.

In such an order of things there would be no rich to corrupt the poor, or to hirc one portion of the people to cut the throats of another portion. There would be no poor to be corrupted, or to sell themselves to do the work of brigandage. The REPUBLIC could never be subverted, Democratic Institutions could never be overthrown. For the salvation of humanity the REPUBLIC must be DEMOCRATIC—AND SOCIAL.

Lastly, the REPUBLIC, to be veritable and eternal, must be universal-in sentiment a vote, every man armed, every man edu-the only landlord, Capitalist, and as regards Europe. The league of kings is cated, every man assured labour, and the TRADER. It would be presumptuous at this so strong, the confederacy of landlords,

usurers, and military brigands is so powerful, that it is vain for one nation alone to attempt the establishment of the DEMOCRATIC AND Social Republic for itself, regardless of the weal or woc of other nations. At the very first shock of the next revolution Nicholas will hurl his Cossack savages and Bashkir hordes upon ecntral and western Europe, and he will be seconded by his lieutenants of Austria and Prussia. Openly or secretly, the autocrat will be aided by the British Government; for, although dreading Russian ascendancy, our selfish Aristocraey and base Bourgeoisie will prefer even that to the triumph of the RED REPUBLIC across the channel. Then will come to pass the struggle predicted by BUONAPARTE at St. Helena, the struggle which will determine whether Europe shall be Republican or Cossack. The salvation of the nations will then depend upon their union and fraternity. The success of the Revolution will depend upon its extension. Let the revolutionary lava overflow Europe generally, and vain will be the efforts of the Muscovite Canute to save himself and his satellites from utter annihilation. On the other hand, if the combat for humanity is left to one nation, that nation will inevitably be Polandized. NICHOLAS has thrown down the gauntlet, and has presumptuously deelared that "An end must be put to the Revolution." That he is in earnest there can be no doubt, and unless the peoples exhibit equal earnestness on their side all will be lost. To the autoerat's menace there is but one fitting answer, namely, WAR-UNIVERSAL WAR - WAR TO THE DEATH until the logions of the Republic plant the Red Flag upon the towers of the Kremlin, and shatter to atoms the sceptre of the Tsar.

In the great day of the future, while in all probability the government of this country will be openly or secretly aiding the powers of despotis , every effort will be made to prevent the witish people responding to the voice of duty; every available engine will be set to work to prevent this nation joining in the general struggle for the salvation of humanity. The journalists, in the pay of the rich, will ealumniate our continental brethren, misrepresent their acts, and falsify their aims. Sham democrats, and "philanthropic" impostors, will put on full steam to aid the tyrants, and prevent the triumph of the Republican cause, by appealing to all the selfish instincts of the nation, and by preaching "peace at any price." Honest and true men, who may dare to take the opposite courso, will be proscribed and persecuted, and will be fortunate if they are not absolutely stifled in the flood of ealumny that will be let loose upon them. In advance of that time, I declare my solemn conviction that this country will be bound to aid the brotherhood of nations against the common enemy of freedom and progress. Not without participitating in the crimes of the enemies of the human race can this nation refuse to take part in the great struggle to save Europe from Cossack sway, and to assure the triumph of eivilisation over barbarism.

For the common good all must combine. EACH FOR ALL, AND ALL FOR EACH, must be the motto of the nations. For the salvation of Humanity, THE REPUBLIC must be DEMOCRATIC, SOCIAL, AND UNIVERSAL.

"Utopia," will exclaim, not merely those I have already enumerated, but also the

Chartist, "pure and simple," the demagogue who lives for the present only, and all the corrupt crew who mouth the language of democracy, but whose hearts are with the flesh-pots of the existing system. Let them sneer, lie, and denounce; good men and true may defy and despise them. If to aspire to accelerate the coming of THE REIGN OF JUS-TICE, under which slavery, miscry, and hatred shall disappear; if to labour for the realisation of the glorious hopes cherished by the multitudo of martyrs who, on the cross and the scaffold, in the dungeon and on the field of battle, have passed from this life in agony, but comforted by the belief that they died not in vain; if this is to be au "Utopian," I am content to be so denominated, and to my "Utopia" I will cling while life remains.

But the true Republic shall be no "Utopia" if its banner be borne aloft by earnest, self-sacrificing champions. To ensure victory all that is needed is the spirit of apostleship. Twelve men, inspired by an Idea, and by the example of triumphant martyrdom, changed the face of the ancient world. We have our Idea, the sublime Idea of Universal Justice, developed through Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity. We have had our martyrs; we have them at this hour. Labour, perseverance, and self-sacrifice will assure the triumph

The question is put to Europe: "Cossaek or Republican?" and the hour draws nigh when this question must be answered, once and for ever. The issue for the millions of Europe—this country included—will be death or life, slavery or freedom, misery or happiness. Brothers, who read these words, to you I appeal—

By the wrongs of your class and the miseries of your order throughout the world—
By the blood of the martyrs, sacrificed on scaffold, barricade, and battle-field—

By the sufferings of those thousands of patriots whose groans ascend daily from the dungeons of Despotism—

By the principles you love, the hopes you cherish, the hatred you bear to tyrants and their tyranny,—

I adjure you to shake off your apathy, to fraternise with your continental brethren, and to labour with them for Europe's regeneration. I exhort you to employ all the means at your command to hasten the glorious time when—

"King, Pope, Lord, and Bourgeois alike shall pass away, And morn shall break, and man awake, in the light of a tairer day"—

when the Reign of Justice shall be inaugurated to the jubilant cry of "Vive la Republique Universelle, Democratique, et Sociale!"

L'AMI DU PEUPLE.

THE SOCIAL ASPECTS AND VALUE OF POLITICAL REFORM.

What art thou, Freedom? For the labourer thou art bread, And a comely table spread,—From his daily labour come, To a neat and happy home. Thou art clothes, and fire, and food, For the trampled multitude.

THE active politician, like most earnest men, is not generally appreciated by society. To those who hold the same opinions, he is ever a reproach for their indolence and apathy. Those who do not hold the same opinions look upon him as a dangerous man, to be shunned as much as possible. Among politicians there is much that tends to destroy their moral influence. Temperate speech

and requisite tact are difficult of acquirement. Without them little but antagonism can be elicited from opponents. Kind and reasoning expostulation will have more effect upon the apathetic than scornful and indignant oratory. The politician (not the pothouse orator) is almost always free from the grosser vices of his fellows. This should recommend him to the moralist, to the economist. and more particularly to the wise. He is no favourite among those who prefer peace and quiet to justice and freedom. He feels too keenly his duty as a reformer to accept the puerilities of general society, or to play the pothouse patriot over pipes and beer. He knows, was it not for that basest of all forms of slavery, intemperance—the tyrant that chains them to the cvils of the present, blinds them to what the future might be-cripples their resources, and renders them impotent blusterers when want at last rouses them-we might carry the future by storm, instead of w. iting the slow gradations of the years. The cold smiles of friends, the contumely of opponents, the apathy of the unenfranchised, are met by the true reformer without anger and without despair. There is some discomfort in the true performance of duties. The social fireside after the day's work, the quiet hours of much needed study, are of necessity somewhat sacrificed for action. The wife, too, makes her sacrifices, often without the conviction of their usefulness. Women like to see profitable results, and would generally prefer leaving the future to take carc of itself. Unfortunately, even the thoughtful reformer has rarely the capacity of the home teacher. To live a higher life, and to raise our fellows with us; to demonstrate and teach the possibility and value of virtuous conduct; to sustain the dignity of the reformer, and prove his usefulness—such is the high duty of him who fears not the discomforts of earnestness—who would rather do his best work for his fellows than spend a life vainly striving after fortune, which, if gained, would not restore the youth lost in its acquirement to enjoy it, nor return the guileless thoughts, the noble sentiments and generous promptings which the struggles in paths of mammon are sure to extinguish.

Men arc reformers from various motives: some because of the unequal pressure of the laws, -some from their love of freedom,-some because they aspire to elevate humanity, and to this end seek political power for the unenfranchised, that the majority, who are always the sufferers, and in whom good intentions always predominate, may be euabled to remove those circumstances whose harsh pressure distorts and often destroys the kindly sympathies and noble qualities of mankind. Most of all are men reformers because of increasing poverty aud of increasing desirc for those conveniences and refinements of civilized existence, which present arrangements of society hold forth w the gaze, create the want, but prevent the acquisition. This brings us to the question—the social aspects and value of political reform. It is not the barren vote that the capitalists desire the traders to possess, but the power that it confers to chauge our laws and improve our commercial policy. a political change has been contemplated that was not supported by the social benefits it would con-Yet politicians fear the title of social reformcrs, and a leader of the working order has talked of mixing no other ism with Chartism. " Do not existing institutions and laws inform us as plain as facts can speak, that those who have made the laws have made them (as far as practicable) to conduce to the aggrandisement and consolidating of their order. All reformers (disguise it as they may) are social reformers. We should learn to carry reform to its legitimate issue, and show that that issue is social improvement. The numerous ills that afflict the unenfranchised, and numbers of the franchised also, are expected to be removed through or by reform. It is expected to lead to something, but to what is not so clear to all. Of this we may be sure, -political reform is a barren triumph, unless made the stepping-stone to social progress. This is the moral of all history of civilized nations. We must, therefore, be sure not to let enthusiasm die, nor

energy sink, when political reform is achieved.

Rosseau wrote, "there should not be any one rich enough to buy another, nor any one poor enough to sell himself." A clear perception of the impossibility of a continuous political equality, without a near approximation to social equality, helped to dictate this sentence. Princes in wealth soon become princes in power and name. Poverty, which makes a man a slave to toil for the neccssaries of life, makes large numbers ready tools for the use of the ambitious. Poverty will even bring men at last to hope for amelioration from consolidated despotism. Blindly grasping at any straw for relief, blind and weak, they cheer the despot to his throne to-day—to curse him erc his installa-tion-day returns. Men soon begin to sigh for freedom rendered up, and even for old follies. The benefits of the past are all that is remembered. The very evils that caused its abandonment, the necessary consequences of the imperfections of the past, are forgotten under the crushing rule they bestowed upon themselves; for, why do we strive for freedom, if it yields us not greater scope for life, and life a higher aim?-if it gives not opportunity for the development of our sympathies, the culture of our intellect, and fosters and protects not the social ameuities of civilized life? We strive for liberty because we feel or think that it will do or lead to this. Mere political reform leaves the great mass of the working and trading orders the servants of the wealthy, the slaves of their natural wants and desires-leaving them the tools of merchant-princes—the victims of commercial vicis-

How to get rid of individual capitalists; how to make a landed aristocracy useful members of society without injustice, and (if possible) without harshness—these are the problems that will require solving after political reform. For, depend upon it, before real and permanent freedom is possible, the land must become national property, the state the only capitalist. No man can justly cali any portion of the earth his, but he who has carned it by subduing it from the wilderness. Compensation is due to such, and mercy and policy may dictate the same to others who can show no such title. The political right is the power to act, not the wisdom to act wisely, that we must acquire. I once heard B. O'Brien pertinently say, "It is the social right that puts the coat upon the back, and the dinner upon the table," This reduces the question of reform to its real issue. Thus we see wc must strive for something more than enfranchisement. We have to determine on the next step, and we should be prepared to take it when the first step is accomplished-enfranchisement the means, social amelioration the end. Under leaders whose teaching clears the way, and renders us capable of carrying political reform to its legitimate issue, men will learn that freedom is something more than a phantom of right-that the lines of Shelley are literally true. Freedom! if they know how to use thee .-

"Thou art clothes, and fire, and food, To the trampled multitude!"

SERVO.

REFORM AND REFORMERS .- An important fact in regard to the aspirations of the people, and laborious efforts for the better, is this, that whilst each is magnified by the natural exaggeration of its advocates, until it excludes the others from sight, and repels discreet persons by the unfairness of the plea, the movements are, in reality, all parts of one movement. There is a perfect chain, see it or see it not, of Reforms emerging from the surrounding darkness, each cherishing some part of the general idea, and all must be seen, in order to do justice to any one. Seen in this, their natural connection, they are sublime. The conscience of the age demonstrates itself in this effort to raise the life of man, by putting it in harmony with his idea of the beautiful and the just. - Emerson's Lectures, 1841.

NOTICE.

THE delay of two or three days in the publication of this number, has been the consequence of family affliction, preventing me setting pen to paper, until the very day that the number should have been issued to the public. G. J. H.

THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1851.

CONCLUSION

OF THE

FRIEND OF THE PEOPLE.

This Number concludes the present series of "The Friend of the People."

The full and candid statement in No. 31 sufficiently explained why this publication must terminate.

It only remains for me to express my grateful thanks to those friends who have kindly proffered their aid to enable me to continue the Friend-which I do, most sinccrely.

Nearly all my correspondents have advised me to open a list of subscribers, who would guarantee to make good any loss incurred through inadequate circulation. All those who have so advised, have forwarded their contributions, and many have volunteered to contribute a stated sum weekly.

But I am decidedly averse to propping up the publication by such means. The counsel and proffered help of my friends reflects honour upon them. But I cannot consent to tax the most worthy, to make good the neglect of the apathetic. Better that the publication ceased for a time. Hereafter it may be revived, in some shape, under more favourable circumstances.

Moneys contributed to prolong the existence of the Friend will be returned to the contributors, unless they determine otherwisc. A few correspondents have omitted mention of their place of residence—they will oblige by forwarding the requisite particulars.

An additional reason for bringing the Friend of the People to a conclusion, is the utter hopelessness of making it "pay," wanting the means to save it from the burking system, by which all democratic publications are destroyed. To give the reader an idea of the burking process, I may state that for seven weeks in succession my Cheltenham readers were kept without the Friend, and were assured it had ceased to be published, as shown by the local agent's invoice, which contained this announcement:

"Friend of the Pcople-DEAD." This was the work of a sanctified publisher, who, if I remember rightly, sports a white choker, his location being in that sanctuary of holiness, Holywell-street. At Montrose, my friends never saw the Red Republican, and could never obtain the Friend of the People until the publication of No. 19. I could fill columns with similar and well-authenticated statements. There are darker revelations that circumstances prevent me making public at present. I will only add

same with ERNEST JONES'S "Notes to the

People.

This periodical, from first so last, under the name of Red Republican, and Friend of the People, has had a longer existence than usually falls to the lot of such publications. Although it has been a loss to me, and although my social position is widely different to what it was when I published No. 1 of the Red, I regret not the sacrifices I have made; on the contrary, I more than ever rejoice at the stand I took to save the democratic cause from the corruption and ruin designed for it by its treacherous friends. Within twelve months the democrats have seen the realization of much that I predicted. They have seen, too, those who conspired to silence me quarreling amongst themselves, each doing his best to exhibit the rottenness of his old associate.

"So round and round we run; The Truth shall yet come uppermost, And Justice shall be done."

Bound together, the Red Republican and Friend of the People will make a handsome volume of nearly five hundred pages. Back numbers and complete sets of the Friend may be had of the publisher. Persons in want of odd numbers should order them without delay, as in the course of a few weeks the stock will be disposed of.

I have intimated that the Friend of the People may be revived. It will be renewed in the shape of the projected newspaper, provided eireumstances permit the earrying of that project into execution. I have an idea, too, of publishing, oceasionally, a pamphlet that could be sold for one penny or three half-pence, in which I would review some leading question of the day, connected with home or foreign politics. Should I publish the proposed pamphlets, I would make them uniform with the Democratic Review, but containing fewer pages. A number of friends have expressed the wish that I would publish a "Democratic Almanack," at the charge of two-pence or three-pence. Whether I shall respond to this suggestion will depend upon two or three eireumstances, but especially upon publishing arrangements.

I wished to have offered some comment on the promised "Reform" of 1852; the eurse of landlordism, as illustrated by the Irish eensus; that forthcoming monster humbug, the Peace Congress; and the debates in the French Assembly on the proposed revision of the Republican Constitution. But both time and space fail me. Probably one or more of these questions may be discussed in the pamphlets above spoken of, in the event of that

idea being realized.

It is likely that I shall more than ever devote my attention to "foreign polities." Life and health permitting, I hope to renew my aequaintance with "Lord" PALMERSTON, on the Tiverton hustings at the next Election, and there and then examine "his lordship's" claims to the gratitude and support of the friends of freedom. Of course I have not the ghost of a chance against "the noble lord" at the polling-booth. Tiverton, like Tamworth, is "a pocket borough," and the principal proprietor in the place, Mr. HEATHCOTE, returns himself and "Lord" PALMERSTON. LYCURGUS himself could not get twenty votes that, from the beginning, the Friend has had from the Tiverton constituency. Not with nothing like fair play. It was the same with the most distant idea of carrying off "parlia-Mr. O'Brien's publications, and it is the mentary honours," or even obtaining a certain number of votes, many or few, do I propose to "meet" my "noble" antagonist "again at Philippi," but that I may speak for those who cannot speak for themselves: the martyrs and victims in dungeons and exile, sacrificed as much by British liberalism

as by Russian absolutism.

Happily the doom of both plagues—despotism and sham-liberalism—is certain. The Jesuit, DE FALLOUX, is right, THE RED SPECTRE is advancing. Force and Fraud will in vain combine to arrest the march of true democracy. The path to Liberty's Temple is strewed with broken hearts and bleaching bones, but Justice with her unsheathed sword-to our enemies a spectre of terrorbids us pause not, faint not, but still pursue the rugged path which assuredly shall conduct us to Freedom and Happiness.

G. JULIAN HARNEY.
P.S. Notices of my tour will appear in Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper. For at least a month to come all letters may be addressed

as follows:

G. JULIAN HARNEY, Mauchline, Ayrshire, N.B.

RASPAIL, BARBES, AND BLANQUI. On their trial before the High Court at Bourges the aeeused republicans refused to defend themselves. Raspail, Barbes, and Blanqui, however, protested against the infamous conspiracy of the Reactionists. Raspail, after having shown the hand of the police in the trial of the 15th May, closed his defence by the following eloquent words: "For ten months we have suffered all You have kinds of tortures and humiliations. spared us no vexation it was in your power to infliet: you have refused us even the drop of water which Lazarus gave the rich man in hell. We have imitated the example of all great martyrs for their faith, who were silent in the hands of the executioner. Martyrs for the idea of fraternity, we ought not, we could not, complain. They tell us we are ambitious. We, ambitious! The felon's chain, gendarmes, and jailers at our side,—there is our ambition. And our adversaries of to-day, our comrades and friends of yesterday, possess all the enjoyments of life, they are at the head of all that is envied and desired by men; yet we do not envy their rôle. Ours has always been to sympathise with those who suffer. I have been prosecuted by many Procureurs du roi; I have been in many prisons; a number of Prefeets have made me suffer; yet have not I, a private eitizen, imitated the magnanimity of the people, who have also suffered much ?"

Barbes, addressing his judges, said, "You represent the members of the special tribunal, a caste, which, in virtue of its own interest, is necessarily inimical to the principles I serve. absolute right of capital over man, is your law. I believe that every citizen has an equal right to all social advantages. How, therefore, when we start from these two opposite points, could we meet here otherwise than to dash together like two clouds charged with contrary electricity You are the strongest; strike me, therefore, gentlemen. For I am guiltier than you can be aware of from the evidence yet adduced; and, as there may be some merit in avowing the truth here, I shall make a complete confession. A year ago, you little thought of becoming the sworn defenders of the sovereignty of the people? What is this sovereignty? The means to an end, which is the true sovereign. All social acts ought to tend towards this end, all those which diverge from it are eriminal. Now, if amidst this magnanimous French people, whose object (who dares deny it?) is to advance ineessantly, not to the conquest of the world, but to the true and com-

plete realization of the principle of equality-there be found a power desirous of keeping the nation immovable in the inequality of the past, would it not be an act of obedience to the true sovereign, the object, -to compel the rebel power to return to its allegiance, or to destroy it by force? Since my dearest hopes have been deceived, when the entire country is suffering the acutest agony-body and soul, it matters little to me being shut up in a dungeon. Its walls, will at least prevent me from witnessing evils which I cannot mitigate. Only, dear France, forgive me for never during my life having been of use to theo. And you, my oppressed brethren of all nations, for whom I have also been unable to do anything, forgive me. For no one could be more strongly animated than I, with the desire of breaking your chains.

Vive la République démocratique et sociale!"

Blanqui protested against that monstrous system of jurisprudence, which leaves the accused without any guarantee, and which does not seck to enlighten justice, but to inflict punishment at all hazards. The incidents of the trial were his text for a discourse on the dangers of secret cross examination. "Yes," ho said, "I pursue my idea, the removal of the last of those ruins which obstruct the path of the future; and to-day, as a prisoner, I come into contact with the system of secret examination." Then, in allusion to the abominable calumnies which assailed him from all sides, Blanqui exclaimed: "Thus a storm of outrage has been raised against mo from the four winds of heaven, a tempest of curses and invectives a raging sea of lies and calumnies. Why have any scruples? Against Blanqui, is not everything permissable, laudable even? With regard to this brigand, this accursed one, calumny is a duty, and assassination a virtue! A stone thrown at Blanqui

is a prayer to God.

"Time has shown that all the blows aimed at me, no matter by what hand, have all, in reality, been aimed at the Revolution. This is my justification and my glory. The consciousness of duty steadily and serenely fulfilled, has enabled me to traverse the severest trials in safety,—it has shown me a day of reparation, the triumph of truth, shining in the distance like a guiding star. If it shine upon my dungeon, what matter? It will find me in my habitual dwelling-place-an abode I have scarcely quitted during the last twelve years. The victorious revolution released me for an instant, the betrayed and vanquished revolution locks the door of my cell. This is one of our most glorious privileges, our greatest honours; - to triumph and suffer as individuals in the triumph and the sufferings of this great people of glorious destinies! Our lives have been devoted to the worship of principles which would deliver it from the dark prisonhouse of ignorance and misery into the radiant abode of happiness and fraternity. That is our glory, but it is also our crime! We have committed yet another, in our disdain of revenge, of reprisals. The crime of generous and magnanimous souls, an imprudent erime, the insult of elemency, which aggravates the insult of defeat. We committed this crime twice, at an interval of eighteen years; and each time we have expiated it by our tears and the loss of our liberty. That is our nature. Victory makes us lay aside our arms and our resentment, we hold out the 'olive branch to our old enemics, they rise and strike us. For the customs and conduct of political parties are the fruits of their doctrines; one, animated by the deep-seated feeling of fraternity, preserves its courage and self-respect unshaken by misfortune. and shows compassion and forgiveness when triumphant. Another party, coldly selfish, has shown itself as mean in the hour of defeat as it is cruel and unmerciful when victorious. We belong to the first party, thanks to those principles so branded and execrated; and the time approaches when we shall be tho masters of the world. 'Subversive, anti-social doctrines!' We know these phrases. They are almost as old as the human race. They were part of the vocabulary of the

Inquisition; they were in the mouths of the Pagans who tortured the early Christians to death; they belong to the Past. 'Utopia!' 'Impossibility!' Terrible words, reiterated by our enemies,—in reality they are an homicidal appeal to the selfishnesses of the present generation. are no Utopians in the extreme sense of the word. There are Thinkers who dream of a more fraternal form of society, and seek the promised land in the distant horizon; but a madman trying to reach this point by a single bound, would infallibly break his neck. Of these thinkers, some like Moses remained on the hill-top, sunk in the contemplation of this distant land. Others said, 'Let us go, here is the way! It passes through unknown countries; but we will follow it, making a new path if need be,—our eyes always fixed on the guiding-star.' They travelled, but not with their eyes merely athwart space. They advanced more or less rapidly, according to circumstances; but continuously, never receding, never looking back. On the 24th of February, they passed a yawning gulf with a single bound. Sometimes, when the abyss was too wide, or the impetus too small,—their fall has been terrible, and many were engulfed. But the masses never stood still. The dungeons on this route are hospitals for the wounded, whose labours are prosecuted by their comrades. I am one of these travellers towards the promised land; -yesterday we were called Revolutionists, to-day Socialists. Space banishes before our indefatigable march, the mist disappears from the horizon, and the holy land is seen. We advance! What a magnificent prospect there was in February, but how soon did it diminish! The way looked so beautiful, but stupidity has been the cause of our fall into horrible abysses. I raised my voice against traitors, but they drowned it in floods of abominable lies. The Revolution of 1848 attempted to put an end to corruption. Did it succeed? No. But the attack will recommence. Venality and political profligacy have undermined France; the whole of society is diseased; the eighteen years of constitutional monarchy have inoculated every member of the body politic with this poison. France is at once perverted by these bad examples, and wounded by this sad spectacle; in her statesmen she sees only a corrupt, faithless, and avaricious set of men, lost to all sense of shame. Nothing but deceit, lies, and immorality, everywhere and always! Her credulity and her patience are at an end. Society is a prey to devouring misery, to the animal passions of those whose consciences are dead. Society is dissolving, it is chaos come again! Without a radical reform, human society will perish. One might admonish them like Jonah: "Yet forty days, and Nineveh will be destroyed!" Let Nineveh repent, then; that is the only chance of safety. Those in power have caused the evil, they alone can cure it. The cure must be moral. The example of those in power is always irresistible; austerity is quite as contagious as profligacy, it will influence all minds by the prestige of power. But, it is said, labour, currency, and credit are affairs of political cconomy, and not of feeling. I know not, but faith and enthusiasm are levers to move the world from its foundations. Let us begin there, the rest will follow. Alexander, in the desert of Gedrosia, seattered on the sand some water that was brought him in a helmet, exclaiming, "Every one, or no one!" The self-denial of the General electrified the dispirited Macedonian army, and saved it by inspiring courage and hope. When the people are starving, no one ought to eat. This is my utopia, my dream in the February days. It raised up against me a host of implacable enemies. I wished to touch the consciences of men; they only thought of letting loose conflicting class interests. Yet the question was not that of founding a Republic of Spartans, but of founding a Republic without helots. Perhaps my utopia will appear the most absurd and the most impossible of all. Then may God have merey on France!"

BREAD AND ITS ADULTERATIONS.

[FROM THE "LANCET."]

Adulteration with Rice Flour is very frequently practised. The purpose for which rice-flour is employed is, to enable the bread to absorb and retain a larger quantity of water than it would otherwise do, and so cause it to weigh more. This iniquitous purpose is accomplished through the absorbent power of rice for water. In a loaf adulterated with rice-flour the consumer is cheated of a certain amount of nutritious wheat farina, the place of which is supplied by water.

Adulteration with Poiled and Mashed Pota-

toes, next to that, is, perhaps, the one which is most commonly resorted to. The great objection to the use of potatoes in bread is, that they are made to take the place of an article very much more untritious. This adulteration may be readily detected by means of the mi-

croscope.

Adulteration with Alum and "Stuff."-This adulteration is practised with a twofold objectfirst, to render flour of a bad colour and inferior quality, white, and equal, in appearance only, to flour of a superior quality; and second, to enable the flour to retain a larger proportion of water, by which the loaf is made to weigh heavier. Some bakers buy rock alum in powder, and mix it up in certain proportions with salt; the majority, however, make use of an article known in the trade as "hards" and "stuff." This consists of a mixture of alum and salt. It is kept in bags, holding from a quarter to one hundredweight; it is sold by the druggist, who supplies either the baker or the cornehandler; the latter, again, in some cases, furnishing the baker with it from time to time as he may require. In country towns and villages the baker is put to considerable trouble to procure his supplies of "stuff;" for as he is unwilling that his friends and neighbours should know that he makes use of any such article in his bread, he generally contrives to procure it of a druggist living some miles away from his own town. On a Saturday a druggist in good business will have several applications in the course of the evening for alum. hards, and stuff. It is not easy to ascertain the exact quantities of alum and "stuff" used in the preparation of bread. It may be stated as a rule, however, that the worse the flour, the greater the proportion of these ingredients used. Markham gives eighteen ounces of alum as the quantity commonly used in making a sack of flour into bread; and taking the yield of a sack of flour at 92 loaves, of four pounds each, gives 114 grains to the loaf, so that the amount would be nearly 22 ounces to the sack.

That alum is in no way necessary in the manufacture of bread is clearly proved, by the excellent quality of bread, as, for example, home-made bread, made without a particle of that substance heing used. Bakers endcavour to excuse themselves for the use of alum, on the plea, that the public will have very white bread, and that without alum this cannot be made. The answer to this assertion is, that a white bread may be made with a flour of good quality, and that it is better that it should even be rather less white than that a substance should be used injurious to health. The above plea, it will be observed, takes no notice of the extra quantity of water which the bread retains by its admixture with alum. It is curious to notice how constantly the adulterating shopkeeper endeavours to shelter himself, and to exouse his dishonest practices, under the assertion that the public "like it," and "will have it." recently heard the chicory-loving grocers assert that the public "liko it," and "will have it," as though the public were such great fools as aetually to experience pleasure, not only in being cheated of their money, but robbed frequently of health as well. That alum, in the deses in which will now proceed to show. Alum is injurious to son's Lectures, 1811.

plants. Bourgelat has seen a phthisical condition in horses by the use of alum in too great quantities. Alum acts chemically on the animal tissues and fluids. If a solution of it in water be added in certain proportions to albumen, it causes a white precipitate. It forms insoluble combinations with milk and with gelatine. These phenomena explain the action of alum on the fibrinous, albuminous, and gelatinous constituents of the living tissuos. The immediato topical effect of a solution of alum is that of an astringent, -namely, corrugation of fibres and contraction of small vessels, by virtue of which it cheeks or temporarily stops exhalation and secretion, and produces paleness of parts by diminishing the diameters of the small blood vessels. It is by these local effects that alum, when taken internally, causes dryness of the mouth and throat, somewhat increases thirst, and checks the secretions of the alimentary canal. But when alum is applied to a part in large quantities, and for a longer period, the astriction is soon followed by irritation, and the paleness by preteruatural redness. And thus, taken internally in largo doses, alum excites nausea, vomiting, griping, purging, and even an inflammatory condition of the intestinal caual-effects which may be perhaps induced by small quantities in persons endowed with unusual or morbid sensibility of the stomach and bowels. After its absorption, alum appears to act as an astringent or astringent tonic on the system generally, and to produce more or less general astriction of the tissues and fibres, and a dimunition of secretion. Barbier says alum "irritates the lungs, and often produces eough."

Addition of Salt to Bread.—The quantity of salt used in the preparation of bread is six or eight times greater than that of alum. It is generally stated at from four to six pounds to the sack of flour. The latter estimate gives to each quartern loaf upwards of an ounce of salt; there is reason to believe, however, that the quantity employed is frequeutly much greater. With fresh meat salt is commonly considered to be wholesome, and it probably is so; but it is doubtful whether the use of it in bread in such large quantities is conducive to health. Iu doses by uo means considerable, salt exerts a perceptible influence over the secretions, lessening their amount, and producing heat and thirst. Salt has the same effect on flour as alum, although its action is less powerful—that is, it whiteus the flour and enables it to hold more water. Tho preparations known as Baking and Egg powders are combinations of carbonate of soda and tartaric acid, mixed up with wheat-flour. It is therefore extremely doubtful how far these preparations may be used with safety to the public health; for our own part, we see much less objection in the employment of a substance like yeast, which contains but little saline matter, and the vitality of which is completely destroyed by the heat of the oven, than in the use of egg and baking powders. The water we drink is largely impregnated with a host of saline ingrodients; the bread we eat is saturated with alum and "stuff," and it behoves us to be eareful how we add to the large amount of saline matter daily ingested.

STAND FIRM. -Let it not be recorded in our own memories that, in this moment of the eternity, when we, who were named by our names, flitted across the light, we were afraid of any fact, or disgraced the fair day by a pusillanimous preference of our bread to our freedom. What is the scholar, what is the man for, but for hospitality to every new thought of his time? All the newspapers, all the tongues of to-day, will, of course, at first, defame what is noble; but you who hold not of to-day, not of the times, but of the everlasting, are to stand for it; and the highest compliment man ever receives from heaven, is the sending to it is present in bread, is injurious to health, we him its disguised and discredited angels.—Emer-

Poetry for the People.

FREEDOM.

What art thou, Freedom? Oh! could slaves Answer from their living graves This demand, tyrants would flee Like a dream's dim imagery.

For the labourer thou art bread, And a comely table spread, From his daily labour come, In a neat and happy home.

Thou art clothes, and fire, and food, For the trampled multitude; No-in countries that are free, Such starvation cannot be As in England now we sec.

To the rich thou art a check. When his foot is on the neck Of his victim, thou dost make That he treads upon a snake.

Thou art justice—ne'er for gold May thy righteous laws be sold, As laws are in England,—thou Shieldest alike the high and low.

Thou art Wisdom-freemen never Dream that God will doom for ever, All who think those things untrue, Of which Priests make such ado.

Thou art Peace—never by thee Would blood and treasure wasted be, As tyrants wasted them, when all Leagued to quench thy flame in Qaul.

What if English toil and blood Was poured forth, even as a flood ! It availed,—O Liberty! To dim—but not extinguish thee.

Thou art Love-the rich have kiss'd Thy feet; and like him following Christ, Given their substance to the free, And through the rough world followed thee.

Oh! turn their wealth to arms, and make On wealth and strife and fraud; whence they Drew the power which is their prey.

Science, Poetry, and Thought, Are thy lamps; they make the lot Of the dwellers in a cot Such, they curse their Maker not.

Spirit, Patience, Gentleness, All that can adorn and bless Art thou: let deeds, not words, express Thine exceeding loveliness.

Rise, like lions after slumber, In unvanquishable number! Shake your chains to earth, like dew Which in sleep had fallen on you: Ye are many—they are few!

SHELLEY.

As men will no longer suffer themselves to be led blindfold in ignorance, so will they no more yield to the vile principle of judging and treating their fellow-creatures, not according to the intrinsic merit of their actions, but according to the accidental and involuntary coincidence of their opinions. The great truth has finally gone forth to the ends of the earth,—That man shall no longer render account to man for his belief, over which he himself has no control.—Lord Brougham.

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